

WSP/241/2221/39

hill house
1 penzance road
mowbray
7700

(021) 47-3127
522351

fax: 477458
REG. NO.: 8700079/08

9.7.90
I D A S A
I D A S A
I D A S A
I D A S A
I D A S A

RECEIVED 19 JUL 1990

9 July 1990

Mr Walter Sisulu
ANC Head Office
3rd Floor
Munichre Building
54 Sauer Street
JOHANNESBURG
2001

Dear Mr Sisulu

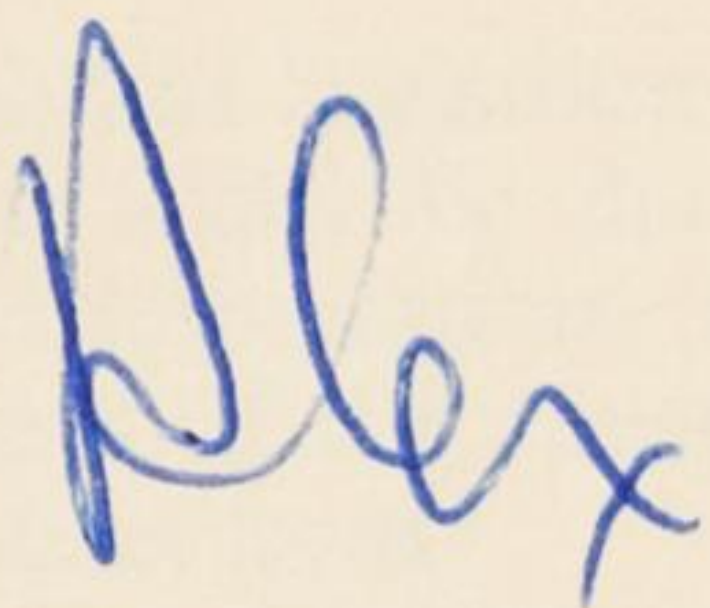
I am not sure whether you have had a moment to glance at the latest issue of Democracy in Action, the magazine of IDASA.

If you have a moment, I would be grateful if you would read the editorial on page 2 which has featured in a very disappointing way in the press in recent days. It is my view that IDASA can be of greatest value to the ANC when it performs its task as a critical ally of the transition process. In line with that approach, I have tried to make some suggestions regarding Mr de Klerk's role as well as that of the ANC. I want you to know that I am very aware of the enormous difficulties and problems facing you and the leadership of the ANC and want to assure you of our good wishes and all possible cooperation.

Dr Motlana, Dr Slabbert and I are due to meet with Mr Mandela at 11.30 am on 17 July and I hope there will be an opportunity to see you then as well.

With warmest good wishes

Yours sincerely



DR A L BORRAINE
Executive Director

Institute For A Democratic Alternative For South Africa

Directors

Dr. B. Naude, Dr. A. Borraine, Prof. A. Du Toit, Prof. J. Gerwel, The Most Rev. D. Hurley, Rev. Canon Mcebisi Xundu, Dr. N. Motlana, Prof. S. Saunders, Dr. F. Van Zyl Slabbert, Rev. de Villiers M. Soga, Prof. P. Vale

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

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

JUNE/JULY 1990

People were hurt, admits unlikely star Wessels

DEPUTY Foreign Minister Leon Wessels looked like an unlikely star in the line-up of prominent speakers at the "South Africa in Transition" conference.

But in many ways he was: admitting to government policies having "hurt" people in the past, calling on whites to identify themselves emotionally with Africa and become truly involved with its successes and failures, and showing concern and understanding for those who distrust his government.

The tall former Afrikaanse Studentebond president cut a sincere and humble figure before an audience made up mainly of traditional "enemies" of the National Party, many of them ANC and MDM leaders.

It was the first time a member of the government had appeared on a public platform with a member of the ANC (recently released Robben Islander Jeffrey Radebe) and also the first time the cabinet had accepted an invitation to participate in an Idasa conference.

Mr Wessels soon showed that his presence was not a token gesture. He admitted that his personal "journey into Africa" had

started only very recently – on the same day that Nelson Mandela took his first steps to freedom from Victor Verster prison. Wessels was watching the event on television in a country elsewhere in Africa. That visit was an eye-opener, he said. He realised that most whites were only physically in Africa and that they still had to learn how they can constructively be part of the continent.

The deputy minister rounded off his performance by spontaneously offering, to some amusement and applause from the audience, to hold the microphone for co-panelist Jeffrey Radebe (a compliment Radebe returned during question time later).

In response to questions from the audience, Wessels said it was very gracious of the "other side" to bury the hatchet and forgive past mistakes, but it would be counter-productive for the government to gloss over past errors.

"We have to talk about the past if we are going to talk about the future. That is the only way we will discover and rediscover each other. No matter how well intended policies were – people were hurt in the process."



Deputy Foreign Minister Leon Wessels holds the microphone for Jeffrey Radebe of the ANC.

Meet needs of disadvantaged, conference on transition told

By Ronel Scheffer

THE political transition process in South Africa could easily be derailed if some of the material expectations of the disadvantaged sections of the community were not met in the short term.

This warning, alluding also to the need to give the masses reason to have faith in the negotiation process, was one of the key messages from the "South Africa in Transition" conference hosted by Idasa in Port Elizabeth in June.

Several speakers, among them noted academics and trade unionists, pointed to contradictions in the government's approach –

and, to a lesser extent, also in the statements and actions of the progressive opposition – in the current pre-negotiation phase. Such anomalies, it was felt, would exacerbate the public confusion, fear, bewilderment and anger normally associated with periods of political transition.

Also emphasised during the debates were:

- * The government's determination to control as far as possible the negotiation process;

- * The need for unbanned organisations to be ready to participate and bargain in the

"normal" world of conventional politics;

- * The next phase in transition depends to a very large extent on whether the government and its potential allies in transition can consolidate the process in the centre, contain opposition on the perimeters and begin to share responsibility for managing the process away from domination;

- * The uncertainty of the outcome of attempts to liberalise and democratise South African society;

- * The fact that South Africa was not an "exceptional case" but could learn from

To Page 4

INSIDE

Nation-building a
futile exercise?
—PAGE 8—

Military in peace
mission to Lusaka
—PAGE 10—

Yuppies moet hand
by sit
— BLADSY 13 —

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

IDASA's goals are:

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

IDASA Offices

HEAD OFFICE: Hill House, 1 Penzance Road, Mowbray, Cape Town, 7700 (Tel 021-473127; Fax 477458)

WESTERN CAPE: 6 Greylink House, Orange Street, Gardens, Cape Town, 8001 (Tel 021-222150; Fax 237905)

JOHANNESBURG: Fifth Floor, Norvic House, 93 De Korte Street, Braamfontein, 2107 (Tel 011-4033580; Fax 3395301)

PRETORIA: 203 Hatfield Forum, 1077 Arcadia Street, Hatfield, 0083 (Tel 012-3422335/6; Fax 3421926)

DURBAN: 1206 Sangro House, 417 Smith Street, Durban, 4001 (Tel 031-3048893; Fax 3048891)

PORT ELIZABETH: Fourth Floor, Standard House, 344 Main Street, Port Elizabeth, 6001 (Tel 041-553301-3; Fax 522587)

EAST LONDON: Third Floor, Gladstone House, Gladstone Street, East London, 5201 (Tel 0431-430047; Fax 438682)

Contributors to Democracy in Action may express opinions that are not necessarily supported by Idasa.

EDITORIAL

The message we need to hear

The verdict on Mr Ronald Reagan's presidency of the United States has yet to be written. However, there is one area of his presidency in which he excelled. His so-called "fireside chats" on television and radio were classics in communication.

He made no attempt to impress or even to interpret his policies or lack thereof. What he did was to reassure and convince Americans that he was in charge and that he had their best interests at heart.

President De Klerk is going to have to take a leaf out of the former American president's book. This is in no way to suggest that he should seek to placate the lunatic fringe on the rightwing. They are a small, vocal and potentially dangerous group, but they are much in the minority and will not respond to reason or to reassurances, particularly if they should come from the man whom they believe has betrayed them. Nor should Mr De Klerk attempt to sweeten the pill as it were, in the sense of deluding the broad masses of whites into a belief that life is going to go on exactly as it has before 2 February 1990.

What he does have to do is to reassure his major constituency that it is in their own self-interest to accept a new South Africanism which embraces all South Africans and which affords equal opportunities for all, irrespective of race or ethnicity.

He has to take them into his confidence and he can best do this not by focussing on constitutional niceties, but rather to present them with a vision of what the new South Africa could be like: a South Africa free from discrimination, but also free from fear; a South Africa with justice for all, but the promise also of peace and security.

Mr De Klerk has rightly and commendably been strong on the need to break down the walls which have for so long separated South Africans from each other. He needs also to stress the bridges which have to be built so as to ensure a united South Africa. For more than 40 years the National Party has used every means at its disposal to inculcate within the white community a feeling of superiority over their fellow citizens. They have ruthlessly exploited fears and convinced whites that so long as apartheid is in place, their privileged future was assured. Now Mr De Klerk and his government must use all the resources at their disposal to break down the fears.

This needs to be done not because whites are more important or more special than anyone else. It needs to be done because unless it is, there will be further erosion of support away from Mr De Klerk in the direction of right-wing extremism and that holds serious and tragic implications for all who wish to see the emergence of a new South Africa.

Of course Mr De Klerk is not alone in his responsibility to help clarify the confusion

and deal decisively with fears which have arisen, particularly in the white community. All who are committed to a discrimination-free and just society have a responsibility at every possible level to bring a message not only of challenge, but also of hope.

In this regard the ANC has a particular obligation. Mr Mandela has on numerous occasions sought to give reassurance to white South Africans. However, he has to do more than this. He and the ANC should give serious consideration to three areas.

Firstly, they have to demonstrate that they are not having to be dragged to the negotiation table. Whilst the ANC has to set in place its structures and to handle the demanding task of bringing back the exiles, and a host of other logistical and political problems, it also has a responsibility to contradict the prevailing perception that they do not have the same sense of urgency as demonstrated by Mr De Klerk.

In the second place, whilst sanctions in many respects may be symbolic, and whilst it may be understandable that Mr Mandela and the ANC have to take a tough attitude on this score because of the deep-seated and historic suspicions within the black community, the ANC nevertheless ought to be much clearer in their timetable for the lifting of sanctions and in particular the sanctions on new investment.

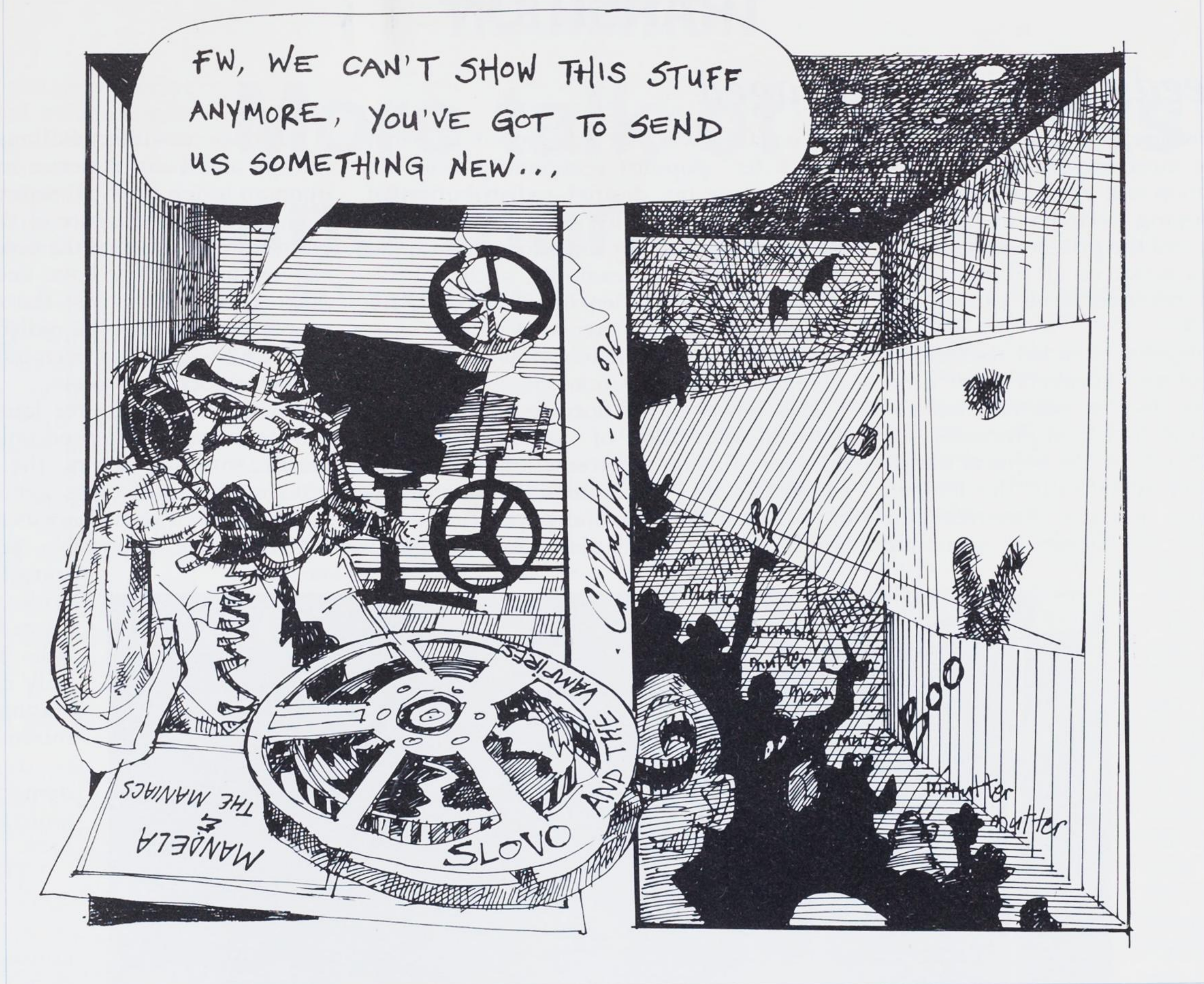
When precisely will they accept that the shift away from apartheid towards an open and free society is deemed to be irreversible? Certainly the South African economy cannot afford to wait until the end of the negotiations or when the new government is in place. It is in the interests of all, including the ANC, that Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk should jointly call for the lifting of sanctions.

The third and most important area of all is clarity on the whole question of violence which brings fear and uncertainty into the hearts of white and black alike.

Whilst the ANC commendably has called for the end to violence which has characterised so much of life in South Africa for so long, it needs to go much further than that. So long as they continue to emphasise the need for the continuation of the armed struggle, it is impossible for them to urge with conviction the end of violence in Natal or anywhere else.

South Africa is so close to writing a new chapter in its history. The stakes are high and enormous demands will be made on Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela and those whom they represent. If the new South Africa is within our grasp, it can also be rudely and violently snatched away. If this is not to happen, a great deal will depend in the coming months on leadership, compassionate and strong, from both sides of the divide.

Alex Boraine
Executive Director



LETTERS

Conference impresses

I HAVE read about Idasa both from your publications (Democracy in Action, Annual Report) and newspapers (on the Dakar conference and the Future of the Military and Defence in South Africa conference).

The latter conference on the military has impressed me as a forerunner to grappling with some of the obstacles and problems of military integration and security for South Africa in transition to a democratic order - something which neither Zimbabwe nor Namibia had the opportunity to exercise.

Isaac Moholo Siko
Orlando West, Soweto

A 'thank you' from Selborne

HAVING just participated in the Selborne College/Ebenezer Majombozi High School exchange programme in East London, may I express my gratitude to Idasa for their outstanding assistance.

Idasa became involved in the "pre-exchange" stages and helped with the planning and later the running of our programme. The exchange was a great success and provided many with a forum to express, on the one hand, their fears and, on

the other hand, their aspirations regarding our country's future.

A combined committee from both schools has been established to plan further non-racial contact. We hope to extend the group, bringing in other East London high schools soon, to give others the chance to become involved in our various projects.

Although understanding has been greatly improved, much work is vital in the form of follow-up encounters. A number of projects are in the pipeline and I hope that they are as successful as our exchange proved to be.

Oliver Power
East London

Wrong name for economics wizard

ON Page 5 of your May issue, you refer to someone called Milton Keynes. Do you not mean John Maynard Keynes? Milton Keynes is a place in England.

Lord Keynes was a great economist who once wrote: "Marxist socialism must always remain a portent to historians of Opinion - how a doctrine so illogical and so dull can have exercised so powerful and enduring an influence over the minds of men, and through them, the events of history."

Stephen Mulholland
Managing Director
Times Media Ltd

JA-NEE

Not our business

AN executive from an industry that gets the lion's share of its business from the black community had the following to say to an Idasa staffer collecting donations to relieve the plight of waterlogged Cape squatters: "First of all, why are they squatting? They should go back to where they come from."

-Can't match that for ignorance, can one?

The people shall be chic!

THE politics of dress cannot be neglected. An Afrikaans woman who attended a showing of the video on the ANC/Afrikaans writers encounter at Vic Falls whispered not a word about the content of the discussion. But she had plenty to say about the standard of dress of the ANC women in the film.

-Small consolation to the women who recently returned from Lusaka: you don't have to woo them with "krimpleen" anymore.

FW ken die kuns

PRESIDENT Mitterand was aanvanklik blykbaar nie oorvriendelik met sy Suid-Afrikaanse eweknie op die se onlangse besoek in Frankryk nie. Totdat hy hoor dat F W de Klerk die enkele vry uurtjie tot sy beskikking in Parys in die Rodin-museum deurgebring het. Daar was hierna geen perke aan die Franse sjarme nie.

-Geen sprake van (kul)tuur nie.

Meet needs of disadvantaged

transitions elsewhere;

* One of the most important forces for successful transition will be the kind of relationship developing between the government, the ANC and the private sector, and

* The need for action on all fronts, and at both local and national levels during the transition period.

Some 300 delegates attended the conference, which featured speakers from Zimbabwe, Namibia, and an international authority on political transition processes. Although the focus was on the political transition process and specifically the lessons from transitions in Latin America and Southern Europe, the themes of economic justice, the media, education, civil liberties and local government were also discussed in workshops during the two-day meeting.

In his closing remarks to the conference, Idasa's executive director, Dr Alex Boraine, said although recent experience of transitions from autocracy to political democracies elsewhere in the world indicated that socio-economic justice did not automatically flow from political changes, it was imperative that, in South Africa, an attempt at least be made to introduce the two simultaneously.

"Otherwise the commitment of the disadvantaged to the transition process will be less strong and the hands of those who say no to negotiations will be strengthened."

ON THE opening night of the conference, it was Port Elizabeth civic leader and recently returned ANC exile Thozamile Botha who first drew attention to the futility of a transition process which did not take account of the expectations of the vast majority of South Africans who have suffered severe material deprivation for decades.

"If the people at grassroots are not convinced that they will benefit, the process will fail, no matter how powerful a government we have in control," he said.

He conceded that the expectations of the disadvantaged had to be balanced with the ability of the state to provide in their needs. This, however, did not mean that the state could be absolved from its duty to provide in the basic housing, education, health and welfare and employment needs of the community.

The keynote speaker at the conference, noted authority Prof Philippe Schmitter of Stanford University in California, had both bad and good news on this subject. His research of recent transitions to political democracy in Latin America showed that so-

cial equality was not guaranteed and that "quick fix" populist economic policies do not produce the desired redistribution of wealth. Rather, they led to destabilisation in the form of runaway inflation and capital flight. In Peru, for example, such policies produced marginal benefits to the poor for one or two years, after which their economic fortunes sunk to below what they were before the transition.

This, however, did not rule out the possibility of alleviation of "poverty and real misery" during the transition period. In countries with institutions that can mediate between the state and populace (he felt South Africa was well placed in this regard)



At the conference, from left: Alex Boraine, Van Zyl Slabbert, Philippe Schmitter, and André du Toit.

there was a real chance to reach agreements in this regard.

The main course of the conference was provided by Prof Schmitter, who said that since the highly unexpected collapse of authoritarian rule in Portugal in 1974, he had become "a sort of junkie hooked on transitions". He was fascinated by what he termed "that intoxicating mixture of personal liberation in the present and collective uncertainty about the future".

South Africa, he said, was one of the least expected of contemporary transitions to democracy and it promised to be one of the most original and unusual examples. He emphasised that he was not an authority on South Africa and could only offer some pointers from his study of transitions in Latin America and Southern Europe. Notable insights included:

* All the transitions from autocracy that have occurred since 1974 are part of the same process or wave and are affected by their forerunners, especially within the adjacent geo-cultural area.

* There has been a great deal of variety in the manner in which the transitions (eg violence, negotiations etc) have occurred, the mode having significant consequences for the eventual outcome.

* Revolution is the least likely process to lead to a stable, viable democracy while pacts between the major contenders to power produce the best results.

* All successful transitions in Southern Europe and Latin America have depended upon an (often implicit) separation between changes in the structure of the political regime from changes in the economic and social regimes. They have been liberal and democratic and, at best the redefinition of property rights and the redistribution of income and wealth has been left to the subsequent democratic process.

* While the reason for launching a transition can be found predominantly in domestic, internal factors, the consolidation process afterwards was generally strongly influenced by external actors and processes.

* The range of possible outcomes of the transition process is wide: from regression to autocratic rule (Haiti was the only case so far), to stagnation short of minimal democracy, to deconsolidated democracy and consolidated democracy.

* The result of a successful transition is not merely the consolidation of democracy per se, but the consolidation of some specific type of democracy, often not the type preferred by any one group, but a compromise option.

* All types of democracy are

"equally democratic" in that they satisfy all the "minimal" criteria.

* It is possible (but never easy or effortless) to transit from autocratic rule to a stable form of democracy without violence, popular mobilisation, a high level of economic development and equal distribution of income, a bourgeoisie, a civic culture and democrats.

DEALING with the causes of transition in South Africa on the last day of the conference, Idasa director of policy and planning Dr Van Zyl Slabbert stressed that it was in our internal dynamics that we had the capacity to "kill or keep alive" the transition process. He said there was nothing inevitable about the transition process in South Africa, but that it had come about, or was precipitated by deliberate political choice.

Prof Andre du Toit of the University of Cape Town said since February this year the country had entered a new and vital phase of the transition process, which was somewhere between pact-forming by leadership groups and the normalisation of politics. A crucial factor was whether the expected "constitutional conference", which may result from the present talks about talks between the NP and ANC, will or will not be a constituent assembly following on a proper founding election.

He contended that the NP would not opt

for founding elections before the constitutional conference as this would relegate the party to the role of a minor player. It would in all probability only go to the electorate once a constitutional framework has been worked out.

DEALING with the regional dimensions of transition, Prof Peter Vale of the University of the Western Cape said inter-state relations in the 1990s and beyond would be characterised by competition for world market share. While Southern Africa was relatively well-equipped to deal with this reality, regional integration had to take place. While the region may not yet be politically prepared for this, it had to start learning how it can be made to work.

Commenting on the lessons from Zimbabwe's independence, the Secretary for the Ministry of Political Affairs, Dr I S Mudenge, said the country still had serious problems but, largely as a result of his government's reconciliation policy, the racial dimension of these problems had disappeared.

He said South Africans should not be unduly distressed by the forces on the left and right who "are unable to bury the past".

Ronel Scheffer is Director of Publications with Idasa

More talk of markets and monopolies

By Sue Valentine

THE debate between capitalism and socialism emerged once again in the workshop on economic justice when Brian Kantor (University of Cape Town Business School) and Jane Barrett (Cosatu living wage commission) offered their assessments of the best way to redress the wealth inequality and

encourage economic growth.

Kantor made the point that there was nothing intrinsically unfair in the system of free enterprise. Free exchange was a fair process but it did not promise equal results. He maintained that if the process was efficient, people at the bottom would improve their incomes.

Barrett insisted, however, that the market was incapable

of incorporating social and longer term economic benefits into its calculations. By its very nature, the market continuously sought out the most profitable avenues and these did not coincide with the income levels of the vast majority of South Africans.

She said the state would have to provide a social plan or framework within which the economy would operate.

"We are not suggesting a highly centralised and bureaucratic role for the state, but a strong interventionist role nevertheless," Barrett said.

Cosatu was not contemplating "commandist" state intervention. It would be most effective when intervention was based on a process of consultation with mass organisations at national, regional and local levels.

Kantor argued that expropriation was highly damaging to the interests of the poor because it discouraged additional saving and investment.

"An unfair process is one that keeps out competition, that prevents suppliers from freely sup-

To Page 6



Cecil Sols, general secretary of the Association of Democratic Journalists.

The right to know: are we serious?

ONE OF the issues raised during the media workshop at the conference – the white bias of the commercial press – was graphically illustrated in Port Elizabeth's English morning newspaper of that day.

The evening before a small slice of history was made at the Feather Market Hall, a mere 100 metres from the newspaper's offices. The Port Elizabeth Youth Congress had invited the National Party youth branch – and the AWB – to appear on its platform. The NP accepted the invitation and their representative ended up "amandla-ing" the night away with his black counterparts.

Not a line of this important event was reflected in the newspaper the next day.

This underscored the point made by one of the workshop participants, Cecil Sols of the Association of Democratic Journalists, who said that time had come for the commercial press to reflect accurately the debates that are taking place in our society.

"Because control of the press is in

white hands, it only reflects white fears at present. It must start changing," he said.

Former Rand Daily Mail editor Allister Sparks said the concentration of ownership in the English press, including most of the black press, was an invitation to the "disaster" of nationalisation. The current structure of the press was incompatible with society and would be unacceptable to a future majority government. The electronic media would almost definitely be nationalised, if only to off-set the effects of the monopoly in the print media.

Mr Sparks said the newspaper groups should be encouraged to diversify by putting some of their newspapers in the hands of blacks, in the same way Afrikaners were given access to the mining industry in the past.

"IF WE are serious about defending the freedom of the press some sort of action should be taken by the people who care about the press, that is the people who own it at the moment."

In the workshop on local government, two themes emerged from the discussions. One was anger towards local black councils who were seen as unaccountable, non-democratic and accused of poor allocation of resources.

The other was what strategy to pursue towards single municipalities and integrated cities.

Opinion was divided as to whether the latter process should begin now or whether national policy should be awaited.

Responding to the frustration of certain delegates about the lack of practical suggestions to arrive at non-racial local government, Idasa executive director Dr Alex Boraine said significant developments like the Port Elizabeth City Council's decision to opt for a single municipality could not be allowed to "simply disappear".

All the local interests groups should come together and take the process further, he said.

"Action must be part of the transition period."

Markets & monopolies

plying their goods or services. As a result prices, including wages, will be higher or the quality of the goods or services supplied will be inferior," he said.

There was a simple way to judge whether an act of economic policy was an exercise of political power that redistributed income and opportunity in favour of a small minority of producers at the expense of the majority. If it meant higher prices, wages, taxes or lower standards of service or quality – it would represent a gain for a few producers at the expense of many consumers.

"Fairness in practice would mean simply putting the interest of the great majority of consumers first," Kantor added.

On the question of the role of the unions, Barrett said Cosatu affiliates were already analysing their industries. They were looking for answers to questions such as what skills training existed and how it could be developed on a massive scale; what possibilities there were for the industry to reduce its reliance on imported machinery; how productivity could be enhanced by the reorganisation of the workplace and what products could the industry produce cheaply for mass consumption.

Replying to a question from the audience on what long-term planning was being done regarding South Africa's economic future in the global context, Barrett said international competitiveness was crucial.

"We need to acknowledge that our capacity to compete with European economies is limited, but we need to develop new products that can be sold on the international market," she said. Greater research and development were vital to identify commodities that could be produced and sold cheaply to Southern African markets.

Sue Valentine in Idasa's publications division

Pretoria talks transition too

TRANSITION and the possible scenarios for South Africa were also discussed in Pretoria recently at an evening meeting arranged by Idasa which was attended by more than 350 people, including senior civil servants.

The change South Africa will undergo in the next few years will not be through the step by step implementation of a specific programme of democratisation.

Addressing the meeting, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Wits Centre for Policy Studies researcher, Mark Swilling said the chances were far greater that it would happen in a haphazard, unpredictable way, continuously posing a number of challenges to all parties involved.

In countries such as South Africa one should rather talk of a process of transition, from self-imposed liberalisation at one end, to democratisation at the other. This transition will be a complex and crisis-ridden affair, and the rules determined not by the consent of the majority, but "the cut and thrust of the conflict between ruler and ruled".

CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

UN code 'ignored' in SA

By Bea Roberts

JUNE 1 was International Children's Day. To celebrate this, Idasa, in conjunction with the Border Early Learning Centre, held a public meeting in East London on the rights of children.

Issues raised by the four speakers – Rayna Taback from the Wits School of Social Work, Shirley Mabusela from Johannesburg Child Welfare, Jinny Rickards from Grassroots Educare Trust in Cape Town and Sue Power from the Black Sash in East London – included future social welfare policy, education needs and child rights in the Border/Ciskei area.

In 1989, the United Nations adopted the "International Declaration of the Rights of

Migrant labour has forced black men to leave their homes to earn a living, while many black mothers working as domestic servants see their children only once or twice a year.

"Handicapped children have a right to special treatment and education".

Most schools for physically and mentally disabled people are racially exclusive.

"Children have a right to free education and training which will help them earn a living when adult".

The shocking disparities in the South African education system are well known and have been widely discussed. One aspect that is often overlooked, however, is the early education – or educare. Jinny Rickards said educare integrates the universal need of children for health, education and care. It allows children to learn through active,



Delegates at the Child Rights Project.

the Child" as part of the Human Rights Campaign, but South Africa has not yet endorsed it. The declaration enshrines the following rights:

"Children must be protected regardless of race or creed".

In South Africa, race is the primary factor in the allocation of welfare resources and social service delivery. Jinny Rickards pointed out that in 1989, white children received R2 per day for early childhood educare, "coloured" children received R1,25 and black children received nothing. Only since April this year have black children been eligible for 60c a day.

The tri-cameral government system means that even non-racial organisations have to implement the policies of several departments, resulting in high administrative costs and fragmented services.

"Children have the right to a name, enough to eat and a decent place to live".

The failure to register children's births seriously affects the state's ability to plan for the needs of its children. In some rural areas, only about 15 percent of children are registered largely because of transport costs, or the fear of being arrested for living illegally in an area, or other political reasons.

Research shows that one third of all black children are underfed, yet South Africa produces enough food to ensure a daily energy intake of well over 6 000 calories a person.

"Children should grow up with love and security".

The apartheid system has been instrumental in the disintegration of family life.

stimulating and developmentally appropriate play.

Society can benefit immensely from healthy children who can think for themselves, listen, share and take turns, and are secure and independent.

"Children should be protected from neglect, abuse and exploitation, and be the first to receive relief from distress".

There is a need to protect children from the culture of violence. Thousands of children experience violence around them all the time and may be led to believe it is the only way to achieve one's goals.

An integrated child and family national policy was essential, Rayna Taback said.

The policy should embody non-racialism, a democratic model of service delivery and allocation of resources to children and families to improve their standards of living. Child and family health services should be accessible to low-income families, education should be offered at all levels as a housing and a fair rental formula would ensure a safe home environment for all.

"Children should be brought up to understand that their energy and talents should be devoted to the service of their brothers and sisters".

There are 14,6 million children in South Africa who comprise 40,6 percent of the population. Ensuring and protecting their rights is a necessity, but as Shirley Mabusela pointed out, human beings are the least protected of South Africa's resources.

Bea Roberts is Idasa's regional co-ordinator in East London.

Peace process needs help

By Shauna Westcott

PROSPECTS for peace in Natal – and the rest of the country – are good only if all concerned people actively involve themselves in the process.

This was the challenge issued by mediation consultants Phil Glazer and John Radford at a symposium on "Violence in Natal: Counting the Cost, Assessing the Future", organised by Idasa's Natal office in June.

Such involvement required no special expertise, they said. Rather it required the willingness to seize opportunities to challenge violent responses and pose alternatives.

This could and should happen within all kinds of encounters, occasions and structures. "We all have entry points," they said.

Glazer and Radford were among a group of academics and experts commissioned by Idasa to produce research to inform discussion and attempts at resolving the conflict in Natal.

This included analysis of the economic and social implications of the violence (disaster at both regional and national level), its corrosive impact on popular perceptions of the law as a means to ensure peace and justice, and the role of the monopoly press in misrepresenting civil war as a "tribal exchange".

Papers on these topics were presented at the symposium, which was attended by over 300 people. According to Idasa's Natal director, Paul Graham, all parties were represented, including top level business people, the ANC and Inkatha.

Since Glazer and Radford's presentation is not included in the bound set of conference papers available from the Natal office, the main drift of their argument is presented here.

They began by introducing themselves as people without expertise who simply became involved in a mediation initiative in Pietermaritzburg in 1987.

It rapidly became clear to them that interests were involved beyond those of the

two local groups (Inkatha and the UDF, although not specifically mentioned by Radford and Glazer) party to the conflict. This was underlined when members of one group were arrested.

So what began as a local initiative escalated into a national event. The result was increasing complexity and a change of agenda, with the political positions and images of the parties involved displacing events on the ground.

National items scuttled much of progress achieved on the local level, and parties increasingly sought to use the national press and subsequently the international media to influence public opinion.

Conflict emerged within the ranks of the parties involved in the mediation attempt, as local and national interests clashed and violence escalated on the ground.

As the focus of discussion shifted from "the violence today" to "who's going to rule tomorrow", the mediators withdrew, feeling that they had insufficient skills.

The following principles emerged from a trip abroad by the two consultants.

- * Once national representatives are involved in a mediation attempt, the whole arena becomes much more complex;

- * Local interests are not necessarily the same as national interests;

- * The high-profile image of national representatives increases the possibility that peace initiatives will be a convenient facade while nothing practical is done on the ground to retard the conflict;

- * Initiatives which don't involve all levels of parties in the conflict will run aground;

- * When ownership of the peace process is removed from the local level, local people can't reconcile their day to day experience with calls for peace when national leaders finally decide to stop posturing and enter meaningful dialogue;

- * The longer people are exposed to violence, the more it becomes an end in itself, rather than a means to an end;

- * As people gain rewards or power

through the use of violence, so their primary identity shifts from the political grouping to their actual power base in the violence;

- * The closer contending groups get to meaningful dialogue, the more they tend to splinter and re-organise around issues of personal power; mediation become impossible unless there is extensive "pre-facilitation" at all levels of the parties.

It is at the level of facilitation, or of "creating a climate", that ordinary people without mediation skills can play a crucial role, Glazer and Radford argue.

Above all it is an educative role, a role that poses alternatives, that depicts violent measures as ultimately counter-productive. "One of the reasons for the lack of success in peace initiatives in Natal is that too many people are trying to mediate instead of facilitate," they said.

While mediation is usually a high-profile exercise, involving a fair degree of definition, structure and expertise, facilitation is low-key and low-profile, not bound by structure, definition or formality.

Glazer and Radford said various groupings in Natal were already engaged in behind-the-scene facilitation: for example, labour mediators and industrial relations consultants, the Legal Resources Centre and the Vulika Trust.

Others should also play their part, particularly the business community and the church. "The church is the last group with influence at all levels and containing within itself members from all parties," they said.

"Why are you here?" Glazer asked delegates to the symposium. "To listen to experts? Or to be involved in de-escalating the conflict?" In a passionate plea for commitment, he urged all to seek opportunities for intervention, to join groups already working without fanfare to make peace.

"The danger is ego," he said. "The danger lies in seeking the limelight."

Shauna Westcott works in Idasa's publications division

English speakers also resistant to change

By Carina le Grange

THE negative response by white English-speaking South Africans to reform initiatives in South Africa must not be ignored or underplayed, prominent church leader Dr Beyers Naudé said recently.

Dr Naudé, an Idasa trustee, was speaking to members of the Afrikaanse Demokrate at an informal "brunch" in Johannesburg.

Sitting on a kitchen chair in the sun, casually dressed and sporting a borrowed pink straw hat trimmed with small flowers, Dr Naudé spoke informally.

He said the impression must not be created that it was only Afrikaners who were opposing and fearing new initiatives towards a just South Africa.

Dr Naudé said it was important that the Afrikaans community discussed among themselves where they stood in terms of politics, economics, the church and their culture.

The ANC's non-racial policy was still sometimes questioned despite the movement's attempts to reach Afrikaners.

He said Afrikaners quickly forgot that they had embraced nationalisation and communism at the time they themselves were oppressed economically.

In all his discussions with black leaders and others, he learnt that they knew the history of the Afrikaner well and they drew parallels – all of which provided a basis for talks.

With regard to Afrikaans churches, he said he understood their fears, but added they could reach a point where they could lose all integrity.

"The NP is far ahead of the church, the NGK has become an 'agterryer' and has lost its initiative to lead. It would be better to be a smaller church with integrity rather than a large church without integrity."

Carina le Grange is a senior journalist at *The Star*.

Nation-building an example of outdated thinking?

Nation-building is widely held as one of the key "tasks" that await us in post-apartheid South Africa. Stellenbosch University philosopher Professor Johan Degenaar questions its validity and suggests that a more important endeavour is the creation of a democratic culture.



Prof Johan Degenaar

ERIC MILLER

AT THIS decisive stage in the history of South Africa we are told that we have entered the period of nation-building. One should not be surprised that a variety of prophets have already come to the fore with the purpose of mobilising the peoples of South Africa to join forces on behalf of the myth of the nation.

The crucial question that we have to ask in this context, however, is not how to build a nation, but whether the building of a nation is the type of endeavour we should be engaged in.

This does not mean that we should not take the vogue of nation-talk seriously. On the contrary, this discourse demands our closest attention. One should also keep in mind that our political discussions usually conceal hidden presuppositions regarding the nature of nation and nation-building.

Assumptions about what constitutes a nation are usually implicit in the points of view formulated by the participants.

This is the case whether we are talking about the preconditions of a post-apartheid society, or the inevitability of compromise

in the context of negotiation, or accommodation of individual and group rights in a new constitution for South Africa, or the polarisation of politics perpetuated by white and black extremists, or the clash between black perceptions of what counts as a liberated South Africa.

In the process of formulating some views on nation-building, I shall make use of a variety of controversial concepts such as culture, volk, people, nation, nationality, nationhood, state, etc without discussing their problematic nature.

My first advice to people who are keen on participating in the debate on nation-building is to become fully conscious of the controversial nature of the crucial terms they are using.

For the purpose of this article, I propose the following preliminary meanings: culture means the form of life of an (ethnic) community; volk (sometimes also people) is a cultural term which refers to the (ethnic) community; and nation is a political term which signifies the political consciousness of the (ethnic) community and the identifi-

cation of (ethnic) community with state power.

In this context, nationalism can be defined as the ideology of the congruence of volk and nation, ethnic community and state power, culture and the state. If we intend keeping the historical dimension of political terms in mind, we should realise that the term nation carries the burden of the meaning of the congruence of volk and state – the identity of homogeneous culture and political power.

In the South African political context, a variety of views on nation-building can be distinguished. I propose the following views as basis for discussion.

Nationalism: According to ethnic nationalism, a volk – or a people with a homogeneous culture – is entitled to self-determination, that is, identification of volk with state-power. Afrikaner nationalism is an example of this way of thinking about what makes a nation. It inevitably leads to apartheid and the exclusion of other cultures as political challengers.

This idiom also excludes the mechanical concept of nation-building in favour of the organic concept of the birth of a nation. The metaphor of the birth of a nation is the highest form of exclusivism and the hallmark of primordialism. It assumes that man is by nature a national animal.

Nationalist exclusivism applies equally to white and black nationalism. Clarity is needed on this issue in the formulation of nationalist ideals of the National Party and Conservative Party, as well as those of the ANC, the PAC and Inkatha.

South Africanism: This view of nation-building overcomes the boundaries of ethnicity, but only in a limited way since it includes a racist element. The statement of Jan Smuts can be taken as an example of this form of exclusivism: "We are going to create a nation – a nation which will be of a composite character, including Dutch, German, English and Jew, and whatever **white** nationality seeks refuge in this land – all can combine. All will be welcome."

NEW FROM IDASA AND TAURUS PUBLISHERS

Crossing Borders

Writers meet the ANC (R16,95)

edited by Ampie Coetzee & James Polley

An edited record of the historic Victoria Falls Writers' Conference focusing on the role of writers in national liberation; the state of Afrikaans writing; a future South African literature; women in South African writing.

TWO NEW OCCASIONAL PAPERS FROM IDASA

29. Eastern Europe and South African Socialism: Engaging Joe Slovo by Prof Heribert Adam (R2,50)

30. The Rural Land Question: A summary of papers from an Idasa workshop by Dr Nic Vink and Prof Tommy Fenyes (R2,50)

These publications, as well as other books and papers published by Idasa, are available from all Idasa regional offices and Idasa head office at 1 Penzance Road, Mowbray 7700. Tel: (021) 47-3127.

The term South Africanism is also used to refer to the perpetuation of a dominant white Western society combined with the co-optation of blacks willing to work within the system. Of late it has required a third meaning which includes all inhabitants assumed to integrate in a melting pot context.

The value of this shift in meaning is its contribution in signifying a concept of nation which at least creates the impression that it transcends the limitations of a nationalist fixation on the volk and the notion of a homogeneous ethnic culture.

Liberalism: This view assumes the liberation of the individual from encapsulation within the confines of the volk. Man is viewed not primarily as a national animal but as a rational animal. Historically it is linked with the process of modernisation and in its economic manifestation of capitalism. It furthermore assumes that economic integration of itself will facilitate nation-building by demolishing racial stereotypes and ethnic loyalties. As in the view of a broad South Africanism, liberal concepts of the nation presumes that it overcomes the limitation of the organic metaphor of the birth of a nation by introducing a mechanical metaphor of building a nation through economic force.

Culturalism: This view is constructed with the primary purpose of building a nation. Its main concern is the mobilisation of blacks on a non-violent basis of cultural pride in order to enable them, through education into cultural awareness, to compete with the dominant culture on an equal basis. The idea is to create black structures which will prepare blacks to play the crucial role in nation-building for, since the blacks are the indigenous people and constitute the majority of the population, "they should form the foundation of the nation".

According to this view, the concept of nation is closely linked to (black) culture and to the structures of that culture which form the foundation of the one nation which will eventually include "whites, coloureds and Indians". It is typical of this view that the nationalist idea of the congruence of culture and state power plays a prominent role.

Bi-communalism: This view of nation-building also represents a sensitivity towards cultural differences which explains its realistic assessment of white and black nationalism. Originally constructed as bi-nationalism, it has developed into a bi-communalism which underplays the nationalist component by paying attention to material interests. According to bi-communalism, it is impossible to build one nation in the long term without accepting the existence of two "nations" in the short term. Instead of speaking of two nations, reference is made to two communities: a white-oriented (capitalist) community and a black majority (socialist) community. It is pointed out that the first community will be intent on building a multi-ethnic nation while the ideal of the second community is a non-ethnic nation.

Socialism: According to socialism, the notion of nation-building should be approached from a different angle. Rather than utilising racial or ethnic categories, the frame of reference for nation-building should be the class struggle. Since the capitalist class has divided the nation, only the working class is capable of building a nation which includes all citizens since only the working class' interests co-incide with the good of the whole. Neville Alexander



'Creating a democratic culture lacks the romanticism of the notion of nation-building. It demands eternal vigilance, holding off gods and tyrants.'

adds to this point the important role of language as a primary characteristic of culture in creating a common culture which would facilitate a common nationhood.

Social democracy: This view shares with socialism the concern for social justice, but instead of emphasising class categories and state power, it concentrates on the mobilisation of all individuals and groups to take responsibility for social justice and the conscientisation of citizens with regard to the suffering of fellow citizens. Formulated in terms of nation-building, it is assumed that a common nationhood is created through a common concern for social and economic justice.

Authoritarianism: According to this view, the moralisation inherent in social democracy is a form of romanticism which lacks a realistic assessment of the reality of power. The building of a nation presupposes centralisation of power. The power of the state is mobilised to build a nation by imposing a common culture, by maintaining order (especially in moving away from a multi-cultural situation), by enforcing non-racial laws and by the provision of economic growth. Authoritarianism is linked to Jacobinism according to which the power of the state should be used to homogenise culture. This boils down to the imposition of the majority culture.

Patriotism: This view emphasises the di-

visive nature of all forms of ethnic nationalism and concentrates on the creation of a common allegiance to a country. Nationhood is forged by a constitution jointly decided on by representatives of all citizens and by sharing an effective common economy and common cultural symbols. It is assumed that ethnic loyalties will be overcome by an over-arching national loyalty fostered by participation in these common symbols.

Pluralist democracy: Pluralism assumes that politics is an interplay of pressures. It cultivates a respect for this characteristic of politics which entails a plurality of associations based on voluntary membership. It operates with the image of a "whole" which fosters the integrity of its parts, cultivating a diversity – encouraging people "to speak with many voices".

This pluralisation, however, undermines the concept of a common nationhood in favour of the notion of a society which allows for a plurality of associations. This implies shared values and forms of belonging which should not be subordinated to the myth of a common nationhood which informs all views of nation-building.

Typical of the approach of a pluralist democracy is that it counters both the nationalist idea of the necessity to build a nation based on the congruence of culture and political power and the notion that the

Nation-building

highest political loyalty of the citizen is owed to the nation.

By positing that the highest political loyalty is due to justice, pluralist democracy overcomes the limitation historically attached to nation-talk and contributes to the introduction of a new idiom. If one assumes that conceptual change is a form of political innovation, one realises how important it is to take a new political idiom seriously.

If asked to answer the question of how to build a nation in the South African context, I could try and join the discussion by summarising the most positive aspects of the above viewpoints of nation-building. However, at this stage at least, my task as a philosopher is to invite all participants not only to look at the proposals mentioned above, but to question the validity of the paradigm at the basis of this discourse.

My contacts in Europe with political scientists and political observers of the European scene left the impression that the dominant trend is to view the nationalist paradigm as a relic of the past.

They view with trepidation, examples of nationalism in East European countries liberated from communist rule. These people are so set on reviving the myth of the nation that the positive experiences of liberation are immediately polluted by the idea of nationality which inevitably embraces the mentality of exclusivism.

Typical of this mentality is the Bulgarian slogan: "Freedom for the Bulgarians. Turks go home." The myth of nationhood is used to legitimise the contradictory fact that the reality of liberation becomes the basis of discrimination and oppression. In all such cases, freedom is interpreted nationalistically, which implies rejection of those who do not fit into the nation.

WHAT is needed in South Africa is not a concern for the building of a nation. Instead we need to create a democratic society and a commitment to tackle the most pressing problems related to political, social and economic injustices.

At this stage, my advice to fellow South Africans would be: Instead of wasting energy in trying to build a nation, rather accept the shared responsibility for creating a democratic culture.

This is a long and difficult road. It lacks the romanticism of the notion of nation-building. It demands eternal vigilance, holding off gods and tyrants whether in the form of totalitarianism (which is easily detectable), or in the guise of the myth of the nation (the voice of the people equated with the voice of God) with emotional appeals for a common nationhood.

Van Zyl Slabbert has referred to the fact that social and economic problems in South Africa have, with increasing intensity, "outstripped the capacity of the existing political framework to deal with them".

I would like to go one step further and suggest that our problems have also outstripped the capacity of the existing intellectual framework. What I propose is that we seriously ask ourselves whether the discourse of nation-building is not an example of an outdated intellectual apparatus contributing to the paradigmatic crisis in which we are involved.

MILITARY

PEACE MISSION to Lusaka

For the first time in the 30-year conflict, arch adversaries – the ANC's armed wing and members of the defence force – came together in a bid to start talking.

SHAUNA WESTCOTT was there



ONE of the most terrible and tragic crimes of apartheid has been that it has forced the finest and most idealistic of South Africans to leave home and learn how to kill.

This observation, made in another context by Albie Sachs, acquired a haunting poignancy during the conference on "The Future of Security and Defence in South Africa", which was hosted in Lusaka by Idasa and the ANC at the end of May.

For it quickly became clear that there is a strong anti-militarist tendency in Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and that many of its commanders and cadres are idealists with no love of soldiering.

As MK chief of staff Chris Hani puts it, they are involved in armed struggle "out of necessity, not out of choice".

This was one of the sub-texts of the conference, which brought together an ANC/MK delegation of about 60 with a diverse "home delegation" including Citizen Force officers, "homeland" colonels, military strategists and academics, retired senior SADF officers, conscripts, ECC activists and church leaders.

The purpose of the conference, as expressed by Idasa Western Cape regional director Nic Borain, was threefold.

Firstly, it was a "peace mission". The hope was that after four days together, delegates would be able to "acknowledge their common humanity, which is the first

step to real peace".

Secondly, it was to be a forum for "exploring ways to de-escalate the conflict and to prevent tragedies like the one that accompanied Swapo's return home".

Finally, the aim was "to start the discussion about the shape and role of a future defence force".

There is no doubt that the conference went a long way to achieving those goals, and this is reflected in the unanimous statement issued at its conclusion, which spelled out consensus on a number of important issues.

Among these were that:

- * A mutually binding "cessation of hostilities" between contending military forces should be negotiated;

- * MK should return to South Africa as soon as negotiations allow and should be permitted to use SADF facilities in this process;

- * The SADF, MK, the "homeland" armies and other military forces should be integrated into a new, smaller, non-racial and non-partisan professional force fully accountable to parliament;

- * Conscription should be phased out;

- * Nuremberg-type trials were "inconsistent with the spirit of negotiations" and were not on the agenda, but this should not be construed as exoneration for future atrocities.

Although the SADF declined an invitation to send a formal delegation to the con-

ON



ABOVE: Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana (Venda defence force chief), Major-General Wally Black (former director-general of operations, SADF HQ), Chris Hani (head of Umkhonto we Sizwe) and Thabo Mbeki (ANC executive). **LEFT:** Hein Grosskopf (MK), Paul Brink (former officer commanding Cape Town Highlanders), Colonel Gideon Meiring (SADF intelligence officer).

RASHID LOMBARD

ference, both serving and retired officers made it clear that the SADF would receive a full report on proceedings.

They also made it clear that the dismissive attitude towards the conference of Defence Minister Magnus Malan was not shared by the top echelons of the SADF.

Former Permanent Force Commandant Jakkie Cilliers, responding to a question about SADF support for President F W de Klerk, said this:

"From discussions with the highest levels I am convinced they realise very fully that there is no alternative for South Africa but to move fully and rapidly to a political solution."

Indeed, Cilliers and others closely associated with the military – including Major-General Wally Black, Commodore Andrew McMurray, Commodore Vic Holderness, officers of the Cape Town Highlanders – were adamant that as early as 1976 the SADF were pleading with the government to find a political solution.

Cilliers expressed the view that obstacles to the negotiation process were more likely to come from the police than the SADF, although he admitted that support for De Klerk in the rank and file of the SADF was "another issue".

Both he and Black ("the general" to all delegates) distanced the SADF from the "special forces" under the command of the chief of the defence force.

THE man white South Africans have been encouraged to hate, 49-year-old MK chief of staff Chris Hani, is as skilled in the art of human relations as he is in guerilla warfare.

During the five days of the conference he was humorous and indefatigable in a quest for hearts and minds that, judging from the sidelines, seemed to have considerable success.

Almost equal to their chief in diplomacy were the about 50 delegates from MK, who showed great restraint in the face of comments from the hawks of the home delegation who were often unconscious of the racist and sexist attitude revealed by their remarks.

Hani himself was deploying jokes on the first evening, challenging Citizen Force officers to early morning jogs around Lusaka, gleefully reporting the opinion of Major-General Wally Black (former director general of operations at defence headquarters in Pretoria) that Hani would rank no higher than lieutenant in his army.

One of the most delicate moments of the conference, for the anti-militarists in any event, was when former Permanent Force Commandant Jakkie Cilliers presented Hani with a glossy Armscor pamphlet.

MK chief a reluctant soldier

"I'm sorry I can't offer you a directorship," Cilliers said, entering into the spirit of detente, while Hani devoted himself to making a great ado of pointing out particularly wondrous weaponry to those sitting

near him.

Earlier, in the first paper delivered to the conference, Hani came across in the image of the scholar-soldier, giving an historical overview of armed struggle before turning to the present situation.

"Calls for our unilateral abandonment of the armed struggle, in the face of persistent police and army brutality; in the face of a battery of laws preventing normal and free political activity while giving sweeping powers to the SA security establishment, are as unfair as they are unrealistic," he said.

Other "ominous signs" disturbing to the ANC were "benign tolerance towards the activity of the right wing and vigilante groups, apparent hesitation to release political prisoners, and deployment of the notorious mercenary Battalion 32 in the explosive situation in Natal".

As long as this kind of violence continued, Hani said, MK would continue with the armed struggle. MK had "a moral duty

To Page 12

Peace mission

"Don't paint us all by them," the general said. "We're proud of our record. We're ashamed of what those people do."

In fact, the anguish behind this remark erupted on the last full day of the conference when former officer commanding Cape Town Highlanders Tony Marriner rose to speak for "the delegates of the SADF".

"We don't have to be convinced of the justice of the ANC cause," he said. "We would not be here if we didn't believe we must stretch out our hands to the organisation which inevitably will be part of the future government."

"By the same token, we haven't come here to be vilified, attacked and identified with terrorists and atrocities. We are soldiers. We have followed the soldier's code."

Marriner went on to warn the MK delegation: "We are mild compared with what you are going to face in future negotiations," and to urge that MK took advantage of the advice he and his colleagues could offer on how these might be handled.

On the other hand, ANC/MK delegates and others chose to exert considerable self-restraint and diplomacy in the face of what ANC leader Thabo Mbeki delicately termed "baggage from the past". Delivering the closing address, Mbeki said delegates had "an obligation to ourselves and to our people to sustain the process of moving forward together".

For this process to take place, it was necessary to assume good faith in those who had been adversaries.

IT IS impossible to sum up in one article a four-day conference characterised by high-level inputs (an awesome range of papers), fierce debate, and the conceptual gulf between two hugely different political cultures.

A book, due out as soon as possible, and seminars in the various urban centres of the country will attempt that task.

However, it is a measure of the success of the conference that in its closing minutes Mbeki could say, with the solemn support of all: "We will act together as comrades because we are united in one common resolve to end the terrible situation at home as quickly as possible so that our country can live in peace."

Shauna Westcott works in the publications division of Idasa.

MILITARY

From Page 11

Reluctant soldier

to defend our people".

He appealed to the government to realise that the ANC had many disciplined members who could play an important role on the ground, including the control of instances of intimidation and violence.

It was folly, therefore, for the government to drag its feet on the question of the return of exiles and release of political prisoners.

In an attempt to bridge the cultural gap between the technocrats and those who use the language of political struggle, Hani offered this description of MK:

"At the beginning we were only a few individuals, making home-made bombs. We had no facilities, no bases. But we've scored some successes, we've won a sophistication. We've hit Sasol, Koeberg, Voortrekkerhoogte, police stations.

"We were inspirers and organisers, we generated a spirit of defiance, and the youth responded. The state had to take

note of us.

"We have been able to scratch at the regime in our own way. We were like a flea – hence the cross-border attacks against us. We became an example of the spirit of no surrender.

"We've taken a beating. Many of us have died. We have won no territory. But in the townships people are singing the songs of MK," he said.

Off the public platform, Hani reveals himself as a reluctant soldier, involved in armed struggle "out of necessity, not out of choice".

According to a number of (banned) publications, he is a man who has acquired a reputation over two decades as an officer who leads by example. His exploits in outwitting numerous attempts on his life by SA government agents in Botswana and Lesotho are legendary.

He is obviously loved and respected by those under his command, some of whom expressed outrage in private conversation at the way Hani has been de-

monised in the South African press.

Asked to comment about this, Hani himself says this: "I am not a torturer. I passionately believe in social justice and I extend this even to those who have committed crimes against the ANC.

"I have campaigned for a code of conduct for captured prisoners. It's out of character for me to use torture against those already in my hands. I fight them, sure. That's a different thing.

"I was completely bewildered to be accused in the press of torture. I don't believe in capital punishment – for anyone.

"I don't even believe in corporal punishment. I abhor any form of treatment that dehumanises people. I believe in creative, rehabilitative punishment that has the potential to transform a person.

"In our ranks, the label is 'he's too liberal, he's too soft'," he says, and he laughs.

Such are military tales . . .

IN THE warm Zambian night, three men sat talking, laughing, drinking beer – Paul, Elliot and Martin.

Martin and Elliot could have met as boys in Natal. One grew up in Pinetown. The other stayed in Clermont after school. They could have shot each other dead in Angola in 1980/1981. Martin was a parabat. Elliot was stationed at an MK camp and operating in support of Fapla forces in the area.

A little later and Paul, a former lieutenant in military intelligence, could have debriefed Martin or handed Elliot over to interrogators.

He tells a story of how he was in a helicopter with a prisoner. The man was blindfolded and his arms pinioned behind his back, elbow to elbow.

Paul's duty was to hand the prisoner over to interrogators at the end of the chopper ride. He knew the prisoner was probably going to die.

There were others in the helicopter. He put his hand on the bound man's thigh, touched him and hoped the touch told the man something of humanity.

Such are military tales.

Paul says he is not damaged. Martin says he left the church while he was a soldier.



Former parabat Martin Birdwhistle and MK political commissar Elliot Mduni.

He tells of crossing the Angolan border during the 1980/81 invasion – Operation Protea – the SADF called it. Some 150 vehicles and thousands of troops paused while the army padre told them: "This is a just war. Over there is the enemy. God is with you."

Martin shakes his head. "You can't be part of the church in the army," he says.

Elliot takes a different view. But he joined a different army.

"Up to this moment I still draw strength from some religious teachings. They hold a lot," he says. "The first time I read

about the need of sharing was not in Marxist books, it was in the Bible."

They agree that "the basis of the Bible is social justice", that "it's a socialist book".

They pursue parallel paths – Elliot seconded from MK to trade union work, particularly with the Food and Allied Workers' Union, Martin to a personnel job in the Natal sugar industry with the same union.

Such were the encounters during evenings off from the formal business of the conference. Such is the tragedy and the promise of our country.

Broederbond once more the power behind the throne

By David Shandler

ONE OF the first steps that President F W de Klerk took on assuming his position as head of state was to drastically cut the powers of the National Security Management System (NSMS) which, through a hidden coup, had become the essential power behind the P W Botha throne.

Botha had ridden to authority on the back of the country's military machine. Policy during his presidency closely reflected the thinking of securocrats. The influence of the Broederbond – the white male bastion of power which had steered the rise of the National Party through the decades of the thirties to the 1970s – waned dramatically during the Botha years.

But during recent times, the Bond has increasingly come to see the need for a radical departure from the policy of apartheid as the means to protect white interests. The Afrikaner intelligentsia and most of the government realised during the final stages of the Botha realm that it was important to move fast to rectify the crisis and immobility into which the country had sunk. The accession of De Klerk marked the key moment in this process. It allowed a return to civilian government and in particular, the removal of the security system as the centre of all government thinking. In its place the Cabinet, the NP caucus and the Broederbond regained the authority of past years.

What are the signs of the return to centrality of the Bond?

Current policy closely reflects the thinking that has been emerging in the Broederbond since 1986. In essence there was an acknowledgement by this body that a maintenance of racial power would ultimately be detrimental to the survival of the Afrikaner. The only way in which Afrikaners could retain their place in the



VILJOEN: Broederbond an important base



DE KLERK: New way of promoting Afrikaner interests

sun would be through doing away with racial categories, as well as the exclusive advancement of white interests.

Sources say that De Klerk sees the Bond as an important base. Similarly for his cabinet colleague Gerrit Viljoen, perhaps the key government intellectual. He is a former chairman of the secret organisation. Behind the scenes, Bond chairman Pieter de Lange is said to play an important role in developments.

As early as 1987, De Lange said that the Broederbond was "still committed to promoting Afrikaner interests, (but) the way in which it tries to do that now is through the promotion of everybody's interests".

Key Bond documents have in recent years acknowledged the ideological failure of apartheid. A 1986 working document stated that "it must be taken into consideration that group interests might reach across the colour line". It went on further to state that "the abolition of discrimination must thus not be regarded as concessions made under pressure, but as a condition of survival".

A further very interesting comment from the Broederbond is contained in the 1986 document and foresees the possibility of the government being in opposition: "A test we must apply as to the acceptability of a system, must always be what would be in our best interest, should we, for example, find ourselves in opposition."

In a similar vein De Klerk was forced to admit to the badgering of Brian Walden in a London weekend television interview that government was "prepared to give up power". Government, and presumably white South Africans were not, however, "prepared to

To Page 14

Yuppies moet help bou aan nuwe SA

SOOS die Baader-Meinhof-bende en enkelouer-gesinne, is die yuppie 'n unieke maatskaplike produk van ons tyd.

Ekonomiese verandering het waarskynlik die sterkste vormende invloed op die yuppie-persoonlikheid gehad. Die yuppies het ontstaan in 'n wêreld van verbysterende wetenskaplike vordering, tegnologiese vernuwing en die aanpassing van alle organisasievorme daarby. Ekonomiese groei en ontwikkeling het versnel en die lewenspeil van sekere gemeenskappe het geweldig verhoog.

Die ekonomiese integrasie van die moderne ontwikkelde lande van die wêreld (insluitend die van Europa in 'n gemeenskapsmark), internasionale kommunikasie en snel-vervoer het die wereld laat krimp tot 'n *global village*.

Watter invloed het daardie laat 20-eeuse verskynsel, die yuppie, op die openbare mening? Die skrywer en ekonoom P J Haasbroek voer in die bygaande artikel aan dat die yuppies oorreed moet word om te help bou aan die nuwe Suid-Afrika.

Die het 'n ryk bodorp en 'n arm onderdorp. In Oos-Europa en die USSR het die ontevredenheid oor sosiaal-ekonomiese agterlikheid ontplof in radikale politieke hervorming. Net die Derde Wêreld sink bykans vergete weg in 'n moeras van ekonomiese, maatskaplike en politieke agteruitgang.

Die yuppies woon in die bodorp van die *global village*.

In die moderne toenemend geïntegreerde en vooruitstrewende wêreld van vandag

lyk die ou politieke, maatskaplike en ekonomiese skeidslyne verdag: 'n struikelblok in die weg van vooruitgang.

Groepsverbondenheid het in die *global village* 'n anachronisme geword, 'n oorblyfsel van primitiewe tye toe individuele oorlewing van die lidmaatskap van 'n groep afhanklik was en groepe onderling om hul voort-

bestaan moes meeding in 'n genadelose zero-som-spel.

Die ware burger van die moderne wêreld is 'n kosmopoliet. Die yuppies is by uitnemendheid kosmopoliete.

Geïnspireer deur die moontlikheid van vooruitgang, selfversekerd in hul kundigheid, immer bewus van die oorsaaklikheidsverhouding tussen poging en prestasie, en ongeduldig met institusionele hindernisse in die weg van hul strewe na

Na Bladsy 14

AFRIKANERS

From Page 13

commit suicide”.

The 1986 Broederbond document went on to note that there could be no guarantees. “We must think in terms of probabilities, of calculated risks. The greatest risk today, is that of taking no risk at all.”

Government statements since De Klerk’s speech echo these sentiments closely. The government is now taking the risks that Botha was not prepared, or not capable of taking.

But the cost for the government and the Afrikaans intelligentsia is an increasing polarisation within the Afrikaner community. Of particular concern to the Bond at present is the growth of traditionalist Afrikaner nationalism in the form of the Conservative Party and various right-wing splinter groups. Efforts are at present being made by the leadership of the Bond to heal the rift that has developed.

An alledged recent Bond document states that the differences that have emerged can be dealt with without conflict. “It is trusted that the Afrikaner will be big enough in spirit to talk the matter out peacefully with each other,” the document said.

“Before the Afrikaner sits with anybody else at a constitutional negotiation table, he owes his fellow Afrikaners an Afrikaner Con-

ference. We trust that Afrikaner leaders will be big enough to make such an Afrikaner Conference a reality.”

The Broederbond, having thrown the cat among the pigeons, is now attempting to sort out the mess within the Afrikaner community that has resulted. It is assumed that Bond leaders see their common Afrikaner identity with the right-wing elements of the volk as the basis on which a rapprochement and settlement can be forged.

While there may be these common ties of loyalty, there may be greater problems to be addressed. Of particular concern is that the Broederbond and the National Party have come to represent the more affluent and cosmopolitan sections of the Afrikaans community. Cosmopolitan as they are, they are more prepared (and able?) to live in a context outside of the safe confines of the laager. The white workers, lower middle class members and poor farmers represented by the rightwing, see their safety and security best served by maintaining their group identity in a xenophobic attempt to ward off alien outsiders.

The test for the Broederbond now is whether it has the capacity to unite all Afrikaners behind the programme it deems necessary for the salvation of South Africa.

David Shandler is a research consultant to Idasa.

Van Bladsy 13

sukses, vorm die yuppies ’n besonder dinamiese groep in die gemeenskap.

Dis dus nodig om te vra wat is die heersende denkwys in Suid-Afrika waarop die yuppies hul invloed uitoefen.

DIE Suid-Afrikaanse yuppie het sy oorsprong in die apartheidsstelsel, die totaalstelsel wat die sentrale waardes van apartheidsparadigma weerspieël en, vanselfsprekend, ook die konflik tussen houdings en waardes rondom apartheid.

Dit beteken nie dat die yuppies die waardes van die dominante paradigma aanvaar – of noodwendig afwys – nie. Net dat hulle, soos almal in Suid-Afrika, apartheid beleef.

Ons kan nog ’n stap verder gaan. Op elke terrein is diskriminasie geïnstitusioneel: in die politiek, in maatskaplike verhoudings en in die ekonomie.

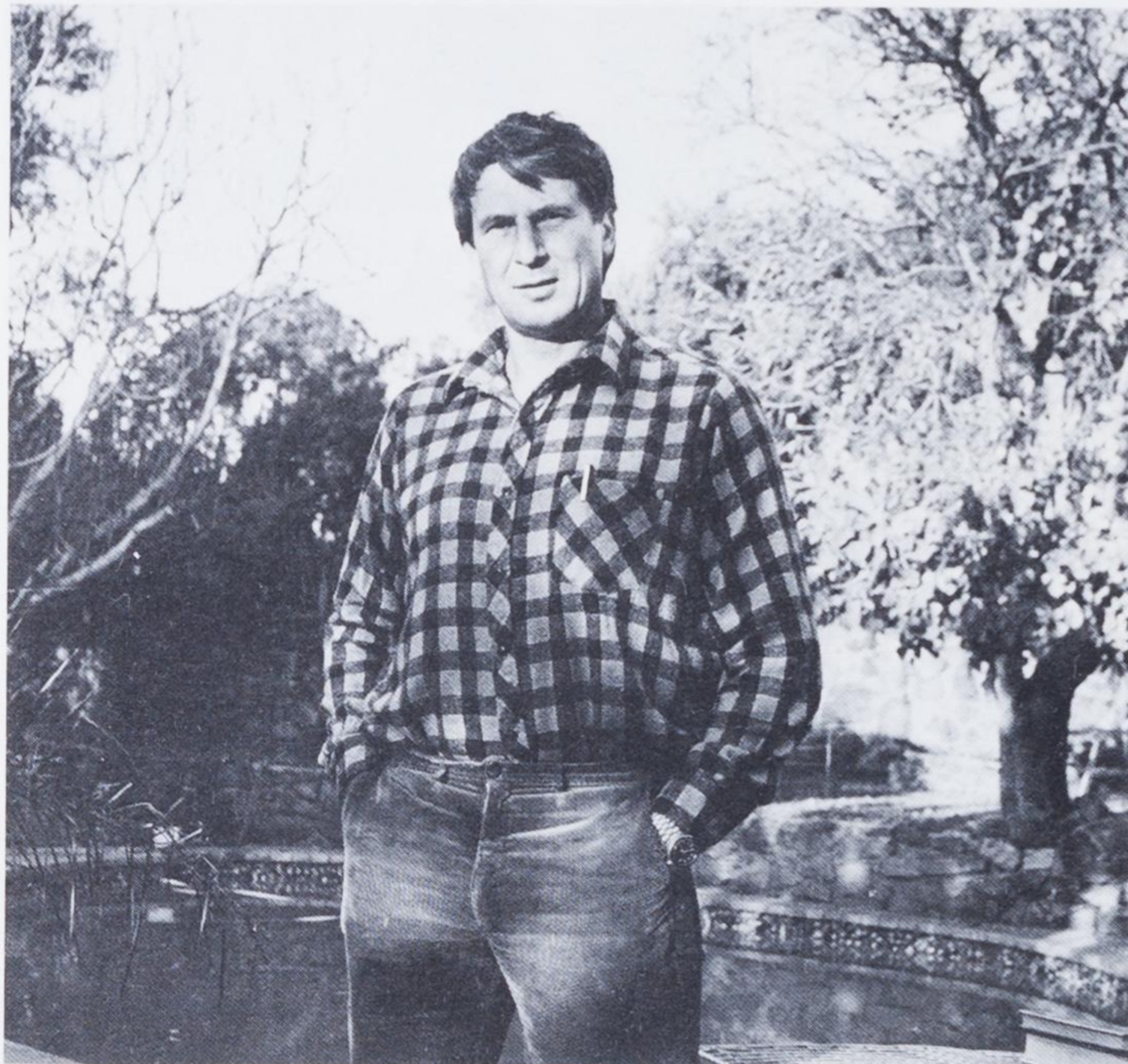
Dit het op bevoorregting uitgemon, op ongelykheid tussen groepe. Die vraag is nou na die mate waarin die opkoms van die Suid-Afrikaanse yuppie juis te danke is aan die eksklusiewe bevoorregting van hul onderskeie groepe.

Al die jong blanke rekenmeesters, dokters, prokureurs en ingenieurs kom uit ’n gemeenskap met een van die hoogste lewenstandaarde ter wêreld. Die standaard word nie net gemeet aan private besit en verbruik nie, maar ook aan die dienste wat die owerheid verskaf.

Die yuppies het in Suid-Afrika se mooi rustige woonbuurte grootgeword en hul onderwys in staatskole en universiteite geniet waar die owerheid 80 persent van die koste subsidieer.

Hulle verkoop hul professionele kundigheid in die apartheidsgemeenskap aan dié wat dit kan bekostig – hoofsaaklik lede van hul eie groep.

Inderdaad soek hulle die rykste weivelde uit vir hul praktyke. Hulle leef en werk dus steeds in blanke groepsgebiede, grotendeels geïsoleer van die ander gemeenskappe.



PJ Haasbroek

RIAAN DE VILLIERS

Die yuppies is op die hoogte van die aktuele vraagstukke van hul tyd. Hul belangstelling strek gewoonlik veel wyer as hul eie spesialisasierigtings, want dit is vir die yuppie belangrik om oor alles ’n standpunt te hê.

Nogtans is hulle bereid om ook ander teenstrydige standpunte te oorweeg. Dit lei tot indringende debat, want die yuppie aanvaar selde die konvensionele wysheid op gesigswaarde. Ook ten opsigte van apartheid.

TEEN die agtergrond wil ek, gegewe die gevaar van veralgemening, ’n (voorlopige) kortlys van yuppie-houdings en –waardes oor apartheid aanteken:

●Yuppies glo in die vryheid en burgerregte van die individu. Die mees basiese vryheid en reg is om jou persoonlike vermoëns ten beste te ontwikkel en te gebruik;

●Apartheid belemmer individuele vryheid en perk burgerregte in. Dit bring ongelykheid mee. Die primêre oorsaak van ongelykheid lê egter op die individuele vlak, by persoonlike onvermoë en onwilligheid om hard en produktief te werk, om

te innoveer en om onderneemend op te tree;

●Yuppies bevraagteken die grondslae van Suid-Afrika se “etnies sosialisme”, ons oormatig gereguleerde sosiaal-ekonomiese stelsel. Hulle verwerp burokratiese beplanning en beheer onomwonde as ondoeltreffend, vertragend en ’n belemmering van individuele inisiatief en prestasie. Hulle bejeën die konstitusionele vermenigvuldiging van politici in Suid-Afrika se regering met argwaan;

●Yuppies ondersteun demokratisering, omdat hulle die verband tussen politieke stabiliteit en sosiaal-ekonomiese vooruitgang begryp. Solank Suid-Afrika se toekomstige regering net nie kortsigtige beleidsrigtings inslaan nie, gee die meeste yuppies blykbaar nie om wat die regering se kleur sal wees nie. Tog gee almal heimlik die voorkeur aan ’n meritokrasie;

●Min yuppies is werklik patrioties. Hulle ken die buitelandse markwaarde van hul kundigheid en bly net in Suid-Afrika omdat die persoonlike koste-voordeel-verhouding nog positief is. As hul voordele afneem, of die sosiale koste styg, sal hulle nie skroom om te emigreer nie. Suid-Afrika kan maklik oornag die meeste van sy yuppies verloor.

Dit sal ’n ramp wees as ons hierdie dinamiese groep van vooruitstrewende jongmense met hul kundigheid verloor.

Tans is ons deeglik bewus van die pynlike ekonomiese beperking wat die uitvloeï van kapitaal uit Suid-Afrika meebring. Die emigrasie van yuppies sal ’n verlies van menslike kapitaal van hoë gehalte wees, wat die beperking van ons ekonomiese groei en ontwikkeling pynlik sal vererger.

Die yuppies se aanwesigheid in Suid-Afrika moet vir hulle persoonlik sinvol wees. Een manier om hulle hier te hou, is deur die uitdaging aan hulle te stel om te help bou aan die nuwe Suid-Afrika.

(Met erkenning aan Rapport)

Taking up the challenge of transition

THE changing political face of South Africa and Idasa's role in the process of transition came under close scrutiny during a two-and-a-half day staff workshop held at Gordon's Bay in mid-June.

Directors and co-ordinators from all six regions and the head office met to assess political developments in the country and the goals and challenges facing the organisation in the 1990s.

Essential reading for all delegates was *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule; tentative conclusions about uncertain democracies* by Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C Schmitter.

Idasa trustee and UCT political studies professor André du Toit, reminded Idasa that all too often people assumed falsely that South Africa was an exception to other scenarios.

Research on the process of transition from authoritarianism to political democracy showed a movement through phases from liberalisation to democratisation. However, Du Toit warned that history was not necessarily on the side of democracy and that this process was not inevitable.

Evidence from other societies which had gone through the transition process showed that the "two stage theory" - in which it was believed that society could first be liberalised and democratised and only then introduced to socialism - did not work. On the contrary, if the process of liberalisation and democratisation proceeded to the end of the transition phase together, the tendency was for a freezing over of social relations which made it more difficult to proceed with radical social change.

Contextualising this information, a researcher at the Wits Centre for Policy, Mark Swilling, said there had been a fundamental shift in the way opposition groups in South Africa viewed the government. He said the United Democratic Front now accepted that the regime was prepared to move towards a political democracy.



Outgoing chairperson Dr Beyers Naudé, Ian Liebenberg and Marion Shaer at the Idasa workshop in June.

However, the opposition was divided into two: those who believed the conditions put forward and were prepared to abide by the rules of the game, and those who believed the regime was weakening and therefore opposition groups should hold out for higher stakes.

He said there was also a realisation by the National Party that without the opposition (the ANC) they were finished.

The making of pacts between the rulers and the opposition characterised the available options in the situation. A pact defining the rules of the game and the beginning of an agreement could be forged (the Groote Schuur minute possible fell into this category); or a cartel could be formed when "softliners" and the opposition both agreed to co-operate in the management of the transition.

He said the only way a society could move beyond political democracy to social democracy, welfare democracy or socialism, was if the mobilisation of civil society continued.

The pattern in other societies thus far has been one in which mobilisation declined the closer a settlement became. The reasons for this included exhaustion, disillusionment with idealism, a depletion of resources and

a reluctance by activists to continue to sacrifice their personal lives to "the struggle". As the delegates laughed knowingly, Swilling reminded the workshop that the 10-year burn-out syndrome was a reality!

Following this plenary session, small groups discussed the relevance of the transition framework to the South African situation possible scenarios.

On the basis of this, the afternoon theme revolved around Idasa's role in the process of transition. Priorities were identified and evaluated. In a brief assessment of Idasa's role, the newly-elected chairperson of the Idasa board of trustees, Dr Ntatho Motlana, urged the Institute to work for democracy among all South Africans and

not to concentrate its energies only on the white community.

The next day, delegates launched into the last eight-hour stretch of the workshop. All eyes were focused on Idasa - its internal workings, its strengths and weaknesses, the "threats" it encountered and the opportunities that existed.

In considering the role of the institute a broad working document emerged from the small group and general discussions. In terms of this Idasa would see itself as:

- * Promoting progressive and democratic ideals and practices.

- * Addressing the fears, prejudice and anger in South African society that are obstacles to the transition to a non-racial, democracy.

- * Strengthening "pacting" between the major actors in South Africa.

- * Providing information to all groups on all levels - in particular locally - on critical issues confronting South Africa and exploring ways of addressing these.

- * Facilitating discussion of constitutional and developmental issues around a post-apartheid South Africa

All of these issues and more will be deliberated at Idasa's planning conference scheduled for August.

THE Soweto civic leader Dr Ntatho Motlana, was elected chairperson of Idasa's board of trustees at a meeting of the board during Idasa's recent staff workshop. UCT political studies lecturer Professor André du Toit, was elected vice-chairperson.

Outgoing chairperson was Dr Beyers Naude, who has served in the position since 1986.

In his address to Idasa staff, Dr Naudé said the challenge for the Institute was how to bring a fearful white community to a new understanding and to work with

New boss on board

those on the left who, while not opposed to negotiations, were deeply suspicious of the National Party.

Dr Naudé said the major discussions and debates in South Africa could not take place purely in parliament, they would have to happen in local communities all over the country.

One aspect of Idasa's work that



Dr Motlana

should be reconsidered was the understanding between itself and black organisations, especially the Mass Democratic Movement. Dr Naude said a shift was taking place within communities.

"People will come to whichever organisation will meet their needs.

"People's needs will bring them to that person, that

group, that organisation."

Dr Motlana said he deeply admired the work of Idasa, but while he approved of its efforts to allay white fears about a non-racial democracy, it needed to broaden its work to allay black fears and promote democratic ideals in the black community.

"People are not born democrats. I think they are born damn selfish! We need to learn that it is better to share and work together."

There was a particular need to broaden democratic practice and understanding among the black youth.

Maids & Madams – the gap remains

By Bea Roberts

IN MAY Idasa (East London) hosted a seminar on the topic "Maids and Madams". It was based on Dr Jacklyn Cock's study, which was first conducted in the Eastern Cape/Border region in 1978. The work was updated in 1989, but the situation is little changed.

The domestic worker in South Africa is in a unique, ultra-exploited situation. Besides living under a system which is both racist and sexist, she is denied the most basic rights as a worker and as a person. Ironically, in her work, the most direct oppression and exploitation she experiences is at the hands of another woman. This raises serious questions about traditional notions of "sisterhood" and feminism.

An exploration of the roles black and white women adopt in the domestic situation takes these questions even further. There is a strange political interplay at work, one which Cock describes as the politics of dependence. Black workers are certainly economically dependent on their "madams", but at the same time there is a particular emotional dependence of white women on their "maids".

IN OUR society, all women are subject to a system of sexual domination, but their experience of it depends on their position in the class structure. In South Africa, most white women can "buy" domestic service and so escape the constraints of their domestic roles and responsibilities.

The exploitation black women suffer is far less subtle. They are very much at the mercy of their employers because at present they are not covered by legislation in terms of pension, UIF, sick leave, maternity leave or other benefits. Cock's study uncovers the deep sense of hopelessness and dependency these women have towards their own lives. Besides the reasons listed above, there are numerous factors which contribute to this:

- Low wages. The study revealed an average monthly payment of R35 (1989 statistics).
- Long hours (the average being a 61-hour working week).
- Accommodation (which for live-in domestic workers is often squalid and cramped).
- The low status of the occupa-

tion.

- The lack of appreciation by employers. ("It lowers your dignity to be a domestic. Your employer's child can swear at you and you have got to laugh. There is nothing you can do. The parents say nothing.")

- The monotonous nature of the work. ("It's not an interesting job. You don't learn from it. It just makes you tired to think you are going to do the same thing every day. That is why I have all my children at school.")

Domestic workers' hopes for the future focus very strongly on their children. Education is seen as the means whereby their children can escape to a better life. It is regarded as "something nobody can take away from you", and serves as

a kind of insurance policy.

Representatives from the South African Domestic Workers' Union also attended the seminar and gave a brief outline of their position, aims and demands. Sadwu was launched in November 1986 and has over 50 000 members in eight regions.

Their demand is for a basic living wage of R350 per month for a semi-skilled worker for an eight-hour day, five days a week, with full meals and protective clothing provided. (The demand for a skilled full-time worker is R450.)

Interesting discussions followed. Besides the representatives from Sadwu, women from local employment agencies were present who clearly had problems with the union de-

mands – "the women who come to us are not even interested in employing union members". A very real problem is that many people do not want to pay the required minimum wage – yet, on the other hand, they are offering some form of employment in an area known to be one of the most poverty-stricken in the country.

It is clear that this issue is far from being resolved and, in fact, is in danger of losing impact in the midst of so many burning political issues and campaigns. Yet it is in domestic service that some of the worst effects of the South African system are brought to bear. We owe it to ourselves to address this problem effectively.

Bea Roberts is regional co-ordinator in East London.

Township tour for Tukkies

A TOUR to create awareness among white students of the poverty and social problems brought about by the Group Areas Act and homeland policy set off from the Pretoria Idasa office recently.

Winterveldt, Marabestad, the former Lady Selbourne residential area and Soshanguve township were visited by the group which comprised 35 University of Pretoria students – including members of the Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volkswag, Studente vir 'n Demokratiese Samelewing (SDS) and town planning students.

In Winterveldt, we were introduced to the chairperson of the Winterveldt Action Committee, Mr Z K Nyamakazi, who showed people around a creche where 300 toddlers live in abject conditions.

We then visited a private school which consists of long iron shacks with no floor, water or electricity, where 800 pupils are taught by eight teachers. Most of the staff are not properly qualified, but do their best under the circumstances.

We visited the Sisters of Mercy Catholic mission station which provides health care, a creche and skills development to the community. The next stop was at an enormous rubbish dump on which people eke out an existence.

The students were visibly affected by what they experienced and this provoked much discussion. On the journey back



Pretoria University students at Winterveldt squatter camp.

to Pretoria, Lance Cooper, a member of SDS, conducted random interviews with the group. These were some of their responses:

- Andrew Burrow – It is shocking that neither Bophuthatswana nor South Africa take responsibility for these people. How can governments just shrug off such responsibility?

- Wynand Boshoff – Apartheid kan nie die skuld vir alles kry nie. Elke volk moet vir homself sorg. Ons kan nie verwag word om al die opheffingswerk to doen nie. Die wit gemeenskap kan hier egter 'n bystandrol speel.

- Alette Schoon – As 'n organisering van die toer dink ek ons almal se oë het oopgegaan vir die ongelooflike hoeveelheid armoede net 'n hanetree buite Pretoria. Dis egter maklik om net simpatiek te wees sonder om te besef watter groot aandeel apartheid gehad het in sis-

tematiese verarming van mense deur geforseerde verskuiwings en wette wat dit onmoontlik maak het vir swartmense om by vakbonde aan te sluit, of hul eie besighede te begin. Dit is alle Suid-Afrikaners se plig om oplossings te soek om die armoede-siklus te breek. Dit sal goed wees as ons universiteit ook hierdie uitdaging kan opneem.

- Cathrine Moat – The people trying to alleviate the situation must work together to create a powerful force. There is no one to keep Mangope in check. Apartheid has made an issue out of ethnicity. In fact, that is not an issue becomes clear when one looks at the large diversity of cultures in Winterveldt. The people work together, oblivious of their backgrounds, to support one another in their fight for survival.

Paul Zondo
Regional co-ordinator Pretoria..

Culture of non-violence needed in SA

By Charlene Smith

THE culture of violence encouraged by apartheid in South Africa is likely to endure long after apartheid has been dismantled.

This was the view of the ANC's head of national political education, Raymond Suttner, who addressed the Women Against Repression conference in Johannesburg on June 3.

The conference, organised in conjunction with Idasa, was attended by about 250 women from Fedtraw, the Black Sash, Five Freedoms Forum, People Opposed to Women Abuse (Powa) and Women for Peace. Women from areas affected by violence in the Vaal, Welkom and Natal also addressed the gathering.

Issues debated included the ongoing conflict in Natal, the increase in white vigilante groups and anger from black youth that the negotiation process was continuing while white vigilantes were arming themselves and taking action against blacks.

Lloyd Vogelmann, director of the Institute for the Study of Violence at the University of the Witwatersrand, supported Suttner's call for the creation of a culture of non-violence. He said there were 32 murders a day on the Witwatersrand. New York by comparison, has only five murders a day.

Urging a tightening up of gun control, Vogelmann pointed out that over 300 firearms were issued daily in this country last year. Sixty percent of whites own a firearm, and "most have more than one".

Vicky Nhlapo of Thabong, Welkom, told of white vigilante attacks and murders in Welkom, of black mineworkers' fears about travelling through the town to the township after shifts and of white children who stood by and yelled support when their peers beat up black people.

Nhlapo added that although white miners wore AWB insignia, they would not allow workers to wear the colours of the National Union of Mineworkers.

"If we harassed whites the way they harass blacks, the government would stop the violence," she said.

Jean Underwood of Women

for Peace in Welkom said she believed part of the problem in that area lay in the government not explaining their reform initiatives to the electorate. "There is a mass simmering. It's like educating a child right through school and at the end of it saying, 'all you've learnt is a lie'." The decline of living standards among whites on the goldfields had contributed to the anger.

A black woman from Natal said brooding violence hung over other areas and even as she spoke, people were dying. "Peace committees are continuing at local level, but there is a need for a peace campaign at national level."

She appealed to State President F W de Klerk and the government to disarm Inkatha and dismantle the KwaZulu homeland structure.

"If there is anything we can argue for, it's the lifting of the State of Emergency in Natal because it is giving the police a licence to kill."

Charlene Smith is a journalist in Johannesburg.

A different history of Pretoria

SOCIAL historians Albert Grundlingh of Unisa and Les Witz of Khanya College recently joined Idasa's Pretoria staff and Soshanguve artist Eric Lubisi on a tour around Pretoria to do the groundwork for a social history project.

Included in the itinerary were various sites of forced removal in the Pretoria area, Kilnerton College and the infamous municipal labour offices where people were held for pass law offences.

The tour generated much enthusiasm among the co-ordinating committee for the history project which held its first workshop in June in Mamelodi. The aim of the project is to facilitate the writing of a scholarly history of a high standard by the local people. In this way it is hoped that the level of awareness of a "different" history will be raised.

Paul Zondo
Regional Co-ordinator,



Relatives leave the Upington court after death sentences were passed on all 14 accused in May last year.

MARIUS BOSCH

Visiting the woman on death row

EVELINA de Bruin is one of 310 people currently being held in South Africa's prisons under sentence of death.

She is the only "death row" prisoner in the women's section of Pretoria Central prison. "Ek pas met hierdie prentjie van 'n moordenaar nie," are the words Evelina reiterates to her handful of visitors.

One might wonder at the twist of fate which singled her out as one of the "Upington 14" – tried for murder when a crowd of some 300 stoned and killed a municipal policeman in the Upington township of Paballelo on November 13, 1985. All but one of the accused were convicted on the dubious doctrine of common purpose.

Unable to read or write and unsure of her exact date of birth, Evelina de Bruin grew up near Postmasburg during the drought of the 1930s and early '40s. Her father was a farm labourer, often without work, and her mother who bore many children, "amper een per jaar", held piece jobs as a domestic worker. Among Evelina's childhood memories are the times when she and her siblings collected discarded mealie cobs and boiled them up for soup; or lay on their stomachs in the sun in an effort to contain hunger pains.

Having survived the degra-

dation and squalor of her childhood, Evelina was a teenager when she got her first job as a domestic worker. She moved to the black township of Paballelo and up until the date of her arrest in 1985, her family, her job and church involvement formed the focus of her daily life.

For 31 years she served the Steenkamp family in Upington and during this time her own 11 children were born. Returning to work one week after each confinement with a baby on her back, she helped to raise the Steenkamp children from birth "tot dat hulle klaar met militêre diens gekom het". In moments of despair, Evelina recalls the time of her trial when her employer could not remember how long Evelina had been in her employ and had nothing to say in mitigation. "Waarvoor sou sy my as leuenaar beskou?"

For Evelina de Bruin, yesterday, today and tomorrow are indistinguishable as she waits for news of her appeal and dreams of returning to "my eie kinders en my eie plek".

(A bail application on the grounds of Evelina's deteriorating psychological condition was refused.)

Melody Emmett
Regional Co-ordinator,
Johannesburg

(Melody Emmett has been making regular visits to Ms De Bruin.)

REGIONAL FOCUS

School exchange opens eyes



Ebenezer and Selborne pupils get together.

A SCHOOL exchange programme facilitated by Idasa in East London between white pupils from Selborne College and their black counterparts at Ebenezer Majombozi High School in Duncan Village has laid the groundwork for continuing contact between the boys involved.

The exchange was arranged to allow 18 pupils from Ebenezer High to spend a day at Selborne College, hosted by a Selborne pupil. These boys, all from Std 7 to 9, then visited Ebenezer the following day.

School proceeded as usual (except for a period set aside for discussion), giving each group the chance to see for themselves how the different school systems worked. The day spent at Selborne was cadets day – and this was accepted in good spirit by the Ebenezer pupils – but provoked a fair amount of talk.

On the second day at Ebenezer High, conversation moved from the personal to the political. Issues such as school prefects and student representative councils, corporal punishment, sanctions and of course, open schools were all vigorously debated.

Not everyone was happy

with this. One Selborne student said: "The first day when Ebenezer came to our school it was more of a social/get-to-know one another day, which I thoroughly enjoyed. However, when we went to Ebenezer, it seemed as though we were thrown into a political whirlpool. The whole day was just politics, politics, views, views

and views. I feel this marred the whole day."

Overall, the response was overwhelmingly positive. Other reports written by the boys speak for themselves:

"This programme opened my eyes more than I thought it ever would. I overcame many things, like not being scared of those who are not my colour and ac-

tually becoming friends with them. I also overcame emotional boundaries." (Selborne pupil).

"The discussions we had in the hall introduced many new ways to look at different subjects. I will never, never, forget these important three days of my life." (Selborne pupil).

"As I've seen during the last two days, I can firstly say, if we can keep it like this, our future will be bright . . . When I went to Selborne College on Tuesday, everything was normal. The school students were very nice and their teachers too. I never thought in my life I would sit down with whites and enjoy everything during the day. I was even afraid when they got to our school on Wednesday, but I was surprised to see them happy. During these days, we were brothers and sisters..." (Ebenezer pupil).

"I found their approach to be sincere and mature and their commitment far above any efforts of their white counterparts. The way their lives are so intertwined with their 'struggle' or their political goals shocked me. The position of the white man in South Africa is one of apathy . . . Unless the white man increases his input into the struggle for democracy, he is going to find himself losing out, or to put it crudely, getting his butt kicked." (Selborne pupil).

A report-back session was held in the Idasa office after the exchanges and the group elected a co-ordinating committee to plan a weekend away.

The group's potential for development and a growing understanding of the South African situation is tremendous. Much was achieved in only two days. Follow-up action is eagerly anticipated.

Bea Roberts
Regional Co-ordinator.

Talking to each other in Tongaat

HAMBANATHI is a relatively small township outside Tongaat, just north of Durban. Apart from 1985, when Hambanathi was one of the first areas to be affected by tension and political violence, the township has been somewhat removed from the violence that has affected the rest of the African communities in Natal.

The two main reasons for this appear to be that the community is small and able to pull together to control political tensions and the fact that the infrastructure of Hambanathi has not degenerated to the same extent as many others in the area.

In March this year, the position changed and an outbreak of violence left the community divided and the local schools empty.

One particular feature of Hambanathi is the men's hostel found in the middle of the township. It was the single part of the township that the townboard had allowed to degenerate.

Several "illegal" dwellers forcibly removed the legal residents, most of whom were workers from the local factories

and businesses controlled by The Tongaat-Hulett Group (T-H Group). Their "eviction" from the hostel forced many of them to sleep in their factories.

In March, several instances of assault by the "illegals" on local youths were reported. It got to a point where about 200 youths were too scared to live in the township and wanted to leave.

The Community Conflict Monitoring Service, an Idasa project, had been contacted at the beginning of the problem and was involved in forming a crisis committee to help resolve the situation.

One aspect of the crisis was the community's lack of resources to provide relief. In the light of this, Idasa was asked to facilitate a meeting between the Hambanathi crisis committee and The T-H Group.

During the time it took to set up the meeting, the community were able to evict the "illegals" and a relative peace was established. An SADF base was also set up in Tongaat.

However, the crisis committee felt that the T-H Group, as the main employer in the area, had a responsibility to its employees and the township as a

whole to respond impartially to further potential problems. On the other hand, the T-H Group felt there were misconceptions in the community regarding the role the company had played up until then.

Finally, the meeting was attended by 12 crisis committee members and six executives from the T-H Group. Views were shared regarding the future of Hambanathi and the incorporation of the township into Tongaat. Both sides agreed on the principle that the township should not be seen as an appendage, but rather as part of an enlarged Tongaat region. The T-H Group agreed to make their resources available in times of need.

A representative from the company would be available as a contact person for future needs and will sit on the relief committee that has been established.

Both parties were pleased with the meeting which, hopefully, is the beginning of a fruitful relationship – and one which is needed by both sides.

Steve Collins
Community Conflict Monitoring Service.

Reading group

ON JUNE 4, Idasa launched a reading group in East London with a cheese and wine and a showing of the video, "The Smoke that Thunders" about the Victoria Falls Writers' conference.

The idea of a reading group originated from a small group who wanted to take up women's issues. It appears, however, that there was a wider interest in other socio-political issues and the first book selected for the group's reading was "My Traitor's Heart" by Rian Malan.

SA realiteit lewensnaby in nuwe bundel

Deur Ian Liebenberg

DIE MAMMAS, DIE PAPPAS, DIE HONDJIES, DIE KATJIES, Jeanette Ferreira, Taurus, 1990. R16,95

DIE LEES en herlees van *Die Mammamas, die Pappas, die Hondjies, die Katjies*, het my laat dink aan wat 'n resensent oor Bergman se film, *The Virgin Spring*, gesê het: By die ervaring daarvan staan 'n mens verstom oor die egtheid en die akkurate atmosfeer-skepping wat daarmee saamhang. 'n Mens kan nie anders as om te weet dat die konteks Suid-Afrikaanse realiteite in al die pyn, egtheid, hoop, wanhoop en absurditeite weerspieël nie. Dit word lewensnaby gebring in haar bundel.

Ferreira spieëlbeeld in die bundel (terloops, haar eerste kortverhaal-bundel), 'n land en sy mense in stryd; 'n stryd wat verder, dieper en seerder gaan as starre akademiese eufemismes soos "lae profiel burgeroorlog", "militarisasie", "Burgerlike Samewerkingsburo" en "gewapende stryd". Daarom herinner dit 'n mens skril en kragtig daaraan dat die wye en droewe land en sy mense (maar ook die skryfster by implikasie) gemaak is deur stryd ("struggle"). Die struggle waarvan baie wit Suid-Afrikaners eers onlangs bewus geword het – na 2 Februarie en die SAUK se ei-soortige "glasnost". 'n Bewuswording wat aangehelp is deur buitelandse druk en interne mobilisasie wat die snoese eiland van wit voorspoed, selfsug en alleenheerskappy laat wankel het.

DIE pyn van die stryd vir individue en kollektiwiteit word deur Ferreira naby gebring en deurgrond. Maar nie net pyn word weergegee nie. Die simbole van die vrou as draer van voortplanting en hoop figureer sterk.

Dat die (kort) kortverhale ontboeseming en aktiewe verzet weerspieël, word vroeg duidelik (vergelyk die opdragbladsy se aanhaling "oorlog is intiemer as liefde").

Om verhale uit te sonder sou moeilik wees. Vanaf histories ingeligte (en gelade) verhale soos "Erkenning" wat skrei van ironie en "Handewerk vir die nageslag" word 'n mens verbysterend meegesleur. Die kontekstuele werklikheid van aktivisme en ontnugtering (met gepaardgaande wisseling van emosies – van vrees tot haat) val op. Die skok-vervreemding van iemand wat grootgeword het in die skynheilige wêreld van apartheidsrasionalisasies, rassediskriminasie en minderheidsdominansies word lewend gemaak. En tog bedryf Ferreira nie propaganda nie, 'n rare kenmerk in dié dae van onse Heer.

In "Qabane" ontmoet 'n mens ook die vervreemdingselement, die eerste tree op die pad van verzet. Ook die morbiede en makabere uitvloeiels van die boer-is-baas-wêreld, soos die grensoorlog, townshipgeweld en verraad word aangeraak.

Die skok-ervaring van "oningelig" grootword in die waan-wêreld van (skyn/skryn?) Christenskap word deur Ferreira eerlik gekonfronteer ("Vrouedele").

In "Die Donker is so mooi" word nie net geweld en vervreemding aangeraak nie. Ook word hoop en lewe twee belangrike elemente, 'n nouer koppeling, soos byvoorbeeld die hond wat (nuwe) lewe gee te midde van die lyding en krisis. Ten spyte van die negatiewe gebeure dra die bundel deurgaans 'n toon van hoop. Die geïmpliseerde einde van die tyd (van geweld en apartheidsvervreemding) word vasgevang in die slotsin van die boek ("Die Candlelight Protests"): "So het dit toe die einde van daai tyd geword . . ."

Die boek is nie 'n boek om post-modernisties – of post-enigiets – te lees nie (dié ou stokperdjie is gelukkig ook al holrug gery). Moet dit tog ook nie sommer net met 'n

stukkie politieke deromantisering verwar nie. Vir Ferreira is alles politiek, maar politiek nie alles nie; daarom so baie invalshoeke en soveel momente, soveel menslikheid.

Dis 'n boek om gelees te word, miskien nie met die blywende gedagte dat dit "mooi" is nie maar wel met die aan-jou-opgedronge (soos die lewe maar is) realiteite wat diep spore kerf in die gewete ("Laat die wat nog gewetens het, dus hoor"). In die dae waarin die klippe en gewere dit uitroep, word 'n mens, god-dank, deur Ferreira openlik met die lewe gekonfronteer.

Ian Liebenberg is Direkteur van Navorsing by Idasa.

Marxistiese benadering bring geen nuwe insigte

Deur Eduard Fagan

LETTERKUNDE & KRISIS; 'N HONDERD JAAR AFRIKAANSE LETTERKUNDE EN AFRIKANER-NASIONALISME, Ampie Coetzee, Taurus, 1990. R9.

IN HIERDIE kort boek probeer Ampie Coetzee 'n "dialektiek te soek tussen die Afrikaanse letterkunde en die infrastruktuur van klasse- en rassekonflik". Dit is 'n poging om 'n teoretiese raamwerk te skep wat in kontras is met die bestaande beskouings van die Afrikaanse literatuurskiedenis (spesifiek J C Kannemeyer se twee ensiklopediese boeke).

Volgens Coetzee is hulle in 'n groot mate gegrond op suiwer estetiese maatstawwe wat bepaal of 'n boek "kanoniek" word al dan nie. Hy wil spesifiek die konsep van 'n algemeen aanvaarde literêre kanon bevraagteken. Om hierdie dialektiek te vind, word die Afrikaanse letterkunde ingedeel volgens "Gramsci se konsep van krisis", en die hoofstukindings geskied na aanleiding van die krisisdatus 1922, 1948, 1961 en 1976.

Coetzee se "herindeling" lei egter tot geen nuwe insigte nie: die tydperke na 1922, 1948 en 1961 word oorheers deur onderskeidelik Van Wyk Louw en die Dertigers, D J Opperman, en die Sestigters. 'n Mens moet vra waarom hierdie boek, wat volgens Coetzee "gevaarlike terrein" betree, so min oplewer; waarom dit inderdaad dien om die bestaande konsep van 'n kanon, en die bestaande samestelling daarvan, te bevestig eerder as om dit omver te werp.

Daar is geen werklike poging hier om die kompleksiteit van die verhouding tussen literatuur en geskiedenis te ondersoek nie. Dit spruit uit 'n besonder tradisionalistiese aanwending van Marxisme, waarin "die geskiedenis" skynbaar as 'n onveranderlike waarheid aanvaar word. 'n Mens vind dit tog vreemd dat 'n letterkundige vandag nog kan skryf: "Dit lyk asof die Afrikaanse

skrywer op hierdie oomblik nog onseker is oor 'die geskiedenis', en daar is beslis geen aanvoeling of besef van die materiële magte van die geskiedenis nie."

Die interaksie tussen "die geskiedenis" en letterkunde word nie as 'n interaksie van diskoerse bespreek nie: "die geskiedenis" verkry feitlik ironiese waarde.

Die vraag wat ontstaan is: indien 'n mens se siening van "die geskiedenis" so 'n rigiede een is, hoe kan jy die kanonieke hiërargie omverwerp? Al poging wat wel gemaak word om die hiërargie te bevraagteken, is 'n ietwat kru ondermyning van die "universele" en "geestelike" ten gunste van "die materialistiese basis". As voorbeeld: "Opperman het die Suid-Afrikaanse realiteit (die politiek en die natuur) geëksploiteer om dit te transformeer, om die engel uit die klip te bevry, die ewige vanuit die tydelike." Die formulering is besonder slordig: die ongelyksoortige paar "die politiek en die natuur" word sonder motivering gelykgestel aan die "Suid-Afrikaanse realiteit", soos ook "die klip" aan die "tydelike". Benewens dit is daar egter die idee van Opperman en ander skrywers as "ekspluatatief" – omdat hulle skynbaar onbetrokke, eteriese, suiwer estetiese literatuur skep.

Daar vind egter 'n verwarring plaas tussen literêre temas en die manier waarop literatuur gelees word. Met ander woorde, Coetzee kies om Opperman se poësie op die tradisionele "kanonieke" manier te lees – behoort hy nie veel eerder 'n nuwe lesing van Opperman, 'n histories-materialistiese lesing, te voorsien nie, dalk ten einde hom te "red" van sy suiwer estetika?

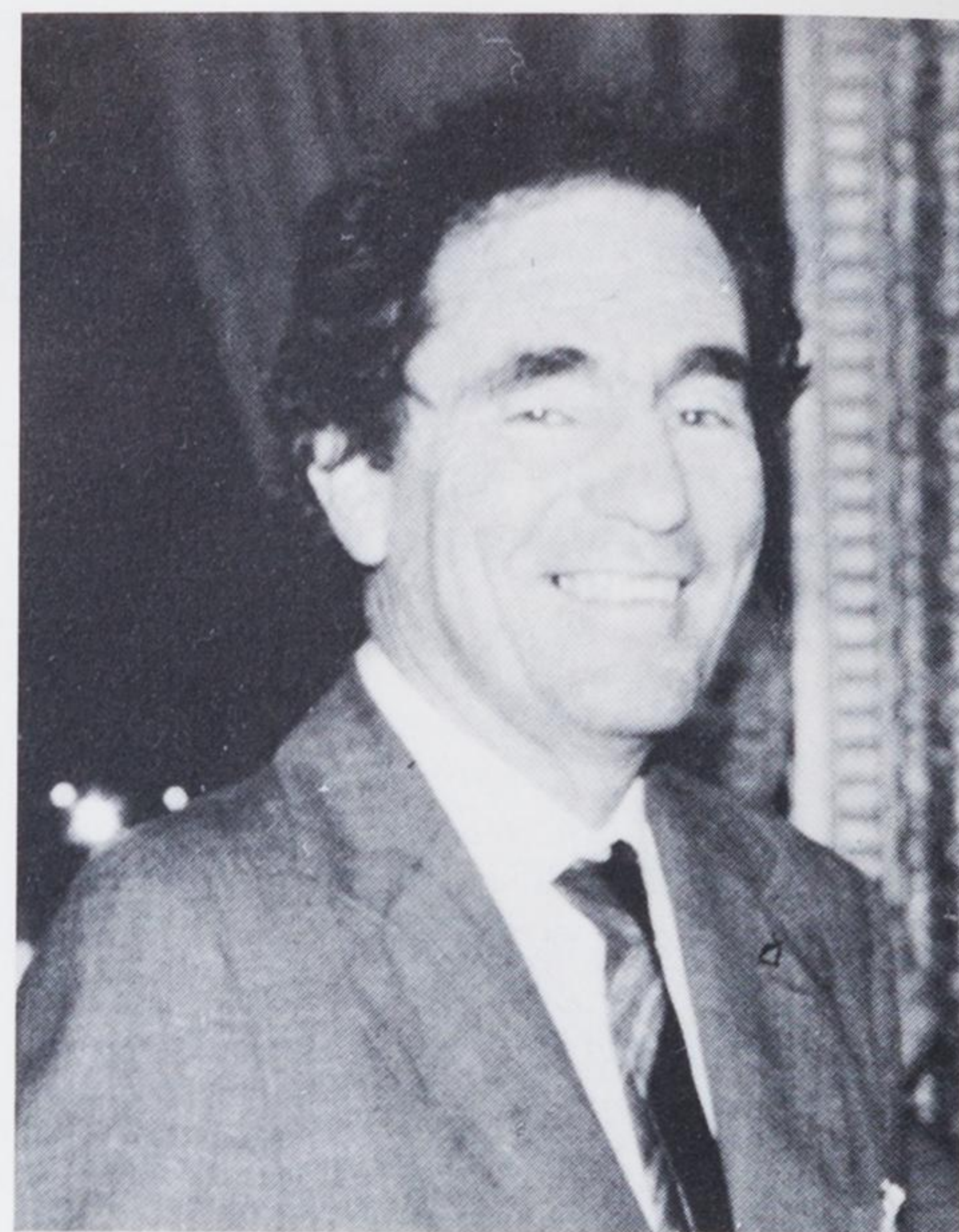
Coetzee erken wel dat sy monografie slegs inleidend is. 'n Mens sou egter graag wou sien dat selfs 'n inleidende werk op veel meer dinamiese en ingrypende wyse die kanon bevraagteken.

Eduard Fagan is 'n voormalige dosent in Afrikaans by die Universiteit van Kaapstad en praktiseer tans in die regte.

FREE SPEECH

– unlimited or qualified?

There are huge obstacles to the free circulation of ideas and information in South Africa, but in opening doors that are closed at present the creation of more blockages must be avoided, says Albie Sachs.



Albie Sachs

South Africa has suffered so many interferences with the rights of free speech that the tendency to let everybody say what they want, when they want, how they want is very strong.

At the same time there is an awareness that racism can ignite explosive passions and destroy the very fabric of a tolerant and democratic society. Furthermore, it is impossible to gloss over the fact that in addition to being unjust and exploitative, apartheid is spiritually injurious, it is insulting and defamatory. The problem, then, is how to reconcile the need for openness and the right to speak one's mind with the necessity for healing the wounds created by racism.

Clearly the constitution must protect the normal rights to criticise the government and public officials, to take part in free public debate over issues confronting the country and to discuss international questions. People should have an unqualified right to argue for or against socialism or capitalism, or abortion or capital punishment, or to warn us that the end of the world is near. Similarly, if the Flat Earth Society wishes to establish a branch in our country, they should be free to do so – there will be no lack of potential adherents.

Yet the real problem is not tolerance to the flat-earthers or the nationalise-everything-or-bust-ers or the free-market-at-any-social-price-ers. Nor is it whether or not to have free speech corners where every Tom, Dick or Harriet can mount his or her soapbox. The real issue is what to do about the organised mobilisation of racial and ethnic hatred.

Many countries have legislation which outlaws group libel. Should the South African constitution permit and even protect the right to say such insulting and provocative things as that all whites are rapists who should be driven into the sea? Or that blacks are baboons who should never have been given the vote? Or that the Xhosas have come to Natal to suck the blood of the Zulus? Or that the Shangaans are cowards and never knew how to fight? Or that South Africans of Indian origin should be deported to India? Or that Hitler knew how to treat the Jews?

In South African conditions, these are fighting words, the language of pogroms and blood. There is a strong argument for

saying that if the constitution is a compact – agreed upon by representatives of all the major groups in South Africa – it should include a shared undertaking not to indulge in mutual insults and not to permit the mobilisation of rabid racist or ethnic feelings for political advantage. In this sense, democracy and non-racism become inseparable – there is no democratic right to be a racist.

In theory, the constitution can adopt one of three positions in relation to racist speech: it can protect it, it can leave the question entirely to the legislature, or it can lay down express qualifications to free speech, including prohibition of defined forms of incitement to hatred and division. If it adopts the third position, the further question arises as how best to combat the promotion of racial hostility – whether to rely on the criminal law, or civil restraints, or voluntary codes of conduct affecting the media and political organisations. Should it also include provisions in the electoral law which forbid the creation of parties on racist principles or campaigning on the basis of racist or tribalist emotion?

There are other questions which bear indirectly but significantly on the question of free speech, which could affect the way constitutional principles were formulated. At present the press in South Africa is anything but open and anything but non-racial. The *Rand Daily Mail*, the most informative and widely-respected daily paper of the 1960s and 1970s was closed not on journalistic grounds, but because it was selling to too many blacks who had no money and not enough whites who had the money. In market terms, nothing should be free, not even speech.

English-language and Afrikaans-language monopolies control virtually the whole of the commercial press, which means virtually the whole of the press – and not only the press itself, but most of printing and distribution. Similarly, broadcasting is in the hands of the racist authorities.

What the commercial and state monopo-

lies have in common is that they are completely white-dominated, locked into the apartheid structures. This affects not only the appointment of journalists, but the very determination of what is front page news.

Some attempts have been made by generations of courageous and imaginative journalists, both black and white, to mitigate the effects of this inequality. Space has been won for black voices in the commercial press, while journals such as the *New Nation* and *The Weekly Mail* have trans-

'The real issue is what to do about the organised mobilisation of racial and ethnic hatred'

formed reporting in South Africa.

Yet basically speaking, there are huge obstacles to the free flow of information in South Africa, ranging from unequal degrees of literacy, to the underprivileging of many languages, to official secrecy, to conscious or unconscious biases in the presentation of news. The new oral tradition of resistance has proved far more resilient and informative to the mass of the population than have the media. Yet we cannot rely on oral tradition in the new democratic South Africa to keep the people informed.

At the same time, we must remember that the objective is to open doors that are at present closed, not to create more blockages to the free circulation of ideas and information. We would have gained little if we were to replace the present controls on the media with new ones that simply switched the propaganda and biases around, if one realm of banality took over from another. Truth has always favoured the democratic cause and our people are tired of forever being protected in the name of what others think is good for them.

All these are issues which impinge on the language and substance of the constitution. We look to our articulate, technically experienced and battle-scarred media people to lead the way in proposing solutions.

Albie Sachs is a member of the ANC's constitutional committee.