

Februarie 1990 RNzoa' JTI-eKISB
DIE SUIDAFRIKAAN

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 DIE SUID4AFRIKAA
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 Briewe
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 Oop gesprek
 1Windlawaaierige akademieks1
 ; Breylen Breylenbach bespreek die Iekorlkominge van akademici se
 oplossings vir Suid-Afriku in 'n brief aan 1n kameraad in die ANC.
 6
 Aktueel
 Generations of Group Areas
 Stemmepeel - oplossing vir SA?
 V()()RBLAD: DSA bring hulde nan Etienne Leroux.
 die Afrikzljunse romzlnskrywer want in Desember 00r-
 SLEGS R15 vir ses uitgawes
 Wilmot James Chronicles the effect of Group Areas on his family.
 Hermann Giliomee her by prof Donald Horowitz gaan ligy opsteek oor 1n
 politieke stclsel wal die werklikheid van emisileit in ag neem sonder 0m
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 Dis goedkoper om op DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN in :
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 TEken 1n en bespaar Noon. GerritOlivier 37
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 sochisme? 3 9
 Brcesmlat 315 Ernst Lindenberg wonder waurom Karel Schoeman sovcel moeite gedoen
 Kzlzlpstud X001
 Tcl: (021)26-1308/505
 Fax: (021) 22-2033 Klagtes oor SAUK
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Klerk 10 Gorbachev.

ISSN 1011-7547 ,, W , W

0 Chris Louw and Tony Karon talked to two visiting Soviet academics. Irina

1 Filzuovu and Apollon Davidson. and discussed 21 variely of issues from Dc

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DLE SUID-AFRIKAAN FEBRUARIE1990 1

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DIE SUIDhAFRIKAA
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Rig 1111c korrcsmmdcnsic cn s'qur bydrzlcsc nan:
Die Suid-Afrikuun
Brccslruul 215
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politieke slcslc wal die werklikheid van etnisiteit in ag necm sonder 0m
dil 1c verskuns.
Die Parys-konferensie:
- Chris Louw kyk nu vcrskuiwings in die politiek. met Purys en Dakar as
bzlkens.
0 ANC member Penuell Madunajoin in the constitutional debate
following the Olivier rcporl.
_ Leading Cosmu member Alec Erwin rctlects on a future South African
economy in the context of Changes in Europe.

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Skrywers en boeke

Van Wyk Louw en Afrikaner-nasionalisme

Gerrit Olivier skryf oor NP Van Wyk Louw se uangetmkkcnheid tot die nasionuulhsosiulisme.

Profeet . . . of Aap van (10d?

Charles Mulun bring huldc aan die onslapc skrywer Etienne Lcroux.

Skrywersgilde se groot storie kom nog

Die bcraad vcrlcdc juar vzm die Afrikazlnc Skx'ywersgildc hot .n subtiele maar hclangrike vcrandcringy ingelui. Wclmu Odendual docn vcrcslag.

Kulturele boikot

Dic konHik 00r bcsluile by die Waterval-bcraad duur voorl. Gcrrit Olivier vcrcuidclik die verskil tusscn 110nderstcun0 en "verwelkom".

Verlustiging in 1n ()u stokperdjie. . . 0f masochisme?

Ernst Lindcnbcrg wonder wuarom Karel Schoenmn soveel moeite gcdoen

hcl om 25 juur van Olive Schreincr se lcwe 0p 16 lecn.

Klagtes oor SAUK

Allie Gerber hcxpreEk Currncfx rngmmr.

Scclfs 1n skrikhewind moet einde kry

Gunther Pukcndorf hcsprcck 'n nuwc Suid-Afrikaansc roman.

Luister in die sun na Jan Rabie

Hclizc vnn Vuurnc rcsenscer Jan Rubie SC jongstc .1huidcl".

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Interview

Perestroika comes to Soshanguve

Chris Louw and Tony Karon talked to two Visiting Smicl academics. Irina

Filalovzl and Apollon Davidson. and discussed :1 vuricIy 017 issues from Dc

chrk 10 Gorbachev.

DIE SI'ID-AFRIKAAN

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FEBRUARIE 1990

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REDAKSIONEEL

Dubbele tempo: in of uit pas?

MET ONS 25ste uitgawe. die eersle van die negentigers jure. is dit seker van pas vir Die Suicid-A/i'ikuun Om bietjie vorenloë en agiertoe 1c kyk. Eintlik is dit iets wat uit die azird van ons tydskrif Op in dourlopende en heel praktiese vlak voortdurend nodig is. Die uitdaging is Om konkrete azinsluiting by die ukulele gebure en probleme van die dag 1c kry W211 dinge tog 00k in breë perspektief kan stel. Waar die hismrikus en politiek-wetenskaplike kan wag tot sake hul 100p genccm het Om dun die Underliggende prosesse en patrone te analiseer en te interpreteer. en waar die dag- 0t: weekblad onmiddellik verslag kzm doen van belangrike gebeur. bevind in tydskrif sons Die .S'uitl-Afibi/(aan hom in die moeilike posisie dat by. Ondcr druk vzln Iyd. eintlik albei take gelyktydig wil hammer. Hierdie uitgawe van DSA gaan byvoorbeeld pers toe ruim vdnr die opening van die purle-ment. maar sul eers ons Iesers bereik nadat dit reeds algemeen bekend is of pres F W de chrk toe Op 2 Februarie. anders us sy voorganger. sy Rubicon kon oorsleek dunwel al die opgewekke verwagtings binneklonds moss telcursel

(of nogmuuls verder probeer uitskui' 1161). Die versoeking is moontlik

Iicsc wending in ons landspolice buitelande

groot Om in drama-

Iiek 1c pmbcer unisipcer: die gevuur is nuluurlik (1111 enige sodzinge poging nog voor pub-Iikusie vcmudcrd kan wees.

Duzlr is natuurlik 00k voor-

dele nun In Iydskrif W111 nie by vzmdug se nuus hoef 1c bly nie.

Sn hcl ons byvorbccld die gclcenlheid Om wccr 1c kzin

Ierugkom nu in belangrike gebeurtenis soos die Purysc Konferensie. wan wcl LII in Desember plaasgevind hcl maar wzmrvun die dcbulle wat duur begin is nng Iunk nie afgchandcl Of bc-hoorlik VCI'ICCI' is nie. In Parys hcl duur vir die eerste keer in werklike debut - corder 21s Mom '11 retoriese uitwisseling vzm ideologiese slugspruke A 001' die ekonomic van '11 post-upzu'thcllszimclwing Iusscn segsmzinnc van die ANC Cosam en suksesie's van formant Op gang begin kom. In hierdie uitgawe word die belangrike inset van Alec Erwin tot die Purysc besprekings sziumgevrit lcrwyl by die argument 00k mu:y in stup verder voer in die Iig van die nuxw uildugings Will onlwikkelinge in ((())s-) Europa nun die Suid-Afrikaanse ekonomic gaan sici. (Laasgcnomdc is 00k In Oiidcrliggende Icmu in die onderhoud met die twee Sochi-ukzidemici. Irinzi Filzi-Iovu en Apollon Davidson. wat Suid-Afrika onlungs besoek het.) In ons volgende uitgawe sul hierdie ekonomicse dcbul voortgeset word.

Nag in uitvlneisel Van die Purysc Konferensie is die urlike van Pcnneli Mudunu oor die chskommisic se belangrike

voorlopige x'crslug. In Purys IICI prof Murinus Wicchers nmcns die voorsiller vzln LIIC Regskommisic. regler PI Olivier. wat nie sclf dzuir kon wees nie. in reformat morgedru. Van die kzml van die ANC was dzuur heelwat belangstelling hier-Voor. asook zlzldrung deur undere (lat huiic kriliek en kom-Gesprek oor die toekoms . .

mentaur by wysc van voorlcgging nun die regskommisic ingedien sul word. Duzmoe was die ANC egter nie bereid nie.

01ndal dit ongeregtigde Iegitimiteit Lian in rcgeringsinstelling sou gcc. D211 dzuur in basis vir in moontlike debut besitlzln. is eglcr wel besef en Penuell Madunu se bydrae in hierdie uitgawe. hoewel in sy persoonlike hcdunighcid geskryf.

kun met reg beskou word as die eerste imcrvensie van die kant V2111 die ANC in die inIerne konstitusionele debatte in Suid-Af-

riku. In in volgende uitguwe kun dizar hopklik van die kum van die regskommissie. Of ander bevoegde syde. bierop terug-gekom word.

Ontwikkelinge soos hierdie toon 212m dat. alums Op sekere vIukke. dings inderduad besig is om te vcrunder. soms (inge-merk en sander dal dit juis rchckteer word deur berigte in die dag- of wcckblzuic. Verandc- ringe in die politieke klimaat en konteks is zilyd moeiik Om vas te pen. maar daumm nie minder bclangrik nie. Die drama rond- Om Dakar is gcvolg deur tulle sutkiriis nu cn ontmoctinge met die ANC dour ullcrlei gmcpe- ringc. cn dit is muklik om icts sons die Pui'ysc konferensie te sien us maur net nog cen in die reeks. in Ander vrziag is Om Ic vru. sons Chris Louw doen in sy ()nrsig in hicrdie uilguwc. wzt cimlik presics verandcr hel Iussen Dakar en Pnrys: deur Dakur en Pzirys usil ware us bukens Ie beskou vir wat in die komplcksc cn grolcr politickc prosescc aim die gang is. word . biaraadgangers in Parys.

in nuwc Iig gcgooi op die mccr onmiddellike gebcurtcnissc. DAAR is in sin wuurin politieke verandcringc op vcrskillcndc vlzikkc zisil ware Icon vcrskillcndc tempois plzuiscvind. In die pmkticsc politick. sons die zizn'ts-politikus Harold Wilson (Iii eenmzuil Ircffend gcstcl hot. Run in week in buic lung lyd wees. Die mccs ingrypendc onnvikkclingc kan Vim die ccn dug op die under plzulsvind en die pruktiese bcsluilneming most fyn (ILlLerp ingostel wees. Aun die under kant kun dit sums lyk Of (IiILil' in in hclc dekudc. Ondunks sovcle krisissc cn bcIungrike bcleidsinisiznicwc. cintlik wcinig Of niks vcrundcr hct.

Die Suid-Afrikuansc politick is (II berug duurvoor dut snwel kenners us dcolncmcrcs dcuc hicrdic dubbclc tempo van verandcring mislci knn word. Reeds in die vyftigmjzirc het wuurnc- mcrs morspel dul in revolusic binnc v_x'ti jzmr onvcrmydclic was. In dic Iyd nzi Shurpcvillc is :ilgemcen gcglo cn gcmmrsku dzil die horlnsic op vyf minute (of later lwcc minute) mor Iwzizilf sluun. 101 diI Inter begin lyk lid of dic horlnsic in duurr dic posisic guzln slzian 1161!

En undersom. us in inens 211m die begin Van 1990 tcrugkyk nu dic begin VLIII die Litigclopc dckzidc. kun dit muklik lyk 01' ans die pus bly murkeer in busies dicselfdc situnsie. In 1980 was PW Bmhzi. soos FW dc KIcrk Inns. bcsig om 'n klimuul Ic skcp vir die bclzmgrike hervonningsinisiallicwc wuarloc sy DIE SUII)-AI"RIK:XAN IJIZBRI'ARIE WOO 3

regering sig sou verbind Dit was in die-
selfde tyd dzit die "Release Mandela
CommitteeH besig was om die
hernieude toetrede van die ANC tot die
binneizmdse politieke toneel uit te werk.
net soos die 'tMundelzi Reception Com-
mitteeii tien jzuir later nog steeds die lon-
eel vir sy vrylziting voorberei. ()m dit op
sy Amerikaums te slel: so what else is
new"?

Tog het dam in die ziligeiope dekude
ontsetlend buie verunder op wyses en
terreine WLII in 1980 (om muur te swyg
vzm 1060) hauls ondenkhziztr was. lien
veilige xr'oorspelling wall oor die vol-
gende dekzitle gemzizik word. is dzit dit
wuarskynlik weer die gevzil sill weest
Selfs ill sou ons die jazir Z000 hzull son-
der dut die koerante ooit kon berig tlul
die Nusionzile Pzirty-regering met die
ANC om die omierhzmdelingstul'el guzm
sit het om oor die grondslzte Vim 'n nuwe
Suid-Afriku te berziadslziitg. soos luns in
soveel kringe in die vooruitsig gestel
word. dun kan ons duurvun seker wees
dut die politieke toneel op miskien meer
subtiele nmar ook meer rudikztie wyses
wel ingrypend sal verander.

So onbegryplik 21s Wilt dit tans lyk om
te verstuan wziztroor 211 die rumoer rond-
0m Etienne Leroux se Magcrsjfnlei'n. 0
Magmaxjfmzlcin/ destyds gegaan het (lees
die wzlurdering by sy hecnguan deur
Charles Malzm in hierdie uitgawe). so
onbegryplik mag dit wei oor tien jazir lyk
wat die ontsteltenis oor die kultuur-
boikot in skrywerskringe veroorsaak het
(lees die jongste bydrae tot hierdie debut
deur Gerrit Olivier op bl 37).

Die Suid-Afiiikaan het goeie moed en
heelwat planne om 00k in die nuwe
dekade op sy besondere Vlak hierdie ver-
anderinge te bly volg en stimuleer. 0m
dit meer effektiet' te kzin doen. mug dit
nodig wees om op meer gereelde basis.
byvoorbeeld us muandblztd, te moet ver-
skyn, en ons is besig om die moonl-
likhede hiervoor te ondersoek. Die heste
wzutrborz dzturvoor Sill nzituurlik groter
steun deur ons lesers wees. en ons wil
ook kyk n21 die maniere wzutrop dztzirzum
gestalte gegee kzin word. In hierdie veiv
band is ons hcwus daztrvzm (iitt dzuu' in
die laziste tyd ullerlei gerugte was dut
Die Suid-A/iti/(aan 0in die murkii sou
wees. ()ns is bly om te kztn verklzlrztr dzit
DSA nie deur enige persgroep oor-
geneem is of sul word nie. en dut ons (li-
les moontlik szil doen om te verseker dut
sy wesenlike onaihzmklikheid gehzmd-
haztf sal word.

?Am/re (/14 THU

4 DIE SUII)-AFRIKAAN FEBRUARIE 1090

BRIEWE

Moordbendes:

Geregtelike

Ondersoek nodig

DANKIE vir u gehzilztnseerde en insig-
gewende :trtikel oor die rol van die Suid-
Ali'ikzizinse polisie in die politieke omwentel-
linge wul ttins in ons Iund plziusVind

(DSA34). Dit hel ten
gevoelens vzin skok en wulging oor die hard
minste in mens se
humiige oplretle teen vroue en vreedsztm
protesteerdere op Groenlemzirkplein. die
Strand en elders. lydens die verkiesing.
getemper met simputie vir polisiemunnee wzit
nel soveel die slugotiirs gewortl hel van in
outokrutiese en purunoikle politieke bestel
soos :ille under Suid-Al'rikuners.
As FW de Klei'k se perestroikzt inderdzutd
die polisie gztzm bevry van die vergrype waar-
toe hulle gedwingy is in die neizim van apart-
heid en die tolatle ililnsiilg. is ons en die polie
sie groot dunk 211m hom verskuldig. Mztar dit
gztun, heluus. meer as net mooi woorde en
loliwuurdige voornemens van De Klerk. Vlok
en Meilet kos om (lie kunker vun vrees en
zlgterdog. Will in die aii'gelope dekude rondom
ulle veiligheidsoptrede begin groei het.
wortel en tztk uit te roei. En die een saak watt
vundug 211m die hart vztn hierdie vertrouens-
krisis le. is die skokkende bewerings van in
senior oud-polisieman en sy certydse kolle-
gus (1211 dzuir binne die polisemag moordben-
des is wat politieke opponente van die rege-
ring vermoor.

Met sy besluit om nie in geregtelike kom-
missie 212m leslel om hierdie sank openlik en
indringend te ondersoek nie. het F W de
Klerk die polisie in verskriklike onreg aangee
doen. want die wolk van itgterdog wat oor
hulle hung. gazm nie verdwyn tot hierdie
bewerings tot op die been oopgevelek is nie.
Solunk SuidVALirikuners glo (lat die polisie
gebruik word om andersdenkende Suid-Atri-
kzmers te vermoor. soluiik sul die krisis in die
polisie bly voorlbestztun.

Solunk die vermoede bestuun dztt sulke
vergrype deur 'n sogenuumde Christelike
stztzttsbestel toegesmeer word so laink Sill
tluur in die kollektiewe hewussyn van Suide
Aliriknners twytiel bcstztun oor die opregtheid
en geiooi'wuurdigheid van die Stzuttspresident
7 sy mooi woorde en Iothlzu'dige voornemens
ten spyt.

Dilill' is net een instrument wnztrmee Suid-
Ai'rikzmers se vertrouwe in die polisie. en in
die eerlikheitl en 11101'iliiiICiI vzm die stuzitsher
stel herstel kun word. en dit is in gei'egtelike
kommissie van ondersoek nu die sogenuumde
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(lie simbool wees vain sekuriteit en gerege
tigheid nie 7 mzizir guun dit in mens telkens
herinner um die verskriklike munier wztuop
mede-Suid-Afrikuners soos Robert en Cora
Smit, Griffiths en Victoria Mxenge, Jeanette
Schoon en haar dogterjic, Joe anbi, Rick
Turner. Anton Lubowski en soveel ander,
gestcrf het.

S A/hrm'ht

Durbum'i/le

Theology bankrupt

THE recent theological debates in the
pages of your journal indicates just how
sterile and intellectually bankrupt theology
really is Alter all. one can justify almost
anything political. from far right to far left,
from the bible. depending upon your tastes.
and still have divine right on your side. It

remindes one of Fritz Stern's comments on the intellectuals of Weimar. They were, he said. 0 i . . Ll shallow lot in their moralising politics. Their views were often utopian and simplistic. pious 21st fiercely polemical by . . . It is perhaps too simple to say that they lived off the bankruptcy of the old order. but they did rather revel in the erudition of their opponents. It is not good for the mind to have dumb, discredited enemies. Of course, he does acknowledge that there were clusters of talent, as one well knows from Bauhaus and other centres. Unfortunately, the current anti-apartheid scene exhibits similar tendencies. "clusters of talent" IUFHS

existing in a sea of pious mediocrity, apartheid having delivered the latter from obscurity. This is not to doubt their sincerity but informed criticism will continually be necessary to keep them in perspective (and, possibly, at bay) thus enabling us to concentrate on real solutions to our problems.

L Jat'ubmn

K i'mhw'lev

Smeekgebed

AFRIKAANS moet nou asseblief

tinuul bevry word van mense soos Marlene (mirukel) van Niekerk. Sy metaforiseer, politiseer, demokratiseer, kanoniseer en simboliseer dat dit eintlik seer maak.

Ek wil saam met dr Len Louw (DSA24)

uitroep: dit is pure kak-kwytraaki. Die antwoord op httur vrzlytg in DSA24 (bi 56): ttDiI is in vrzizig wut wil weet watter die retoriese effekt is van soveel gekanoniseerde Afrikaanse poësie op die Establishment watter die kanon dru!" is dzt die kanon binnekort so in helse wind gaan los dat dit die Atirikzizine poësie sowel as die watter die kanon dra. in hul moergaant blzizls. I

.1110 la Grunge

Somerset-Wes

Rig alle briewe aan: Die Redakteur, Die Suid-Afrikaan, Breestraat 215. Kaapstad 8001. Die redakteurs behou die reg voor om briewe te verkort.

in Ope briefaan die ANC
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 problem with writingy on walls is that its
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 ."There may be some future left if only we can
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WHILE the demise of apartheid is being announced and debated, WILMOT JAMES has recently experienced some of the frustrations and ironies involved in attempting to gain property rights in a "grey area". This has moved him to reflect on the impact of Group Areas on generations of the James and Hartel families. And on what the meaning of "group rights" might be in this historical context.

Wilmot James

Group Areas on this side of the Berg River IT WAS sometime in 1901 that inspectors from the Group Areas heard paid my uncle Thomas James a visit. and informed him of the available choices. Either he had to sell his house within a given time limit failing which they would sell it for him. He chose the former option. sold the house and a plot of land he owned elsewhere for a total sum of £2 0011. and moved to an area known as Charleston Hill on the eastern side of Paarl.

The house in question was 32 Berg Street. Paarl (today. the only remaining one of all the previously existing houses in the street. and renumbered to 16). The house was built by my grandfather. Pieter James. and completed in 1937. His previous dwelling at the upper end of Berg Street had become too small for what was a large family of nine surviving children. and he needed a larger house. A £800 loan from a local bank. his experience in wagon-making carpentry. in a way sorry and stonecutting, as well as the help of his older sons. all contributed to the construction of no 32.

It was with some bitterness that his son Thomas surrendered the family home he had inherited when Pieter James died in 1958. He thought that £2 (100 was not a bad price for the property at the time. but he had to buy another 13 (101) to buy his new house in Charleston Hill. The fact that the new area was in turn cleared of white residents mitigated the sense of injury he felt. But the injustice was of unequal measure. since many more coloured people were removed compared to whites.

What gave Thomas James some emotion was that he was by no means alone in the still largely unwritten story of mass removals in a Boland (or. Coloured) people in Paarl had been waiting for the implementation of group areas with trepidation since 1951. (The Government had taken so long to begin to implement the legislation after it was originally passed that they began to wonder whether it would ever happen. Perhaps apartheid was a noisy. toothless dog. some people naively thought. A15R1KAAN liliBRI'ARlli 1000 and mistakenly thought. The Act and other legislation alienating. Y enlonretl people in the West were the subject of hate among a people who had acquired considerable political consciousness. (Certainly. among the teacher corps and other professionals. the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) and its main affiliate the Teachers League of South Africa (TLA) had a significant presence. Though debate sharpened awareness of the looming implementation of apartheid

measures. there was little they could do to stop what was later to come. Racial Inning proposals for Paarl and neighbouring Wellington were published by the Land changed to the Group Areas Board) in August 1953 According to the proposals. the Tenure Area (later Board) (later area west of the Berg River and railway line was proclaimed white. and except for one township the area east for coloured people. It was estimated that 11 000 coloured people were to be uprooted from their homes.

African people were not directly affected by group areas measures. as they were resident in a township situated on the outskirts of the town. However. in March 1961 the town was horribly shaken by the Paarl riots in the township of Mamelodi to the centre of the town. which left three whites and 12 Africans dead. Oddly enough and for reasons that have yet to be properly explored. Mamelodi was a predominantly white township with the ANC having virtually no presence there. The riots reintroduced the local municipal authority (later renamed to rid Paarl of all people of colour. and anaesthetised many) while people against the disruption and injustice involved in the exercise in social engineering that group areas was to be. Prior to the riots. Paarl was much like Vredeburg had been. where European people were concentrated in areas scattered through out the town. The main street area. and the central (the northern part of the town) the townships of their neighbourhoods were some inter-racial mixing. with white and Coloured families interspersed with one another. though they kept a measure of social distance.

One of the oldest coloured neighbourhoods in Paarl. known colloquially as the Tuiniet was the home of my mother and the Hartel family. It was situated just off the main east-west road. Lady Grey Street. and was bordered by the Berg River on the east and Breda Street on the west. The Hartel grandparents William and Sarah. had rented one of a number of semi-detached homes in New Street from the grandmother's brother. Frank Camlissen. In this area had lived generations of coloured people. going back as far as when they were not even known as coloured people. as long ago as anyone dares to remember.

Our Tuiniet was quite a convenient place. It was part of the downtown area. Work and shopping were within walking distance. The railway station was live minutes away. The church. mosque. town hall. school and tennis court. the central institutions of the local culture. were all immediately accessible.

There were some well-known family names associated with the Tuiniet. at least among coloured people. Reflecting the diverse and mixed heritage of the people. a census of New Street had the following sui-

names of residents: Kainaldien. Soleinons.
Ahrahainst Steenlxamp. Fortuin. (lontbrinek.
Prins. Moerat. Hartel. Wyngaanlt. Nakadien.
Sentlin and Ruiters. A significant proportion
of the population was Muslim. as the above
names and the unmistakable presence of the
two mosques of ()u Tuine indicated. An
equally significant proportion of the popula-
tion was poor. especially those residing close
to the river: in the Jubilee Street area.
like the well-known ease of Cape Town's
District Six. this small. unknown community
of ()u 'liuine was razed to the ground. Under
the supervision of a National Party appointed
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LEFT: William Hartel and his daughter Shelma on the
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BELOW: Pieter James's house at 16 Berg Street, Paarl,
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WHEN FW de Klerk speaks about the right of white people to retain the sanctity of their own community life, and therefore to hold on to their group areas, he forgets that the National Party denied people of colour that same right in the past, and that many of the group areas of whites were built upon the appropriation of black people's property and houses.

in the 1960s the dark days of apartheid when protest seemed futile in the face of repression and Verwoerd's ruthless ideological clarity.

For example. my mother's older brother was moved from Du Toit and relocated in Klapmuts. One of her uncles and my father's brother were moved from Tettnliet Street. Paarl. An aunt who had been living in the Lansdowne area in a house first built by her husband's parents. had to sell their house. A great uncle, on the poorer side of the family. had migrated earlier to Cape Town and lived in the Bloemhof Flats. District Six. By the late 1960s. his whole family moved to the Cape Flats. along with the thousands of other residents of the area. Hermann Giliomee and Lawrence Schlemmer in their book From Apartheid to Nation Building quote a figure of one in six coloured people affected by group areas: in my extended family system it was closer to four out of six.

IT WAS with a sense of misgiving, therefore, that I began to fill in an application for a permit to purchase a small semi in upper Woodstock. It was an attractive place. and conveniently situated close to the University of Cape Town. where I had started teaching in the Department of Sociology in mid-1986. After spending close to seven years in the United States, it was an odd thing to have to do. Here. in order to live in an area previously inhabited by coloured people. and a mixed area presently. I was compelled to ask each of the neighbours whether they would mind having me as their neighbour. They had to sign an affidavit saying yes or no. This documentation. a map of the area. and a fairly typical form of a department of state. asking me why I wanted to live in a place of my choice. was sent to some office of the Cape Provincial Administration. Someone high up in the administrative offices of the University of Cape Town was going to try to put in a good word for me. but UCT was in such particularly bad favour with government (in 1987) that we were not quite sure whether this would benefit me or not.

The estate agents and some of the best lawyers in town had suggested the permit route. Lower Woodstock was almost completely coloured in an area that was officially white. All the residents there had to apply for permits. and almost all had their's granted. Why not assume the same for upper Woodstock. they argued. All the people who had to endorse my proposed presence in the area were willing to do so. The process had a certain irony. because a good percentage of them were not white anyway.

In certain quarters. to apply for a permit was political heresy. since one would be seen to participate in a wicked and unjust system. Certainly, a group areas permit does not even

have the status of a dog licence, since in that case the entire species qualities. The moral veracity of the argument aside. my feeling was that it could do no harm to add to what was becoming the steady erosion of the group areas system in the Woodstock area. More to the point. I suppose. was that I really liked the place at the time.

Bureaucracies of the South African state have a reputation for tardiness. It took the relevant department just two days to process my application for a permit. The timing of the application was poor. The officials apparently looked at it two days after the April 1987 election. when the Conservative Party made considerable gains, and when it again became quite respectable to more firmly enshrine apartheid measures. With a certain amount of hindsight. my pathetic little application stood no chance in this sea of white reaction. It was turned down flat. No reasons were given.

I was not alone with residence problems.

My brother Paddy was visited a number of times by the police in Lansdowne. He was preparing to emigrate to Australia. and sold his house in Kuils River. I found a house to rent in white Lansdowne (with the help and support of the estate agents) but ran the risk of infringing group areas in a neighbourhood quite intolerant of the increasing coloured immigration. (It was ironic, too, that the very individuals who reported the presence of coloured people in Lansdowne were living in houses appropriated from a previous generation of coloured people.)

It is against this background that the illegitimacy of group areas and the larger argument concerning group rights should be seen. When FW de Klerk speaks about the right of white people to retain the sanctity of their own community life. and therefore to hold on to their group areas. he forgets that the National Party denied people of colour that same right in the past. and that many of the group areas of whites were built upon the appropriation of black peoples' property and houses.

It is vital to underline the fact that the historical processes by which many whites secured the community life they now want to defend under the umbrella of group rights, were premised on greed and the systematised theft of that which belonged to others. Moreover. the individuals involved in moving the thousands of people around and about behaved like bullies. uprooting a people relatively defenceless against a powerful state. And it is particularly poignant. in a miserable sort of way. that many whites who presently live in houses that previously belonged to non-white people are unaware of that fact. IT IS for these reasons that the emergent debate about the precise meaning of apartheid is so critical today. For the people against whom apartheid measures were directed. it is clear that group areas and the wider system of group definitions and group rights. were at the centre of apartheid. It becomes anomalous, perhaps hypocritical. therefore. to even begin to

speaking about the end of apartheid and at the same time to retain group areas. or to try to even

infuse the concept of group rights with an air of credibility in the face of its iniquitous history. and to forget the disabilities alligned upon a powerless people about something as simple and precious as their homes.

What do ordinary people in the street expect from a government that seeks to eliminate racial discrimination and build a more just society? An apology for historical wrongs committed would help. But an apology alone would never do.

Perhaps government should go much further and as Heriberto Adam and Kogila Mootley suggested in their book. South Africa's Witwatersrand Apartheid. pay restitution to those people who suffered from the application of the Group Areas Act.

Seen from this side of the Berg River to hold on to group areas (and group rights) is to preclude the building of a more just and gentle nation. and to dangerously corrupt the processes of reconciliation among the people of South Africa. I

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In I'eile sal 'n swurl diklziluur 'n wil ecn
vcrvang. Volgens Horowitz hcl dic biankes
in Suid-Afrika 00k geen morclc plig 0m in
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grondslag vnrm vir Arend Lijphurl sc voorsiclle
vir in konsosizuicwc bcdcliniy en die
Demokrzilicsc Party sc vcrkicsingsplzilibrm.
Lijphart bcpleil dic slclsl van gcwonc
proporsionclc vcrlccnwoordiging omdau hy gin
den dil in die muii-ctnicsc sumclcwing van Suid-
Afriku tot tulle politieke parch sal lei. Vunuil
14 DIE SULD-AFRIKAAN FEBRUARIE 1900
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 dic gcvulic 1ch die mislukking van die koali-
 sic dic cInicsc konlilic vcrerger. Gcwonc pro-
 porsionclc vcrlccnwoordiging is nic vir Suid-
 Ai'riku dic ()plossing nic. zlldus Horowitz.
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 slclsci guzm gchcur is dul swurtcs hulle guun
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 ring slcl Horowitz mulii-cmicsc mcerder-
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 dic woord. tusscn kompclercnde mulii-cl-
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 die bcvolking uanvuurbaur wccs. Dil hcl wce
 101 gcvolg (lat oorccnkomstc mct ande

gmcpk nangcgziun mocl word. on dat iemani
slcgs as president gckics kan word wal (lcu
kompmmic dic guns van die mccrdcrheii
van die bcvolking wcn. HDic gevolg was da
dic president 'n simbool vir pan-etniesi
akkommodasic gcword hct. omdal hy nit
mccr 0p sy cic. Cksklusicwe ()ndersteu
ningsbusis vcrkics kon word nic."

a

N ANDER voorbecld wat Horowitz
21s in moontlike oplossing vir Suid-Afrikz
voorstci. is 'n stclsl van ialternaticwc
In in verdeelde samelewing i:
mcnsc gcncig 0m 0p groepsbasis ts
mobilisccr - Horowitz vcrwys hier n2
Namibia waur die meesle van die partye we
..())p.- is maar slccds hoofsaaklik slcun uii
bcpaaldc cmicsc gmepc trek. in Slelsel moca
vcrkicslik bcding word waar die iieerstc
kcsuci' van 'n ctnicsc groep nic maklik
president kan word nie. Altematiewe keuses -
dic kiesers se twccde 0f derde keuse - word
bcvoordccl. Dit is gcwoonlik mensc Wat vii
slcmmcH

meer us een ctnicse groep aanvaarbaar is.
Dic slelsel van alternatiewe slemme en die
pruktyk van stemmepocl kan 00k gcbruik
word om te sorg dat gematigde partye goed
vaar in verkiesings vir welgewende vergade-
rings. Horowitz nocm Sri Lanka as voorbeeld
waar diI goed sal werk. Hier word die stem
van die Sinhalese meerderheidsgroep Iussen
Iwec slerk Sinhalese panye verdeel. Ierwyl
die Tamils. wal maar 13 persem van die be-
volking uilmaak 0m emiese redes agter hul
cie party monster.

As die twee groot Sinhalese pariye hipo-
Icties 40 pcrsem en 45 persent 0nderskeidelik
van die land sc kiesers veneenwoordig. word
die 13 persem van die Tamils skielik van
grout belang 7 as daar in stelsel van propor-
sioncle vcrteenwoordiging gekoppel is aan in
alternatiewc stem. Di6 party wat 'n verkic-
singsoorecnkoms met die Tamils aangaan,
kzm dun dziurvan vcrseker wees dat sy kandi-
duul die Iwcedc keusc van elke Tamil sal
wees. Op dic ou end sul dit aan hom waar-
skynlik dic mccrdcrheid verskaf.

In ruil vir die Tamils se sleun, sail in 00r-
wcgcnd Sinhalese party cgter heelwzu kom-
promicc met die Tumil-lcierskap moet aan-
guzm - kompromice qu die beskeming van
Izizilrcgic. vun vcrlecnwoordiginxby in die
siziuisdicns cn selfs van rcgcringsposte kan
insluit.

Di6 slclsl bcd dus slcrk aanmoediging vir
Icgcnwctkomcndc politieke gcdrag. Die ge-
muligdc scntrum word vcrslerk en die ekstre-
mislc word nu dic kunle vcrskuif. Soos Horo-
witz dit mm Div .SiiidsAfi'i/(uun gesiel het:
'Ucmzuigdheid word lonend gemaak. die
slclsl werk vcrdcldhcid teen en moedig
kompmmic mm in Politieke stelsel word nie
gcdwing 0m cmisiteit le ignoreer asof dit nie
bcstuun nic. Terselfdcrtyd kan 'n party nie 0p
in rus-cksklusicwc basis steun probeer werf
nic omdat hy dun noodwendig stemme gaan

verloor."

Maleisie' verteenwoordig 'n variant van die pruktyk van stemmepoc1. Die sterkste party is in der waarheid 'n permanente koulisie van Chinese en Maleisiese sub-partyc. In elke kiesafdeling stel die party net een kandidaat (6f 'n Maleier ()f in Chinces), maar die partye leierskap versker dat in heterogene kiesafdelings Maleiers en Chinese hul stemme op die kandidaat uitbring. Die kompromie word dus binne die etniese koalisieparty gesluit. Die party leef die gemitigde benadering uit in die verkiesingstryd en in die regering wat dit salamsel. Oor die lxxaslc drie dekades het Maleisie duarin geslaag ()m in relatief vreedsame multi-etniese demokrasie te bly.

Can in stelsel wut stemmepoc1ery aunmoedig in Suid-Afrika werk? Horowitz 121211 hom nie hieroor uit nie en in mns kzm ullccn gis.

AAN DIE een kunt sul (lic kiesstelsel van proporsionele verteenwom'diging gekoppel met die zllternutiewe stem wuzirskynlik zlanvuurbuar vir die ANC met s_y kernbeginsel Vain nie-russigheid wccs. Nic-mund sul kzm bweer (lat (lit '11 voortsleuning vzm apartheid is nie.

Aan die onder kan1 stuan 0i val so in Vorm van proporsionele verteenwomxiiging by die zwmwssigheid van 1011 minste twee grout partyc (of koulisieparty) wat elkeen minstens 35 tot 40 persent van die sleemste trek en in zumlal kleinste partytjies wzt 21s in snort gemitigde nukleus kan dien. Di1 is goed moontlik dill die ANC/MDM 40 persent plus szil kan trek. Die vruug is cglcr 01' in koalisie van s62 die NP. Inkathu en die Arbeidersparty dicslelle kun doen. En is dziztr die vooruitsig van kleinste partytjies wat gemitigheid in die stelsel kan bevorder'? As die NP glo (1:11 (lic antwoord op lausgnoeinde twee vroe negatelicli is. sal die party wuurskynlik ()nwillig wees om die kuns met so in kiesstelsel te wag.

Die grout vramg is of wit en swart Suid-Afrikancers gcnocg suamstem 001' in ekonomiese slelsl en die soon slant Will hulle wil I16 0m in kiesstelsel soos hierbo voorgestel te luul werk.

Indien in beweging die politieke slelsl wil gebruik om die ekonomiese ()l'dc en die staatsbelsel omver te werp. kzm stellig vcrwag word (1211 lalenle cmicse sp'mningy op die spits gedryi' sul word.

Ook in politiek moet die kzer nie voor die pcrde gcspzm word nie. Volgens Horowitz kun cklmzile meganismes konsensus en kompmic help bou. Dit is cglei' cwcncns wuur dzil in ulternuttiewe kiesstelsel 0p sigscli' die produk moet wccs van in minimum konsensus tussen wit en swart Suid-Af'ikancers 0m suzim en demokrasie nun in nuwe politieke en ekonomiese ()rdc te bou. 0i' duztrdic konsensus bcstzizm. sul hlyk wunneer verleenwoordigcrs van ulle politieke pztrlyc om die 0ndcrhzmclingstutiel hul plekke innccm. I

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LINKS BO: Afgevaardigdes in Parys . . .
(kloksgewys van links onder) Alec Erwin
van Cosatu, ANC-Iede Jeremy Cronin,
Zola Skweyiya en Pallo Jordan. en
menseregte-prokureur Fink Haysom van
Johannesburg. BO: MDM-leier Murphy
Morobe en Thabo Mbeki van die ANC 1n
omspanne luim. met Alex Boraine van

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PARYS-KONFERENSIE

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Twee jaar later, in 1989 in Parys. is in re-dakteur van Rapport se susterskoeranl, Volksblad self een van die afgevaardigdcs. (Hermie van Devemer hct selfs in in stadium voor die ANC en lede van die MDM in roe-rende pleidooi gelcwer dal die De Kierk-regering se goeie bedoelingc en oprcgtheid erken moet word.) Saam met Van Deventer 0m die tafel hel 00k Ken Owen. rcdakteur van Business Day en voorheen in uitgesproke kritikus van gesprekke met iterrorisxe'. gesil. Vir die eerste kcer is daar 00k in establish-ment-koerame behoerlik verslag gedoen oor die inhoud van die debat, anders as in 1987 toe die hele beginsel van praat met die ANC sonder omhaal verwerp en gcsligmaliseer is. Hoewei daar in Die Burger en Bceld redelik krities oor die onlangse Parys-beraad verslag gedoen is. hou die koerantc hulle die/ kecr minstens beter by die feile van wal gebeur. PERSEPSIES 00r gesprekvoering met die ANC bet in twee skralc jare onherkenbaar verander. Die samestelling van die ANC-afvaardiging was nie noemenswaardig anders as gedurende 1987 nie. Thabo Mbeki. die ANC se sekretaris van buitelandse sake. was daar. So 00k Pallo Jordan. inligtingsektaris. Barbara Masekela. aan die stuur van kultuursake. Penuell Maduna van die regsafdeling. en Steve Tshwete van die nasionale uilvoerende komiiee. Wat wel verander het. is die konteks van die debal en die manier waarop die' soon gesprekvoering in die establishment en die massamedia vertolk word. Teen die einde van vcrledc jaar kon Dawie. Die Burger se rubriekskrywer wat hom s0 giftig uigelaal het oor die skakeling met Hterroristcii. selfs verklaar dai die Regering en die ANC in in anpolitieke tweespel" betrokke is . . . in merkwaardige erkenning van die werklike politick swaargewig-ml van die ANC in die Suid-Afrikaanse konflik.

Die uemosionelc dcurbraakii van Dakar was mair as 'n pmp waI uiI dic bad gctrek is: ccrdcr 'n sluis wal oopgcmaak is. Hocwcl klcincr grocpc cn individuc uiI Suid-Ai'rika

reeds sederl die vroeë Iagtigcxjarc kontak met die ANC gehad het (die hckendsle was die ommooting in 1985 van 'n groep sakmannen gclci deur Anglo American se Gavin Rally) was Dakar die eersle doelgcrigc poging om in die propaganda-oorlog weg te hrcck van clichés. stigmasering en stereolipering. 'n Vloedgolf ontmoclings met die ANC het gevolg: deur vroue-groep. rcsgric'ocpc. skrywers. sakmannen. in die geheim sels verlcenwoordigers van die regering en senior lede van die Broederbond. Maar nie net pcrscpsies het dramalies verander nie. Ook die inhoud van die debat self DIE grootste waarde van die Parys-ontmoeting was dat dit 'n redelike aanduiding kan gee van die mate waarin die politieke debat sedert 1987 ontwikkel en verander het.

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het in geleidelike grondverskuiwing beleef. Op die laaste dag van die Parys-konferensie het Van Zyl Slabbert dit s6 opgesom: alhoewel Dakar we had a dialogue of the deaf searching for the blind. Only now are we beginning to understand what we are trying to say to one another? Dit was ook in openlik ingesê Slabbert was op die voorlaaste aand van die ontmoeting in die ryfwit koue van die Paryse winter hande gevryf het: "Wat wil my belieë. kan al die afgevaardigdes in6re gaan fees vier. Al daag niemand op nie. was die konferensie nog in sukses" Slabbert het goeie rede gehad om tevrede te voel. Die samesprekings van die spesifieke dag is deur beraadgangers beslempel as die vrugbaarste gesprek was n6g deur so in diverse groep oor die meganismes van die Suid-Afrikaanse ekonomiese geveer is. In Dakar het die ekonomiese debat 7 namens die iibinnelandse afvaardiging" gclci deur die teoretici Leon Louw en Chris Nel a vir die grootsle teleurstelling gesorg. In Parys was swaargewig uit die nywerheidssektor persoonlik teenwoordig om die gesprek voortdurend lering te dwing na die harde praktyk toe. Mens soos Murray Hofmeyr en Ronnie Bethlehem. bckwaam ()ndersteun deur Ken Owen en Pieter le Roux van die Universiteit van Wes-Kaapland. het gwcier om tevrede te wees met maklike antwoorde. So het Murray Hofmeyr die vakbonde daarvan beskuldig dat hulle dnelbewus hul aksieprogramme rig op juis die maatskappye wat die meesle gcv doen het om hulle te akkommodeer. as in "matter of policy". Jay Naidoo. die algemene sekretaris van die Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). se vcrwccr hiepm was dat werkgevers hul icgilimiteit in die stryd eers moet verander. iaDie sakew6reld wil nie erkenning in die stryd het nie" was Hofmeyr se lecnsvcrwccr. 'nOns praat nct oor harde kommersiële kwessies. En hieroor vra ons in lewendige dialoog tussen vakbonde en die sakwereld' 'n Beleënisvolle bydrae was die van Alec Erwin. sekretaris vir opvoeding van Cosatu.

waI deur sy pragmatics bcnadcring in kri-
tiese gesprck met die sakeleiers moonlik
gcmaak hel. Veral Erwin se klem op dic be-
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he! indruk op ekonome gemaak.

In die akademiese almosfcer van Marly-le-
Roi. een van die meer gegoede Paryse voor-
slede. liel holle reloriek dan 00k verbasend
gou gewyk voor saaklike gcsprekvoering.
(Dil was selfs opvallend hoe mocilik die
oni-oni in diLS sober atmosfeer vir MDM-
lede wou kom. Na in paar mislukte pogings
in die gangc voor die konfcrensiesentrum.
moes die? tradisionele emosie-uitlewing eers
wag op die amptelike omhaal van in Franse
minister, en toe 00k meei' as vermaak vir die
gaste.) In stadiums was daar ongekende kon-
sensus tussen binnelandse ekonome. vak-
bondleiers en senior lde van die African Na-
tional Congress. Die' konsensus was veral
veelbctekend Iccn die agtergrond van die
genadelose landwye nywerheidsgeskil tussen
die Food and Allied Workers Union (Fawu)
en Suid-Afi'ikaanse Broueryc wal toe nog in
voile gang was.

Dal 'n sekere male van kunsmatigheid in-
gebou is in die konsensus in di6 lipc gesprek-
ke op vreemde grond. 1y geen twyfel nie.
Maar dat hierdie gesprekke na nagenoeg 50
ommootings tussen binnelandse Suid-Afri-
kaners en die ANC as in soon Richterskaal
vir politieke grondverskuiwings kan dien. is
ewencens waar.

Daar kan dan 00k geargumemeer word dat
die grootsle waarde van die Parys-ontmoe-
ting was dai dil in rcdciike aanduiding kon
gee van die mate waarin die politieke debal
sederi 1987 omwikkcl en vcrander het.
Teen die/ aglcrgrond is diI miskien nie ver-
basend nie dat daar in Parys van alle kanlc in
icnlalicwc konvergencie van argumente en
standpunte geblyk het wal in Dakar net nie
moontlik was nie. Dit is in fcit dat die ANC
heelwai bclangrike vcrskuiwingc in stand-
punt deurgegaan 1161. In gesprekke met mense
waI sowci by Dakar as Parys teenwoordig
was. is die volgende gei'demifisccr:
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Dakar minslens aanvanklik daarop aanged-
ring he! daI diti organisasie die i'sole and
authentic voice" van die mense van Suid-Af-
DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN FEBRUARIEIQQO 19

PARYS-KONFERENSIE ,
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IN MARCH 1989 the South Africa Law Commission published 21 Working Paper 111 the project (11' human rights in South Africa. to which was attached a draft Bill of Rights. The Working Paper was hailed as great public interest. a prominent 1111 great things to come. In some circles internationally it was regarded as 1111 epitome (: the thinking' within the white establishment.

This response can easily be understood against the background of the widespread winter of discontent and the hopes of many people.

For better times to come. The Working Paper is indeed a commendable contribution to the ongoing debate in our country about the future constitutional order.

To quite a great extent the Working Paper confirms the ANC belief that the system of apartheid is not merely incompatible with human rights and freedoms. but is a direct negation thereof.

Our approach to the Paper cannot. however. be detached from the reality which prompted Kobie Coetsee. an ardent opponent of the Bill of Rights. to instruct the Law Commission to investigate and make recommendations on the definition and protection of group rights in the context of the South African apartheid constitutional set-up. We have ample cause to suspect that the regime commissioned this Paper with the intention of wriggling out of the crisis it had plunged into as a result of its mulishness as well as to invite further sanctions.

The ANC could not participate in this project which in the eyes of the majority of the people is the white man's venture. Indeed for it to be associated with the Law Commission would be tantamount to according respectability and legitimacy to the system of apartheid itself. which is a crime against humanity according to the United Nations.

Thus the ANC's traditional commitment to human rights spans our entire life history as a political organisation. It goes back a long way to the inaugural conference on 8th Sunday. 1913. to the programme adopted in 1919 and the policy statement issued in 1943 under the title 'Alien Claims in South Africa' which included a draft Bill of Rights which demanded the extension to all adults. regardless of race. of the right to vote. It covers the 19-18 Manifesto of the ANC Youth League by stalwarts of our struggle such as Nelson Mandela. Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu. which defined its political goal as the removal of the colour bars and the admission of Africans into full citizenship so that they should have direct representation in parliament.

the constitutional debate

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from the era in which the Population Registration/Group Areas Acts will cease to exist. The Law Commission seems to share this outlook with Pretoria and even puts forward the suspect notion of an equal and equivalent franchise which has no precedent. The Law Commission takes a swipe at the Freedom Charter assertion that All National Groups Shall Have Equal Rights on the basis that it takes ethnic groups as its point of departure. Here it pretends not to be aware of the reality that the Freedom Charter seeks to address. Part of the racist tyranny that still holds our country in thrall is a policy of studied suppression of all genuine cultural products of the languages of the oppressed majority, the deliberate sponsorship of the most backward and retrograde aspects of custom, and the degradation of tradition for purposes of repression and exploitation. This Freedom Charter clause is a demand that the national grievances of the oppressed and disenfranchised majority be given redress: those who espouse the Freedom Charter perspective do not pander to racism and ethnism at all by making this demand.

The ANC correctly recognizes the cultural diversity of the South African population but does not regard the cultural expressions of this diversity as eternally frozen categories which are to be buttressed by the new legal and constitutional order. Our commitment to one united, democratic and non-racial South Africa based on universal equal adult suffrage and a common voters roll cannot be gainsaid. We have, through, and in struggle, welded together millions of South Africans in the process of forging one South African nation with one national identity. With us sovereignty and the authority to govern will come from the people as a whole, and not from a conglomeration of bantustans and racial and tribal groupings organised to perpetuate white minority rule under a new guise, in new circumstances.

The Law Commission also shares with the National Party the concept of the right of every person or group to disassociation. This unprecedented "right" would obviously allow the racists to enjoy their ill-gotten wealth and perpetuate discrimination as long as they do not use state funds for the purpose. The Commission in other words wants to allow discrimination in practice while denying it in principle. Those who do not have ulterior motives will agree with us that it is sufficient to guarantee the individuals freedom of association with others for the protection of their common interests, as well as to ensure that no one should be compelled to belong to an association.

While the Commission says that the Bill of Rights should not commit itself to a particular socio-economic system, it however exhibits a worrisome and not yet entirely unexpected class bias in favour of unbridled capitalism. The Working Paper suggests that homeownership is one of the basic aspirations of all South Africans and concludes that the vast majority of all South Africans a Bill

of Rights without a property clause would be totally unacceptable". The Commission seems to be against a system that imposes social duties and responsibilities on private property to promote the interests and welfare of all South Africans. Instead it advocates yet another unprecedented right the so-called right to profit. We believe that the economy in its entirety should serve the interests of all South Africans. and not the narrow interest of profiteers only. The Commission does not even make reference to workers' rights such as the right to strike. and yet hopes to persuade these very same masses to lend legitimacy to a constitutional order which does not have their interests at heart.

To the Commission. the whole purpose of affirmative action will be to assist minority groups that have been historically discriminated against in order to enable such groups to reach equality with the others. It completely ignores the reality of South Africa where it is the majority who have been the victims of statutory. economic, social and attitudinal discrimination. We have ample cause to suspect that the Commission is clinging to P W Botha's notion of a nation of minorities, and denies the existence of the majority due to fear of majority rule.

SOME of the aspects of the proposed Bill of Rights which are cause of disquiet have already been referred to above. Here I will deal with only a few of them.

The right to life:

While the Commission seems to recognise that everyone has the inherent right to life which the law has to protect. it at the same time leaves to the discretion of the courts the imposition of the death penalty. In my view the Commission is wrong in ignoring the ongoing campaign for the abolition of the death penalty. It should not assume that this horrific form of punishment which has historically been used mainly against the voteless black majority, will be inherited by a future South Africa. The right to life should be one of the rights that will operate absolutely. in my opinion; the same applies to the right not to be held in slavery or subjected to forced labour.

The right to freedom of speech and expression (1)-
Iain and dissenting information:

While we fully espouse this right. it cannot be allowed to operate absolutely. All democracies accept that there are special duties and responsibilities and that this right may be subject to certain necessary statutory restrictions for respect of the rights or reputations of others for the protection of national security or public order. and to protect public morals or health. In our particular and peculiar circumstances. as the draft ANC Constitutional Guidelines rightly say. any advocacy of racial. national, or ethnic hatred and incitement to discrimination. hostility and violence. shall not be tolerated.

Effectively (given the Bill of Rights):

The ANC is fully committed to a constitutionally entrenched and justiciable Bill of Rights. We have a problem, however. with

the Commissions apparent assumption that
 the enforcement of the Bill will be the re-
 sponsibility of the "Supreme Court of the
 Republic of South Africa".
 continuity of the current judiciary which has
 If this implies
 (lose everything to discredit itself and legal-
 ity in the eyes of the majority of South Afri-
 cans. we wonder if the oppressed will lend its
 support to the project. We would suggest that
 we either look for alternative enforcement
 mechanisms. such as a Constitutional Court
 (which will comprise both lawyers and lay
 people). or that we indeed have a fully repre-
 sentative and non-racial judiciary the basic
 thrust of which will be directed towards see-
 ing that justice is done.
 I FULLY agree with the Commission
 that in order for any Bill of Rights to enjoy
 legitimacy it should be a result of
 negotiation. I believe. that
 negotiations should not only be about a Bill
 of Rights: they should encompass the entire
 question of a new constitutional order. I also
 believe that such negotiations cannot be held
 under the supervision of the apartheid regime
 which does not enjoy the support of the
 majority of South Africans.
 As indicated above, the negotiations
 should be preceded by the emergence of a
 conducive climate which the powers that be
 need to create. Logically the tri-racial parlia-
 ment. which was created solely for the pur-
 pose of entrenching the apartheid system.
 cannot give us a new non-apartheid con-
 stitution: for one thing. when it debates the
 work of the proposed National Council en-
 visaged in the so-called Promotion of Consti-
 tutional Development Act of 1988, the ma-
 jority of South Africans will not be repre-
 sented. Neither can we entrust the apartheid
 government with the task to govern the coun-
 try while a new constitution is being worked
 out. The commission has a duty to be sensi-
 tive to all this and to look South African real-
 ity of polarisation and mistrust in the face.
 Lastly. the commission should persuade
 Gerrit Viljoen not to waste money and other
 resources in a futile attempt at getting blacks
 involved in his proposed blacks-only elec-
 tions for a negotiating forum. This is an in-
 sult to the sacrifices that all our people. black
 and white. have made to bring. us to a point
 where a political resolution of the South Af-
 rican conflict has become possible. He and
 his government should co-operate with all
 South Africans of good will and establish a
 non-racial Constituent Assembly that will
 work out a new constitution for our country
 which will usher in the new. united. demo-
 cratic and non-racial South Africa our people
 are yearning and struggling for. I
 however,

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apartheid economy

LEFT: Willie Breytenbach, Africa expert from the University of Stellenbosch, and Trevor M anuel, Western

Cape leader in the MDM, at the Paris conference. At the back is the editor of Business Da y, Ken Owen.

ABOVE: Gerald Shaw of the Cape Times, Stone Sizani of Kagiso Trust in Port Elizabeth, and Aziz Pahad

science L1nd technology mttty in fzict speed up the integration ()1. the tlcntocmtixccl socialist countries into at giant ncw Europcune USSRw) economic block.

Secondly. this process is not being brought about by the 1'i'cc market. 11 is the product 01 conscious political decisions 11nd ttctions based on Ionicy run sttttcgic planning. We in South Aliricu must first understand amtl assess the nztturc of the challenge we are going to 111cc and adapt to it. It is little short 01 tragic that hcrc in South AlirlCLl wc ilI'C still discuss- ing whcthr every person in ()Lll' land iri'c- xpcctivc 01' rucci scx or creed should be cquzilly entitled to basic human rights. Elsc- where the world economy that well huvc to live in tomorrow is being' rcxtruclurcd. The longer we delay on basic rights the mom cor- ttiin it is that well cnd up a peripheral brud basket case. This would be at very. very cruel irony utter the human stililicring our land hits of the ANC.

endured.

The challenges posed by Lt 1'ulurc Europe were not the issue being attldrcxsccl in Paris.

However. us I indicated this pt'obzthlc challenge only rcinliorccd vicws expressed in Paris

In summarising Cosutuk approach to the cconom) the .xtilicnt points maulc in my pics- cntztion ill the Paris Conference were:

The South Alil'lCilli cconomy is liztcu with structural obxtztclcx to growth and prosperity lllill lHWC been generated or exacerbated by the apartheid ct'u illitl its pzuticulzu' political LLIKl economic policies. The obstacles to growth lie in the way in which our munulizice luring sector htts tlcvclopccl into 11 high C0517 loo mtgc producer incapable of supplying (1 low income consumer nutrlxct oi' 01 compete ing on intcmzitiontil markets.

The obstacles to prosperity 1'or Llll Lire structural crises 01' uncmplcyment: poverty: pictures RONEL SCHEFFEH, IDASA shortages 01 housing: hcalth cztrc facilities and other social scrviccs and Li tlccply Lllxi tortcd educational structure. The high cost- low wugc mttnul'acturing sector compounds the problems 01' poverty 21nd ix iitcztpublc 01' altering.v the situation

This ix 11 V01) hricli summur) 01' :1 complex sizitc oli illilililllI'Si. llowcvct'. ('oszttti draws two essential conclusions Firstly. the removal 01 Ltpzu'thcitl xxill hmc wry important and posi- tive cliliccts on society Lllitl politics. But the impact on the structural problems oi the ccoiiomy uill be more lllnlILKli Secondly. nmrlxct tours tend to ic1'lcct the structural chumctcrislicx 01' :in economy and lithC littlc capacity to change those clizirzictcristicx A South Al'ricu

only perpetuate the existing structural prob licc market would therefore

lcmx oli poverty LtIKl uncmplcyment In addi-

tion our location in the xxi'ltl economy
would remain tinziltciul. Looking Lil changes
Dli Sl'ltltliRlKAH l'ltliRl :XRli 1901) 25

PARIS CONFERENCE

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gie planning 0111 p1111111e11'ie type 111111 will
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1111tce 01's111bility 11nd 11e11011111ey.
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organised capital. H0weve1. 1'011se11sus is
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011 the ee0110my was 11 1'11111'111 111111 even
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01he1. 111 listening there was 11 110111111011
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11tt11111 the latter there is hope 101 South A1-
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10 1h11111 11s 101. I
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 velop in110v111ive policies ()111 s01u1i011s lie
 neither in 11ee 111111ke1 capitalism 1101 in een-
 11111ly pl111111e11 1'011111111111 ee0110my socialism.
 C0s11111 1111s 11 socialist conception 01 the
 e1'0110111ie problems. However. 11 is important
 10 define wl111 is socialist. Firstly. policy is
 aimed 111 developing economic 111111 s0ei111
 p11)grz111mes which must effectively develop
 11nd benefit our .whole. society. This means.
 Ihereliore. that there must be particular. but
 1101 exclusive. development 101 the working
 class 11111jori1y in our society Secondly. cen-
 11111 10 our thinking is 1he development 01' 11
 democratic political process that will e11-
 trench mass participation and involvement in
 the 101111ul11110n 11nd implemen1111i0n of eco'
 nomie policy.
 In these b101111 dimensions. we are un-
 ashamedly s0ei111is11 B111 0111 challenge is to
 develop inclusivist progrunnnes that will
 build 11 productive. prosperous. ecologically
 stable 111111 culturally vib121nt society where
 each 111111 every eiti/en benefits 111 meanin9l'ul
 111e11su1'e. We have 10 open 0111 the 11ge111111 01
 11eb11te beyond i11e010gie111 eliehes if we 1111'
 10 11v0i11 11 1'111111e economy where 11111ss p0v-
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 which help pave the way 101 11 more i111i01'111e11
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 stand the 1111111111 01' the s11'011g 0pp11si1i011 hy
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 our economic pblems. which is systemati-
 111 0111' ViLWL
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 111111 interests 111ie11pit111 111111 the slum. 111 short.
 Extracts from Erwin1s paper
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 10 12e111i11 prolilubility. 111111 111111 01 the slate is
 10 s11e1l i1s 111111g1111011s in 0111e1 to solve its
 l'ise111 p1'0ble111s. There is 110 coherent 1hinks
 ing 11110111 the el'l'e1's 01 implementing such
 p0li11ies in the wider society. The effect is
 111111 such p0lieies constilule 11 syslemutie 111-

111111 011 the working, class in particular. bc-
1'1111se they have manifest impuells on wages
111111 e111pl0y111e111 with no gains made else-
where.

11 we could attain 11 more considered ap-
p1'0111'h b11se11 011 negotiation within credible
1'01ums. then certain potentials within privati-
s11ti0n 11n1l deregulation could be developed.
There is 21 c0mp0nen1 01' privilisation which
is imp01111111. 21nd that is the question 011mm-
agemenl accountability for i1s actions. lf
11e1'i1'its are mel by slute subsidy. then 1his
musl have 1111 effect on managerial style
when compared 10 21 situation 01 11 self-fi-
1111111'in1y enterprise. Equally with deregula-
11011. i1 it is applied 11) removing protection of
narrow interests then imp01111n1 Changes
could be effected These issues are both more
complex 211111 more fruitful 10 the wider soci-
ety. H0weven 111 present these potential posi-
tive measures will 1101 emerge.

The second task is to confront the issue of
whether an in110w 01 foreign capital and for-
eign 11111 will be 11 solution within our post-
11partheid economy. Particularly around the
issue of s1111e1ions 11 popular wisdom has de-
veloped that our problems are caused by dis-
investment and sanctions and that our prob-
lems will. therefore. be solved by a future in-
tlux 01 foreign aid and capital. There is a lot
01 t111k about Marshall Aid type plans for
Southern Africa.

Such 11 growth path expee1ation is danger-
(ms. 11 is dangerous because it is unlikely to
happen on the scale envisaged by its propo-
nents. This will only serve to delay the vital
restructuring required in 0111 110111es1ie econ-
omy. F01 structural reasons. the South Afri-
e1111 ee0110111y. even without apartheid. will
1101 1111111e1 massive 01 sustained capital 01 11id
inflows. We 111cc 11 much more serious prob-
lem 0111 eupitul outtlow.

We must st211't now 011 the work of restruc-
turing 111111 developing our economy rather
1111111 delaying in the expectation of 11 foreign
11i11 01 foreign capital panacea.

Finally. we will have 10 learn 11) confront
the issues 111111 1101 the ideological paradigms.
This is 1101 to abandon analysis 01 to deny
very real differences. However. we have 10
be quite clear wh111 those differences are. and
10 what extent negotiation will narrow them.
Our future is 1111 100 importam 10 every-
011e t0 allow it 10 be left in the realm of 11 war
01 slogans. We have 11) effect 11 rapid shift
t0v111111s researched and mandated debates on
polieyfl I

Where are you
most likely
to bump into
all these people. . .
Jan Steyn, Barend du Plessis, Colin
Eglin, Murphy Morobe, Willie
Esterhuyse, Harry Oppenheimer, Chris
Heunis, Wynand Malan, Stoffel van der
Merwe, Lawrie Schlemmer, Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Franklin Sonn,
Andries Treurnicht, Johan Degenaar,
Mary Burton, Denis Worrall, Sam de
Beer, Carel Boshoff, Eric Molobi, Robert
Schrire, Zac de Beer, H W van der
Merwe, Richard van der Ross, Wessel
Ebersohn, David Welsh, Van Zyl
Slabbert, Hermann Giliomee, Gavin
Relly, Heribert Adam, Deon Geldenhuys,
Leon Wessels, Sampie Terreblanche,
Helen Suzman, Beyers Naude, Stanford
Ungar, Harry Schwarz, Leon Louw?
Suubay Emacs:
In the opinion pages of the Paper for the People,
of course

NP Van Wyk Louw en die Afrikaner-Nasionalisme
Die nasionaal-sosialisme
Gerrif Olivier

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SKRYWERS EN BOEKE

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Aap van God?

Dr CHARLES M/IL/IN ,11111111111111 EKUS(E1011/11s0
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DIV SI 11)W1'R11xX.V H-HRI U(H' WWI! 31

E tienne Leroux

(Verv van 17/31)

gemeenskap 16 red; volgens dieselfde patroon moet die skl'ywer 00k simbolics stcrf, soos met die iikruisingingii van die knolskrywer in 18-44 gcbcur.

Lcmux bly gct'ussinccr mcI die rilucld van dood en begrafnis. Hy vermoor sy kuraklers dour middcl van dcurboring met in dcnncluk, pcs.slwigingy gcvolg dcur in pisloolskoot. vcrhrunding, 'n huclgcwccr en '11 vlocd.

Dood is lclkcns nodig 0m die swzu'l nulpunl. die donkcrlc van die onbcwustc. 1c bcrclc. Duarnu kzm (laar incl lcwcgcwcndc simbolc nu die lity Icruggckccr word. Wunnccr Dcmclcr sc dogter. Percscphnnc. uil die onderwereld Icrugkccr. bringY sy die Icnlc en vrcugdc. ()ok Lcroux raak Iclkcns hzildudig wannccr hy sy sloltcrncdc spcui'dcrs. vloccndc bomgooicrs en rascrige smousc 01) die volk loslaal. 'n Mcns hoor s_v maaglzlggic clkc kccr wzmccr hy van LUK's. voorsiIIcns van hocrcvcrncnigings. spicckops en tycoon krillcns maak. Die Afrikuncr is uil die aard van (lic saak die ccn wal die mccslc under die skcrp satire dcurloop. DiI is usoli Lcroux in doclbcwuslc ufsland lusscn hum en die volk wil skcp dour die bcclld van die muicsc. bohccmsc skrywer uit 1c hou mcl behulp van 'n donkerbril. klcrccdrag en gcwoomcs. Hy bly cgler skryf vanuil die hart van die volk. as lid van 'n plattclandse en boeregcmeenskap.

Tcn spylc van sy vernictigcndc krilick hCI hy hom nooil van die Afi'ikaner gedislansiccr nie. Maar die Verwoerds van hierdie w&reld vra naluurlik nie 0f vcrscl lojual is nic en Lcroux is deur invlocdrykc vertccnwoordigers van kerk. slaal en kulluur lot volksvyand verklaar. Ncl sy kennissc kon uglerkom hoe diep hierdie verguising hom geraak het.

DIE AFRIKANER, Wm die

dood en verlics van sy cic miles on hcroicse verlede kon aanvaar nie. he! in sondcbok in Lcroux gckry. Hullc hct diI ampcr rcggckry 0m hom IC stcnig met hullc slegchry. scnsuur. bricwe. uanklaglc en klagic en cmosics. Hy kon in lung ruk nzi die vcrbod op M(IgU/1yfmltzli/1, r1 Mugarsj/bIIIC/II/ nic wccr skryf nic.

Ek onlhou die uildrukking vun ongclimf op sy gcsig me ck hum die ccrstc kccr die scs bladsyc uillrckscs uiI die roman wys Will (icur Aksic Morclc Standuzlrde suamgcsclcl en landi wyd vcrsprci is. i/Lovcyii. hcl hy vii' sy vmu Elizabeth gcvm. 1/th ck wrugtig al die gocd gcskryf wal hier slaanZ/H J21. hy hot ul die gocd gcskryii. maar nic st')(')s hullc duar suum nic. Na scs jazir van slilswyc hcl 11y die simi bolicsc (100d van apartheid in 011w I/y1111'c hcskry/i. Die mman waarin hy wou uundag goo um die Afrikuncr sc ()Iivcrmo'c 0m dood en verlics lc aanvaar. Div kaping. Ron hy cgler nic vollooi nic.

Toe .11 bckcndc rcgsc Icoloog 110m as in soorl Anlichris voorstcl. hcl Slcphcn die pmfcssor vcrdcldig - dil was (He man sc plig sous hy as hcrder dil gcsicn hcl. Allyd die hasicsc minsaamheid, die 0uw6rcldsc sjarmc. (lie 32 DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN FEBRUARIIZ I090 warm belungslclling in alle soorte mensc. die vcrboucrccrdheid oor argwaan en woedc wal

sy openbarc bcclld uilgclok hcl. Daar was die
bcelld van die rumocrigc Swarl Nar wat dood
cn (luislcmis Imlsccr. ju. in Faust want in vcr-
hinlcnis Incl (lic d(mkcr maglc van (lie on-
dcrwerclld uangazm. Muar dicgcnc wal hom gc-
kcnc hcl. wis diI was (msc Hermes sc skrywcrs-
masker.

By di6 vun (ms wic sc lcwcns hy so in-
grypcnd bci'nvlocd hcl. sal hy aanhou 0m in
(ms dmmc us dic wysc on man lc vcrskyn. ()ns
sal ullyd dic Ickcns dru wal by met die magic
van sy inlcclck en die vcrhyslcrcndc insigte
van sy dcrdc 00g gclaal hcl.

Maar (ms sal hom ()ok altyd ()nthou waar hy
(mhcholpc dcur 'n (mbckcndc werclld bcwccg.
asoli hy nic dcur dic bril kon sien nic. vrocl-
lend mcl sy lwcc pukkics sigarctlc. sy strcpcils
cn sy wil sakdock.

Hoe kon '11 mcns dic oorgangc lusscn wrkv
Iikhcid cn tiiksic in in biogral'ic hanlccr wan-
nccr hullc s0 incncvloci cn 0p mckaar rea-
gccr'? Hy hcl gccsdrii'tig begin rank ()or die
nmontlikhcde (1m aspcklc hicrvan Ic vcrduidc-
lik. ()ns sal 110g huic moot praal. s& hy in die
0iidcrhoud.

Toc gazm hy dood.

Scifs met sy dood hcl hy sy eie mite bevcs-
Iig. hierdic man wat s0 met sickle en (Jood be-
hcp was dal hysoms spottcnd vun ipckondcrs
bcskuldig is.

Tydens die huldigingsdince met sy sestig-
sic vcrjaarsdag in 1982 praal hy weer
duaroor. Ons luisler glimlaggend na (ms
geliefde vriend sc stoltcrende lcscry:

Three more and 78/1: (1/5 die 1110115 36
lcwc11X/1csmk f)!(((('/I jy 11111 c1011 hipccrcn-
xiv /_v 111'? 011 gc/ukk/g 13'. War hcrcken
(/1? juclr Sas'rig i'/' '11 S/(rywcr? Ek (link
(/11 yuan (1111. '11 (/mu/s/n'scf. hierdiv
luuxte 1/(111 jaar um s_v lcwc. Dix asaf
(lie V(111113'1'0111'g116/11 v11 lmm s6: 1/011 1111/.
/_i' he! 11011 1/011 juur (1111: s15 11111111111 x13.
Dix afrrcm01111111110111. muar 111k) Vir '11
.V/(rywcr 11/0. Dix Ivlis'kiml (lit) ()III'QSM
bonny) 1'11 (/11) M'Erz'ld wuur Vir 1/10
u't'r/wr yaw; word: ./_v /1('f 111111 ('PI'X
1371/1011! ln'rv/k. ()le i'w'wug (/1? ham
i'r/njnu. Work /Iurz/1 E11 (1k mm .m
gl'uag ro/z'i'ixiz' kyk (111 zliv 11111111' lwm'
mu 111('i.x'1'())x I'uxrig ln'n'ugt Maw (/13' 11/0
Vir '11 s/(Iji'n'm' lkann' 1111'. Die 1111111/1/ik
us /1_v 11/1/1011 .x'kry/l 12111111 /1_v (/11111/
Wun/Ia'r luux lwl lly '11 Imvk (QliV/(lyfi)
I1('f/'/1_v 1mg? Sy ('Ill'gxtv uuin'unnc/ ix
(/1111: Dam M bulk lmclw 1'11 m_v kv/zlw's.
/;'11 (IX hi ((((' (lug (/11111/ is. (111 (1/11111/ t/(wr
1/1? .s'/1i1111())1'u/((((' /Ill/(((' Mg: /11 (/1?
gn/f/(o/(lcrs yo/mun /1('I. (/1111 i'im/ /111/v
1/1'1' blvykn'il :11111/1/1' 1110/ '11 poll in x_v
/1u/1/(1 Dam is 111/0 (1/) (HF pcr/(umcnf
y('A'/(I:Y'/'/l/(' ./)(1('11 (/1'1' .V/(I'yii'el' '11 guns
(1/1 .s/uun '11 KIWIyagicnlua/de it'i/gt'l'smk
(lama ,x'y hurt, Dual' I'A' alfyd (/11) 11100111-
/I'/(/1('i(/ 1/11! by (10/11/1131 weer hyju/lt)
yuan spunk. (111 s_v pan I11 jul/o blood 511/
(11111,). I

Van Wyk Louw

(Verv van 17129)

waarin ons mense vrot" - die mense wat nou
hand-in-dic-brocksak oor die slraal slcntcr en
i/vuil woordeii skreeu.

Uit hierdie brief blyk dit dat die aantrck-
likheid van die nasionaal-sosialisme vir Van
Wyk Louw veral gelee' was in die geestelike
verandering wat die beweging nastreef en die
intellektuele tug wat daarvoor vereis word.
Hy voorsien selfs die noodsaaklikheid van in-
spanning van strengheid (. . .) al duur dit
wecr soos die nuwe Middeleeue in die 14de
jaarfe

"Hierdie sogenaamde fascistiese beskou-
ings is vir my nader aan die hart as die Re-
publiekfe skryf hy verder. Vir die verandering
en onwettige Afrikaners van Fordsburg
voorsien hy egter fisiese tug hooft alreeds" as
voorbereiding op die geestelike omwende-
ling.

in Aanlal faktor kon bygedra th tot Van
Wyk Louw se belangstelling in die nasionaal-
sosialisme: sy besorgdheid oor die lot van die
arbeider: sy anti-imperialistiese gesindheid:
sy ontevredenheid met die kleinlike
partypolitiek in die land. 'n Beswaar hierleer
sou kon wees dat sulke beskouings algemeen
voorgekom het ook by mense wat nie so
slerk tot die "Duisternis alternatief" aangetrokke
gecrak het nie.

In Louw se geval was daar ook in meer
persoonlike faktor wat myns insiens 'n rol
gespeel het: sy hunkering na in gefundeerde
en stolte wêreldbeskouing, na in streng en
omvattende kyk op sake. Binne die na-
sionaal-sosialisme word so in omvattendheid
voorgehou. en word daar bowendien teoreties
die prioriteit aan die gees. en sodoende ook
aan geestelike dissipline en geestelike veran-
dering. toegeken.

Die nasionaal-sosialisme is 'n ideologic
wat regsreeks. verby alle partypolitiek en
tradisionele staatkundige prosedures. tot die
hart en materiële behoeftes van die volk
probeer spreek. Rondom die sentrale idee
van die omwettende individu wat slegs as
volksmens in definisie en 'n doel vir homself
kan vind. hou die nasionaal-sosialisme in to-
taliteit die lewensbeskouing wat in konskwenle
sketse en lewensuitkyk aan die mens voor-
hou. Dit het van Van Wyk Louw ruimte
gegee vir die droom van in intellektuele as-
kens en geestelike paradys.

Die vraag waarom by so huiwerig was om
die eksperimentele denkbare in die openbaar
te formuleer. is moeilik belykbaar met
verwysing alleen na sy gepubliseerde ge-
skiedte en bronne. Hy was waarskynlik bang
om verkeerdelik te word met die kruheid
van onder geskiedte oor die saak. Uit sy boek-
ery wett in mens dui hy veel wyer gelees en
gedink het as wat laltyd uit sy Opstelle blyk.
Die eerste Ickens van in meer ademokra-
tiese kyk op die politiek is reeds in die jare
dertig merkbaar. I

Prof Gerrit Olivier is hoogleraar in
Afrikaans-Nederlands aan die Universiteit
Van die Witwatersrand.

Wis tyd dat Suid-Afi'ikams
kleurblmd word dew t6 leer 0m dmge
m swart 6% wit t6 sign.
Nie swam: ()f
0111 Le verhoed dat apartheid
deur omgekeerde apartheid, on 'n
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wheld-ekonomie vcn'ang word, is (ill
noodsaaklik 0m gelyke V(u'dering 0p gew
kae vermoii t0 grand.
Om 'n persoon werk to gov 01mm
hy swart is, is not so verkoord 215 um diI
aan hum te gee omdal, hy wit is.
Dit is (ms beloid (1211 sy vormoiins
die heslissondo I'akmr is war bopzwl of
hy die work moot kw.
En hierin 16 die uilDaging W'r
Vakleerlingo by Scaw Metals Bepvrk . , , under
npleiding vir 'n kleurblinde Suid-MrikzL
wit m'e?
Gavin Kelly, Vooxsitter
Suid-Ah'ika, muunlik um skuuloploiding
011 naskuolso oploiding vir almal golyk to
muak, smlat allo Suitl-Afrikznwrs up
golyko wot kan wegspring on up vie
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Swan, on wit. Apart My 311 0115
um div nu Suid-Al'rika.
S(uim lmu nns div nuwo
GLEJIQ
Anglo American Corporation of South Africa
ANGLO AMERICAN CORPORATION
kllw hamml xmw Hmmw m Mvalka'Vchz

Joernaal van Broederstroom

DIE A/1'1/1'uuns1' 19/111111'1'111'1'1/1/1'
.1'1' bomad 111111 1111' 1'1'111/1' 1'11/1
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1111111' P11101111 l11'l 1111' (/11' 1'1'1111'111111'
/I())(1/'(//).V/1'l'l'_/11' 1'11j111'171u/II1'I1'
(110/1'11'1'111111'. 111/1 (/11' 1111111111
l11'11'/1I'1111111111411 (1111' '11 11'/1'1'11111/11' /l('1
111/11' 1111111111 1111'. D111" 11' 1111/1 1111'
/)1'.1'/111I 1111/ 1/11' 11111'111111'1111'11'
('/1.V/1'/1111'l'(_'/1'11 .1'/11'_1'11'('/11' 11' 11111111 111'1'.
('I1 1/1'1' 1'1'11'1'1111/1/1' /1'l(/I111'('/1' /1(11/1(1I
1111/ 1'1'111'1'1'1111111111 /1_1' 1/1'1' 1111111111
l1'1I//.114/)1'I111111/l)11'!1/I'1', '1N(' I1'l1
.1'111'11/11'1'1'1'11111 /11'I, 111' 1111 1/11' 1111 1'111/
1111' (1111/1711/1'11/1 111'1'1'1'11'1'1'11 l)11'.
l/11/1'I'1/111/1/111/1.1' 11m 1111/1 Kuup 1111'
1111'.
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/1('1'/1 luugx lump 1/11' 51/1/11'11'1'111-
111/111'" . m1. 11'/11'1'1'1'1'1' mom
(111/11'1'11' /111/1(/ I1'('/".
1111/ 1'11/1 (/11 1//1'.1 l11'11'l11'11f)
Ic' 11'/1r_1j/'111'1'. Maar 11'/1.1 (1111/0111 lwr
11111 1/111/1'1'1'111'1111 '11 11'1'1'11/11/1'1'1'111'
1111/ .111 .1'11/l1'1/1'1ax' ('11 1111111 (1111117110111
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11'/(H1121 .wv/1 (III /1/'(' 111111 1111111111171
Niv 1111/ /111//(' 1111: (111' 1110/11/11w
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11'/11.144111 ()I)l:'NI)/1/1/, 1111.1111/(1/1
Die werklke \$10111
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1111'. 111'1 111' 111'11'1-1
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111'1'111111. '11 g1'111'11 11111 11111111 1511 11111 11111.
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34 l)11' SI 11)r.r1111(l1x':1.-1N 1111111111111:101111
1111111 11' 1111'1' 1111111' 1111 111 l11'11111g 11111 1111' 111'-
11111111'11111'11' 111111 1111111111'11 '1
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K0111 nog. ..
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.11 orukcl W111 111 Lusziku s11 cn 001 ullcs 111
Vrydagoggend was (11c skrywcrs 111111 (110
w001d. Chris Barnard cn qunnc Go0sen. 1321s-
genocmclc 111 111 g0Cd-v001bcrclidc Icks. 11121 1110
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HDic struggle is 111 '11 sckerc sin 111C mync
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is die voile z'mpliknsies
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11001-1 11011 :11 11:1 .11 Lilichc 1c k1111k. 11121211 1111'-
GESIGTE BY
BROEDERSTROOM . . .
VER LINKS: Chris Barnard. LINKS:
John Miles en prof Elize Botha.
ONDER: Piet Haasbroek.
1010's HILDA GFIOBLEHY

mzmd nccm dil ernalng 0p 11icl'i
Hy 11c1 11101 in rocks gcdigt 21s v00rbec1dc
gcwys 1106 Lliglcrs vunuil 11111 spcsificke k21-
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DIE SUD-AFRIKAAN FEBRLARIEILHN) 35

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Chris Pelser e11 Marie Blomerus bespreek die fynere pur1111es

van '11 klaarblyklik moeilike saak.
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Kultuurboikot: 1n Vraag wat
op die agenda moet bly
Gerri! Olivier

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Gerri! Olivier
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38 1111: 511111111111111/111111 11511111111111:1111111
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van 11111'111'k1111'11' 1'1'rlikh1'111 M 511111 h11m51'11' u11

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BOEKE

Verlustiging in 1n ()u stokperdjie

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Ernst Lindenberg

OLIVE SCHREINER. 1N LEWE IN

SUID-AFRIKA 1855-1881, Karel

Schoeman. Human & Rousseau. R65.

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KAREL SCHOE

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DIE 51'11)wAFRLKAAN FEBRL'ARIEWW) 39

Klagtes 00r S
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scurs gclulc (lic politickc dircklicwc vun hck-
wuglcrs zlvnzizir. Pcrsooniike crvaring van
Wiplund" hinnc dic korporusic vcrskil hier-
mcc 7 lihczilc Airikuzmsc rcgisscurs hcl
hcnwcns openlike kritick teen politickc rig-
lync (Izlvulwcrklik gcwocker om skuiwergalc
lc vind 0m hullc vcrlichtc hoodskup ()0r lc dra.
DIE prcmulurc cindc vzm dic bock word
vcrul gcvoel in dic bchundcling van formcle
cn hcdcklc mctodcs 0m ideologiese koers le
hou. Dic scnlruliszlsic van bchcr wat ge-
durcndc dic Ekslccnrcru gckulminecr her in
die Iotstundkoming van die Direktoraat
()pcnbarc Aungclccmhcd (1984). en die
sumcsmclling vun TV-aktualitciisprogramme
(mdcr die Netwcrk/Nclwork-sambrcel
(1985). dra vccl mccc gewig as die hekweg-
Icrsmomcmc wal Tomasclli en kie 0ndcrsoek
her. Hicrdie sizippe hei dic grondslag gel& vir
die docltrcfffendc sinchmnisasic van die
rcgering sc skonsensuspolitick" en die
SAUK sc wcicring 0m buile-parlemcnlt?re en
radikalc grocpc sprcckgelccmhcid oor die
cicr lc gee. Dit het 00k in cindc gemaak aan
politickc kansvutlcry dcu rcgisscurs wal die
hctuundc spanning iusscn uklualiteils-
pmgi'ummc cn nuus uilgcbuit her.
As populGrc hock skcp Cimwm of Power
met die ccrlc oogopslug verwaglinge waar-
uun uilcindclik nic voldoen word nie. Die
gchrck uun wcrklike ukluuliteii ten opsigte
van in instelling wzu dic uf'gclopc paar jaar
pill in hcwigc spcrvuur van verkiesingsomle-
dcrs. kulluurgroepc, cn politici blyi is waar-
skynlik dic slcrkslc azinklug teen die bock. As
ukudcmicsc paging vuzir diI nic betcr nie.
wzml mu voomordclc. emosioneie Cliche's en
oowcccnvoudigdc uHcidings hoorl nic in in
wctcnskziplike work Iuis nic. Dicselfde geld
vir die onvcrbloemdc sydigheid van die
skrywcrs Will in gccn stadium die mociiiker
puudjie bctrcc cn ullcmulicwc bied nie. Die
hock kon in grater bydrue gelewei' he! as die
skrywcrs wou uiispcl Imv ons sumelewing en
sy uiisuiwcsc vun klassestryd, kleinburger-
Iikhcid cn kzipimal gestroop kan word. I
Attic Gerber is in senior lektor in die
Departement Kommunikasiekunde aan die
Potchefstmmse Universiteit .

Gunther Pakendwf

THE POWERS THAT BE, Mike Nicol.

Bloomsbury, Londen, 1989. #21235.

DIE eerste paragraaf van Mike Nicol se eerste roman, laat die leser vermoed dat hier in interessante ding kom. miskien selfs in groot verhaal:

Every morning for the three years he terrorised the village, Captain Sylvester Nunes had his daughter. Frieda. shave him on the verandah. Even in winter, when the wind came off the sea like tish-knives. she brought out the bowl of steaming water. the strap. the lather and the cut-throats to perform the ritual while he watched for signs of rebellion in the streets.

En dit is inderdaad hoe (die verhuul tlaar uitsien: in fyn. hyna liefdevolle siendag vir detail, in bynzi onopmerklike poetiese beeldspraak wil die windskeie besonderheid van die vissersgemeenskap zinnigstrikke rziuk weergee en die besondere gevoel vir die choreografie van die mugspil. tussen brute geweld en koppige weerstand. W211 ulle ver-
BOEKE

POWERS

TH AT BE

P) I, () ()M S Bl

there are signs. in the stars. in the tides that turn the sea blood-red in the benching of whales and the cry of penguins. believe me I tell you. these are signs that this place will be purged through pain and blood. trumpets and relations. dancing in the streets and cleansing fires. (127)

Maui kilp Nunes is self nie die oorgete mun W111 hy homself wil voordoen nie. Hy. wist op daardie veelbespreklike Dondervogel toe die bokke uit die kruzil geluul is in in groot stotewolk met sy Redford oorgetuag het. is in Verlate vruchziter en in verbitlerde sudis. Will sy dogter dwingy om s_v bed met hoi in ic (lede en huij bloediglik ziunzind (imam s)' in verhouding het met in gewone Visseimun wul boonop onderskleurig is. Diep in Nunes se binneste woued 'n onblusbare vlzim vzm hunt. die bron van sy vuige geweldddigheid. in vizim wul 110m ten slotte geheel en al Verleer. Kziptein Nunes pi'beer om die dorp se gee heim te ontruiel en die gewiundc sumcsweering teen wet en 01'th 101 op die been 00p to vlck. Hy gebruik beproefde polisiecmiedes Will krziglens s_v eie nomilocslamd 101 sy Selfs in skrikbewind moet einde kry houdings in hierdie gemenskap bepzuil.

Die litel slum op meer 21s wist op die eerste oogopslag mug blyk. wist die magic wzn (ms lewe beheer. is veel meer as net die Slllziise mag soos dit deur die hardgebukle kzipt Nunes met sy iizlscistiese optrede vorteene woordig word. In sy amplelike hoedunighcid as diemier van die gereg verpersoonlik Nunes die logics-rusioneie dcnkc wut nie twyfel 001i wut reg en wat verkeerd is nie en in duidelike skeidslyn tussen swartz en wit trek: Win 01'l'i- cer of law and order. u man who lives in black and white. wrong and right. good and bad .. (bl 51). Sy zizinkms in die netL ersctting belcken the begin Vim in 0rdclike bestaan volgens voorskryte. melines en strafmaatcels: 'tThere cannot be laws unless

there are records. And without iLIWS what
Chance is there of ()rderlii (3).

In hierdie onwrikbure geloof in die letter
van die wet IC hy met die intmpslug regular
sies neer: in verbod op dans en 0p drinkcry
in die openbuui': 0p Sondue nmct zilmzil nu
kerk tuis bly: gcrccldc winkeiure. Kort (Inur-
na begin hy met in persoonlike register vzin
eike inwoncr. Dic uiieindc is 0211 die hclc
gemeenskap in twcc gmepe vcrdcel word.
eerste- en Iwecdcklus-burgcrs vir wic ver-
skillende wette van tocpussingy is. D211 sy wet-
eneorde-idcologic in die prziktyk niks minder
nie us in skrikbewind 101 gevolg hct. trazik
Nunes maar min. Die inwoncrs van die d0i'p
is in sy 06 in elk gcvzil zilmzil skuldig. metic-
piigtiges in in komplot teen wet en 0rde. En
die wEreid Lindei'kzml hicrdie sk00n (mic is 'n
wereld vun anargie en sinnclloosheid:

In this life. he sighed t0 the dog tied up in
the yard. a man must either believe
everything or nothing. ltis when)uu try
picking out the truth in this garbage heap
that nothing makes sense. (51)

Muzir tlazir is under magic. Will buite die
beheer van Nunes se repressicwe uppunite
gclce is. Dis die gcheim mil die dorp nie wil
prysgcc nic. k01n Will nil. dis in verlede
geweef uit legcntles en ii0lk10re. dis I'LIllliSci-
uglige verskynscls s00s die wollllmcisic in
Mondlingy se huis. 0(die verminkt0c lykc wzil
op die strand uilsp0cl 0(' die geheimsinnigc
mun wul coming 0p in donkic (ilizlr nnnkom.
siek met 'n dodelikc en uunstceklike 1x00rs.
Al the inwoncrs is bLiitcngewoon. bztic vun
hulle met in verlc0c mu hulle Vunuil (lie
buitcwercl0 suanngcbring het: mensc s00s die
siniesc rzissis Mondling. die bukkcr Mon-
tagne Plunke Will sziznn met ingmie Jzibzizir.
die zilgemenc lmdcluii'. betrokke is by (luis-
lcr 0nwetlighcdc. 0t Lunded-Little Mursdon
Will s0 gmaig nu slemme 00r die radii) luisler.
sc0fs wzinnccr (lit zifigesixuixel is. Dam is Lady
Szii'uh wut huzn' suicrigc dubbclvertlie-
pinghuis met hzuir swzn't bcdicndc. Samuel.
dccl. by Will gc0ore is 10c zilbei sy oticrs 211 by
dic (10 mix En dzin is' damn Mild Minnzizn' W111
jare gc0ede met hzizir sustcr en Lady Szirzih
hicr us skipbrucukclinge behind hel. Sy Ices
lckcns in die stcrrc en 0p die hind wail hzuir
die k0ms van die bok quii v00rspcl en in
visi0116rc tuul die miliese (mislzizln en up0ixuw
Iipliese oiidergzing van die gemcenskap laul
bcswecr:

. . . ex'er since those i'zit had men brought sin
and disgrace to this forgotten corner of the
good Lurdis earth sinners have come here to
(lie. unloved. unblessed going from the
despair 01' the here and now to the tires of
the hereafter. but it is written. ei'erywhere
bChkikkiIig is. vain uumiklokrcls en intimi-
tlzisic 101 minhoudings en 0ndervr21gings.
MLllLI' I100 tliepcr hy die gemccnskzip se
geskiedcnis binnedring. h00 minder kzin hy
tusscn wzuurheid en versinscl 0ndcrskci. hoe
nicer word by self dccl V1111 die mitologie 10b
dzit hy ()pluzis 0p rauscluglige munier deur
die vlum veneer word.

DIE x'rziug Will Kiwi sc mmzin ten gronde
16. guzin 00r die wuurhcid en the sin van die
gcskiedenis. Dzizir blyk twee untwotn'dc 0p

hierdie Vliililg 1c wees. Die cen nil in s00rt
heilshisioriese bctekenis. in pulmonmznigc
lineui'iteil vun gcbeure ktmslzitcer: gcskiee
Llenis 21s Ielenlogie. Mum vir uzinhungers vzm
hicrdie 0pvzilling is daiar gccn wuurborg Vim
nietufiscsc hcii mCCR nie: die priesler
Augustin Sh001e word by die begi'ufnis vain
die dric jong muugtlc wie se liggumc 0p the
strand gevind is. doot vir die Stem wui 110m
s_v Icwe lunk gelci het. ()0k Nunes vcric00r sy
gclooi': "threis juslicc. whcreis G0dis
g00d eye turned that lets these seorpitms
live? I tell you there's only munis justice.
01in mans lam and order 10 keep ihings right
.. (166)

Die under 0pvutling van die geskiedenis
kom 0p in 0ntkcanning vun bctekenis en
inorziliieil nCCR. "jenscils win (iul Lind
Boseii. 0m niel Niel/schc 1e pram. Dit is
hicrdie siening muimice die mmun homseli
oenskyilik vereenselnig. s00s nil in funda-
nienlele pussisie nun die begin win hoolsluk
5 blyk. ()m pailmnc in (he geslxicdenis 1e wil
0nttlek. ailthis die vertcllei: bring die hgc-
vziiriii win morele be00rtleling met on hd'
voeg by:
DIE SL'II)-.Axi5RlK.AXAN IiizBRiyan-j 1mm 41

ONDERNEMINGSGEES

BLOM

Sodra Gencor 'n groot sakeonderneming geskep het, plaas hy dit in die hande van bestuurders wat soos ondernemers dink en doen. Hulle taak is dan die snelle ontwikkeling van die onderneming. In Gencor se hande het talle van Suid-Afrika se voorste nywerhede reeds volle wasdom bereik.

GENCOR

Reproduksie van banknote gemagtig deur die Suid-Afrikaanse Reserwebank. MUNDH

Powers that be

What happened. happened. The world is us
it is. There is no meaning in good ur hand.
there is meaning only in than it happened.
Everything else is a story. (93)

Dil is die kcm vzm die problcmalick in HIV
Powers That Br. Wunl Liil is indcrduzul 'n
wunderlike roman. vus in die lruclisic van die
mugicsc i'culismc (mcl duidclike spurc vzm
Garcia Marquez sc slorics). verhcclldingryk.
p(iElies cn uilcrs verkwiklik as 'n hlole Ices-
avonluur - icls wul vzm min onlzmngsc SuidsAll
rikzumsc iiksic gcsG kun word. DiI hcvzil
buonop in ()nmiskcnhurc krilicsc knmmcn-
tuzir op gchcure in SuidsAiiiku. wcliswzuir
sonder zihsoluul hcrlecihurc gcgcwcns. mum in
die soon ullcgoricsc mint qu (ms vun AIM
Coclzcc kni

Muzu' zum dic under kunl worsicl dic rm
mam incl sy zl-morclc credo Iccn (iiC morclc
diskocrs Will in die bcskrywing Vim gcwclld
en die mishruik vun mug gchruik word muur
wul 10g dcurngns implisicl iii'gckcur word.
En gcskicdcnis cn i'iksic is. soos (ms wccl.
diskursicl' Imus vun mckuur 1c ()iulcrskci: L'll
us dil wuzu' is W211 uzm dic begin Vim die scsdc
hooi'sluk hcwccr word: ..())1' course Mml is
begun cannot be ended. The pattern is a pine
css and 110111ng cam he lost lo the world. cvcn
ii for yours and ycurs 110111ng huppensii us
dil wuur is. mncl dic nzu'i'zuicwc wccrguwc
vun gchcurnlcniscc Crcns op homsccli ims
plodccr. DiI verkleur wclzii'skynlik wulmm
dic luuslc lwcc hool'slukkc so iclwul uzmgclzls
in die ccrslc

voorkom: ulhci is

gcskryil icls Will hccllcnml imlruis lccn clic
pc rsmm

brcc ()uklm'iule visic W211 dic skrywcr in dic
rcs vun sy roman s0 gocd Iizmdhzlui'.

MAAR nl word niks Will curs begin hcl

(mil ui'gcsluil nic. mock clkc diskocrs. cn (lus
00k kupl

skrikbcwind. in cindc hG. Dic vnor dic hand
die verhziul vun Nuncs sc

Iiggcndc cindc is 0m lcrug 1c kccr nu dic
begin. wul in i'ululislicsc hnuding .iccns mug
cn gcwclld cn hcwindhchhcrs suggcrccr. muzir
nogluns in hcvrcldigcndc verhuulmuligc slot
is binnc dic lcks sc inlcnsic: "l um scc titres
pressed in tho slorc window wailing Ihc way
fishcrmcn wait on empty days. cugcr Io know
again His wonderful lzislc ol' shcrhcif" (I76)

Tin) Puwmxv 'I'lm1 80 is in unnlrcklike

book: dis lipugrui'ics gucd vcrsmg. dil vcr"
skyn in

muuk van pupicr vun I106 kwnlilcil en die
bcsmidcr Elai'hznllvlclclcrlicpc ziswok in
gcpuslc ()iislugonlwcrp in die siirrczilislicsc
slyl dcure Rubcr1 Mason. ()ngclukkgic word
(Hi lelzmicur hymn huile hcrck gcpluus Vir
'n kcurigc uilgziwc. wul gchruik

(lic gcmidclde Suid-Ai'rikuunsc lmckcknpr.

Duzlrncc wil dic skrywcr kennclik (mix
sinjzlliscr (I211 dit nic in hock vir (lic (Suid-
Aiiirikzumsc) mussus is die nic in Liuidclike
verklziring vzm sy idcolugicsc bcdncling. I
Dr Gunther Pukcndori' is vcrlmnde nun (lie
Duitse-dcparlcmcnl um die l'niwrsilcil um
Kaupstad.

BOEKE,

Sit met jou bene in die son
en luister na J an Rabie
Helix) van Vuurcn
BlillHCL. .lan Ruhic. Human & Rouss izlu:
Kuzlpslud. R2299.
JAN RABIE HUCIH Ny llllUlle VCI'Sili
mclingY essays our :illcs-cniimgiwzil in
.ibuidcl'i.
wendigcr hock did ils
want. s6 ii) vnolul'. dis in Ic-
in hundcl ui' hlncmi
losing i . . So is dil 001's: pl'zlgllg Llilgcgcc incl
in gch-cnihlnu skildct'y vun Marjorie Willis
lace op die omslzlz (Marjoriu .lzm. kulin cu
liond um cn 112111 die sonnigc Clcnslul'cl). iin
in grout vcrskcidcnhuid nun nlmimicndlicdc
111m dic hinnckzml.
Hicr is Jun Rzlhic up s_V hcslc: liksc hcx'gA
klimcr (iilH'nci'kmiyn up Mum Blzuici').
Izizilknobhcl cn wCrclilrcisigcr (Hi)LIi').s sc
Scsligcrs". iil)ic 121:1le ongcrcplc cilzimlu.
"Iliulslrynl: (hicks cu Airikzums'i). ccn win
dic ccrslc cknlogievhcix:iimici's cii iicwuslcs
hicr Ic lunde (WVlnoi'd 0p oils ixusu). kcmcr
vzm sccknssu C11 ircscplc (UWlhisiNWixC iii
ons I'nmiIicizilhum'i). cn (iii: pmmincnlslc
llemklclrlclx vun Llillllili. mmwglcr lccn m1,
dcrdmkking cn vii' ALI'iixLizms-smidcitsciisuui'
oli pairlypoliliclc lichsug. lin 00k: Vi'icnd Vim
Incde-skryxA/ci's. suns dic cssuys gcluig our
i'BI'cylcn in Frans... imr l'ys Krigc. Julinic
(bcl/cc. Richard Riw. cn (Iic iilch lwcgi'nl'r
nissc Vim Ingrid .lmlkerm. wzlzirin hy 1mm
hcui'lclings Vcrknucukcl cu vcmmidci' nun (iic
gcszkikccrdheid V1111 (Iic mcnsdom cm s)'
guimg,
lfm'i/u/ hcvnl
lick humicl ()01' vcrskillmidc :lspcklc Wlll Al?
in scslul :lrlikcls Mil spcsii
rikuzmsi mil hcsmidcr hclungwckkcmi is. cn
V(ml'gcskl'cwc lccssloli hclumrl It chs iii
cnigccn wul ci'nslig gcmlccssccnl is in wzuli'
Afrikaans Vundnnn Rom. L'Il wnurhccn Iiy up
pzul is
In "'I'unlsli'yd: (ii'icks CH Ai'l'ikuunsii slung
Ruhic dmu'in um 1c (Iocn Will x'ccl dikker cn
gcclccrder gcski'ililc nic in 300 lwludsys i'cpki')
nic: 11y vcrduidclik dic nnlwikkcling vzm LiiC
(iricksc 121:1! vzlnul' 3W) x(K muir dic Aulmx ()1
vnlixsluul/komhuislzll. uil klzlsslckc (iriclss
milwikkcl hcl (wuurin dic Nuwc iiicsklkl'lllL'HI
gcskryli is). (lcur (Iic lmgicsc nmicrdrukking
14537
1829. 101 Hmdug sc kmnpi'mnis. uuzii in 2mm?
Villl dic (irickc (iL'Lli' div Turkc lusscn
passing Hm (Midliricks. Il:lilIliiis Ai/llumw
i'LIIMMI. Llic :lmpclclikc lzizll is. lcmyl die
vnklslzull. r/I'Hmli/il'. zllhm' mccr YUM iwn in
dic lilmici'HC (ii'icksc Iccllerkundc. As in mL-ns
.scll' ccns 0p in (iricksc i'cis pmhccr sin Hlililix
ilCl uil (iiC (ii'icksc kLllliiiivgcskiuIL-nis.
wuzmlcci' jy x'crzil (iiC gunziklike giccp Cl) lll'
sig vuu Ruhic ml) (Iic mulcriilzil hcl, ll) lick
dic i_VIl mug wrdcr dcu cn xcl'gclyk (iii lllCl
die ()Iilwikkcling Hm Airikiizms (Villl simm-
huislzllzllii cn liuoghollunds. ml winding Mini
Afrikaans 'n Limplclikc luail ian HRcvolusic
in Alirikzllzlnsi' gcc (lie ski'ywcr in wuurd-
x'ollic norsig 001' dic swzu'l (liglcrs in Airi-
knnns. cn muuk 'n inlcrcsszmlc vergclyking
lusscn Frank Anlhony sc Rn/i/n'nyi/(Ilnl HH'

Arm's my lmiA (I083) cn Brcylcn so mink,
Lisol' so
pn'csic: in locgcsluilc hcslzum
(mix hul vcrsc Vci'skuil in IC persimnlkc hc-
Ickcnissc lncgcsluil hcl. Iin nog nlccr 21s by
Bi'cylcn is dil upslundspnCsic did. 0;) cic
wmlcndc Icnncfi (82)
(Anllmny nus sCs juni' up Rnhlwnciliimd in
die gcvzmgcnis. gcvonnis (mdcr LiiC wcl up
il'l'l'tHiiNHici)
Muui' Yil' m_x (lic liimglcpunl Vill) dic
iihuidcl" cn div imlringcndslu sink in die
hock. is i.l)ic Nzisiunulc Purly cn Al'riw
kuunsiii l)i1 guzm (mi dic milslziun vun (lic
Akuilcmir. FAR cn Brncdcrimml dcslyds. cn
ilic gclcinlclike vchxxilIingi Hm 'ihl) hlunk
my vulkilsli'yilcrs in die Iiggzimc, VHll siwccl
skxidc zizingcrig hcl cn xxuzm'nm; suns lilisnw
lwlh liyhcrs dil slcli Wlic ()Iihcluuldc gclug
Villl dic wricdcu Hug Iiclgml sul mncl word.
Vil)ic Niisimiiiic Pauly cn Ai'liiisilzllhn is in
sluk mil VCl'ili jnngr lcsci's. mu nic by was
(icslyds HiC. insig sill gcc in xx 4121mm mm mm,
dug sil muuinncc uns siI.
lim'i/i'l is
kxxikliku c1: pmvuscrcndc hock. WHI Win! .11
iii inlcclligcnlc. hcurlclings vcri
hyh'uc lL-xwr 101 (lit himligc (lclml ()(H' Airi-
kuzms cm s)' lcllci'kundu Dii is ilnl cn mulch
Immlcm1 gcski'yi'. HIL'I RzihiC sc lmwmligc L'n
liilmui'islicsc pcsmmlikhciil duiilclik Iccni
mmidig. ilsni in mcns ()1) die slocp ill Vcr
mnnl Incl inn hcnc in die son nu Jam Ruhir sil
cu luislcr. I
I)ll'. Si ll) Ai'RIKAA'x i'i',HRI ARIii 10W) 43

MTERVIEW

Perestroika comes to Soshanguve

111118 Pilatova 11.11 .mN/w ummww

I W0 pmmvm 5'01'1'1'1 111'111/1'1111'111

I'vm'I/I/y 1'1'11'11'1/50111/1 1-1/111'111/ 11.x 311112111 11/"

Mum 3/1/11! S1211?! 1/1'111/1'11111'1 1/1 mnrv 1/1101

501'1'11/11' In ('IIIUF 1/10 11011111/111 Pl'rgf

APOLLOV l);11'11),8'())N (1111/ Pl'a/i/RINA

..:

Apollon Davidson

CAPE TWVES

301's

1.114111110131 un' /mr/1 11/10/11111' 1/1 (111111111111

11/121111 111/1114/11'1/ 111 1/111 Mmmn' Slum

(1111110121111: 1011/. 11.1 5111/1. 11'1'// 1'11/1117211'1/(2/1 1/11)

5111(1/1 .11/1111'11/1 1111111111111. CHRIS LOUW and

TONY AARON 1/1/111'1'1611'111/ 1/11) Ruxxian1;

H()W D() Awur imprcxsiuns 111' 81111111 H'ricu compare 11i1h 11111 111-111111-x1.

1111111)uu thought 1111111111111) wml d he like 1111101111111 11111111?

.XPULUH DAVIDSON ll ix11111' 1111113y 111x111 111111111:1111111111'11111114

111 1111111 111111111 11. Wu 1111111 1111111 1111111) lmnkx 111111111 81111111 .111111'11

. 1111'

x11;1111_1 11mm 111111111 11 1111') 111111 1111111'11xxi1111 1111 11x 111111 11 1x

1111111111x111111 11111 x111'ic1) ix 111111) 111111111111111.

()n 1111- posiliw side?

DAVIDSON: V111 111111111 1111111) 111'111111' 111111111 1111111111111 :11111111 1111'

111111111 111 11111 (11111111). 1111 1111111 x111tx, 1111111111'1 1111111111111 1w 11111

1111

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what pressure . . . it is very difficult for us to understand. The government here obviously is not the only player in the game. There is a lot of pressure from the Mass Democratic Movement. And I think it's important for a future democracy that there should be an understanding within the MDM of what Marxism and socialism is all about. Did you find that there is that understanding?

FILATOVA: It is very difficult for us to judge because we haven't spoken to enough people here. The leadership is very conscious of what is happening in the socialist world. From what we could judge, many people have the essence of the idea, but we can't speak for all of the people here.

I understand that sometimes during your lecture tour some very uninformed questions were asked.

FILATOVA: Yes. Even historians who we respect very much sometimes asked very strange questions.

DAVIDSON: It is the language barrier again. That is why we think that human contacts are very important in order to understand what is going on. There has been lack of human contacts in many, many small ways this lack of contact was only too apparent. Once we were even asked if the Soviet state takes away our children after they are born. Another question was whether we used money in the Soviet Union. All sorts of strange questions we received in different audiences. Most of the questions, however, were interesting. Some questions were not very friendly, but most were clever.

FILATOVA: Something which may be difficult for you to understand is that we have been asked the very same questions, but from very different political outlooks everywhere. It was only the form of the questions that differed.

What were the main questions?

FILATOVA and DAVIDSON: Whether we are heading for capitalism or clinging to socialism in our country? What is Gorbachev doing? Is he ruining socialism? What is our opinion on events in Eastern European countries? What are the relations between my country and the ANC? Isn't our country abandoning the ANC, in fact? (It was the main question everywhere.) What about our military commitment to the ANC? Do we still continue to supply military equipment? Is Gorbachev betraying socialism and national liberation movements?

The form of the question would be different. You could tell from the way the questions were formulated who was asking them. But the essence would be more or less the same.

Are you satisfied with the way your visit was reported in the South African media?

FILATOVA: No, not quite. We want to stress the matter of distortions after a press conference. You might remember one headline: IMDM, Cosatu and ANC are out of touch with realities of the world. In fact neither the MDM, Cosatu or the ANC were mentioned at the press conference. And realities of the world were absent from the scene, so to speak. The problem, it seems, is that people do not have access to primary information of what is happening in Eastern Europe and are dependent for their perceptions on distorted reports like these. People here see events in Eastern Europe mainly through the bourgeois press, the Western mass media. What aspects that feature in the Soviet Union today do you think people should take account of?

FILATOVA: There are many aspects, but one of them is the devotion to socialism. More than once we were asked the question whether Gorbachev is introducing capitalism, or there was the assumption in questions that he was in fact introducing capitalism. But the reality is that in my country the introduction of capitalism is out of the question. He would never be able to do that, even if he wanted to, which is not the case. Because socialism is very popular as a system of social justice: It is seen as the only system which is able to provide social justice.

Perestroika has nothing to do with capitalism. I don't know if you have heard of the speech which Gorbachev made by the end of November 1989 on perestroika and socialism. He made it only too clear that socialism is the only way, that perestroika includes socialism, nothing else. The issue is how to develop and improve socialism. This is one of the features which is somehow distorted

in the information which comes I'i'om our eountrx.

In a speech made by Gorbachev on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution in 1987. he described the situation in the Soviet Union as tpre-eri. 'sl. That came as a shock for many people here who had always embraced socialism. (Toultl you give us some idea of what the main features of that crisis are?

DAVIDSON: The first thing that I must mention is that it is good that we now (liseuss all these things quite openly in our newspapers it is the first step to overcome the difficulties. Otherwise it would be impossible, As far as the difficulties themselves are concerned: There are some shortages in foodstuff. goods. the situation in agriculture is bad. There are many shortages in many spheres in fact.

There The Stalinist

administering the economy was to build industrialisation at the expense of agriculture. The second reason. I think; is over centralisation of our economy in the past. We are trying to dismantle that now. but it is very difficult to change the system in such a diversified country as the Soviet Union.

We must also not forget that at the time of the Second World War our country was ruined.

Academician Andrei Sakharov died recently. He had a history of persecution and banishment after a very prestigious academic career in the Soviet Union. What were the social and political ideas he was associated with?

DAVIDSON: Democratisation was his idea . . .

FILATOVA: He insisted on speeding up the process. But his ideas and those of Gorbachev are almost the same - democratisation in all spheres of life. Maybe Gorbachev as a real politician could see obstacles on this way better than Sakharov.

Would you say the same goes for Alexander Dubcek? There is this notion that what Dubcek was trying to do in Czechoslovakia in 1968 is very similar to what Gorbachev is trying to do now.

DAVIDSON: Drawing historical parallels is dangerous. Different countries have different epochs. But maybe in this parallel we can see similarities.

The Soviets were very critical of the Chinese in the 1970s for the introduction of market socialism. and a part of that criticism was almost a suggestion that the introduction of markets inevitably leads to capitalism again. Would that notion have changed?

DAVIDSON: The criticism was in the Brezhnev era. so this was very different from how we see it now. But it is not the only problem. It seems to me that the Chinese reforms are different in many respects to what our country is experiencing. Another thing is that which was called the free market . . . Our Soviet economists now say that it is necessary to create socialist markets because without it the economy is unable to conquer its own difficulties. It doesn't mean introducing capitalism again because there is a new debate on what socialism is. what its main characteristics are. Many economists think that the main characteristic is the prevention of exploitation of man by man. One aspect of perestroika which has perhaps caused the most controversy in the liberation movement in South Africa, is the question of regional conflict and the notion of political solutions to these regional conflicts. One of the criticisms has been that in the sphere of nuclear weapons. nuclear arms talks. there is clearly a common interest between imperialism and the socialist countries in avoiding a nuclear war. But isn't there also a common interest between them in solving all regional disputes on a political basis?

FILATOVA: I wouldn't say that there is such a common interest.

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DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE
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INTERVIEW

but I accept that every country which is part of the world has its own interest to safeguard. Our country is interested in stability and peace and the ability to develop our economic structures and to be able not to be involved in any military conflicts. I think the situation which we got into in Afghanistan was very important for our new outlook. to give us direction. In the same way the Americans have their own interests. but as to our interests I wouldna say that they were just common . . .

So, it is seen to be in your interest not to get involved in military conflicts?

FILATOVA: In regional eontliets it is important that political stability is achieved not at the expense of the people but in the interests of the people. so that there can be real political stability. What will your involvement then be in the regional conflicts in our area?

DAVIDSON: I am not sure that capitalism and communism have common interests but what I do know is that socialism now is interested in life and existence on our planet: that humanity must survive. As far as regional conflicts go. in many areas of our planet in the last years and decades there was a deadlock. In most cases there was military confrontation. We seemed unable to break out of this deadlock. That is the reason why Gorbachev two and a half years ago began to find a way out in negotiations. There were some meaningful successes. In Afghanistan. Angola and Namibia we have had success. In the Near East and maybe Central America there are also some positive signs, one hopes. In Southern Africa, however, it is very difficult to judge where the Chinese wall between regional conflicts and internal problems is. Because the internal problems in your country are inter-eonneeted with the regional conflict. But I suppose that Namibia is a very important step to resolve the situation.

Is the conflict in Central America between states, or is it rather a question of US imperialism seeking to impose its will on the people? Would the Soviet Union still uphold the right of the people of Central America to defend themselves militarily against that?

FILATOVA: Its the official position of our government that any liberation organisation can choose its own method of struggle. and the Soviets will respect and observe their right. While the Soviet Union supports political solutions. in this respect the Soviet Union does not have a new approach.

Does the Soviet Union in the ease of Chile still provide military equipment?

DAVIDSON: Sorry, we are only professors. We can only tell you about principles. And the principle is the same. You can draw your own conclusion.

FILATOVA: The official position was made known more than once: We continue to support all fomts of struggle including armed Struggle, even though we are putting stress on political means of solving regional conflicts. Before, the stress was quite different. So, itt's just a shift in emphasis, not really in substance?

FILATOVA: Its not just a shift in stress. Itis trying to find other solutions where possible. And where it is impossible. to see what can be done.

And in the case of Southern Africa, what are these other possible solutions?

FILATOVA: That is for you to decide. We canit provide an answer to that question because the whole of mankind is engaged in discussing what is going to be a peaceful solution to the situation in South Africa.

DAVIDSON: If I can relate something from my personal WE HAVE been asked

the very same questions, but from very dwterent political outlooks, everywhere. It was only the form of the

questions that differed.

experiences . . . Some 25 years ago. in our Moscow University Journal. a very capable engineer and scholar published an article on a better method to use Romanian hydro-energy sources. A good article. But after that a Romanian newspaper published its comment: They won't allow anybody to tell Romania what to do

Would you not be alarmed with what's happening in Eastern Europe?

FILATOVA: The people there have the right to choose their own course. We saw that what happened in certain countries had been the result of mass actions. so how could we be alarmed if this was the choice of the people of those countries? We think that maybe the Communist parties in those countries will come out of this process weaker in numbers but stronger in quality and spirit and in their dedication to socialist ideals.

It could be argued that what has been happening in Eastern Europe is the result of the history of socialism and the way it has been established in those countries after the war - that they in fact moved too quickly from a popular front, a people's democracy. to socialism. In that process people were alienated. To some extent, people in those countries felt that socialism was being imposed on them. Would you share that analysis?

DAVIDSON: The history of capitalism spans several centuries of development. and the history of socialism is just beginning. When the Cromwell monarchy was restored with the restoration of Charles II, many people thought that capitalism had no future in these countries. The history of socialism is just beginning. and its journey is very difficult.

At the same time I am sure that in the first periods of socialism unfortunately some mistakes were made in each country. and I am sure that socialism in the next century may be quite different from now. as capitalism now is not the same as in the 18th century.

FILATOVA: I want to return to the many mistakes in Eastern Europe. Some of them were made after the war. connected with Stalin's regime and his methods. I think that nobody would deny that. We credit it to Gorbachev that he was the first to recognise those mistakes. And he recognised this fact before all this pressure. not because of the pressure.

Recent events in Eastern Europe were actually in reaction to the fact that he opened up things? Or was it inevitable anyway?

FILATOVA: We don't know. It is difficult to say what was the cause and what was the result. You can't impose a mass movement. Some people say Gorbachev came. and that the dissidence started only afterwards.

DAVIDSON: Maybe it was just a general accumulation of things over years and the fact that many leaders in Eastern Europe who did not follow the trend were rejected by the people because of that. It is only our guess. so to say. We can't judge.

What is surprising, given the lack of democracy in the Soviet Union, is the absence of mass popular resistance. Why is that? Why hasn't there been a greater level of resistance over the past decades, during the Stalin era?

FILATOVA: Because it was a totalitarian regime. because all the opposition. not only mass opposition. but even the opposition inside the party was oppressed so ruthlessly. After the 17th Congress of the Communist Party 800/1 of all delegates at the congress were killed.

After something like that it is very difficult to organise . . . In other countries where there has been a very high level of oppression. in Central America or Africa, there has nevertheless at the same time been resistance.

DAVIDSON: I am sure no one country in the world has had such a high level of oppression as Russia in the Stalinist time. It is said that
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up to 20 million people were killed. Before the Second World War the military council consisted of 10 people and 7 generals. Intellectuals and high officials and 75 were executed. (Can you give me such an example from other countries?)

You are both scholars of Africa and Southern Africa. and you would be aware of the ethnic organisation like Inkatha. The world today seems to be discovering what you are discovering in the Soviet Union - the power of nationalism or ethnicity. Why has it emerged in the form that it has. and what lessons do you think are we going to learn from it?

FILATOVA: All people and all countries have to learn from their own mistakes. their own achievements tell their own histories. As to my country. I think that there are several reasons for what is happening now on the nationalities question. One reason is the historical heritage which also goes back to the Stalinist era. when there was some repression against many peoples who were moved from their own places and territories which they occupied. As a consequence political leaders of these peoples learned what was called bourgeois nationalism.

But it is also a heritage of the pre-revolutionary era when Lenin called Russia the Prison of Peoples. Because peoples were suppressed: they did not possess equal rights since the creation of the Russian Empire . . . Lenin began to introduce his new nationality policy and gave federal status to the republics. to give the republics the right to develop their own political systems. national languages and whatsoever:

DAVIDSON: One of the examples of the correct policy of the time was that there were some backward or socially less developed groups. for example in the northern and southern regions of my country. Soviet East Asia, who received much more funds from the central government . . .

Perhaps the most interesting writers in our country are those from Soviet East Asia. from Caucasus. Latvia . . . Maybe some of the most interesting writers now are the people who were illiterate two generations ago.

FILATOVA: I would not agree with that statement. Many of those peoples were in fact literate. but in other respects. But to get back to the issue of nationalism: There were very serious problems. because the economic system was over-centralised. Not all the economic problems of those republics could be catered for or all the interests of these peoples looked after from the centre. As a consequence these peoples in the republics now demand self government. economic independence and cultural independence.

They want the right to develop their literature . . . The very fact that they are speaking about their problems quite openly. the fact that there is a chance to develop this nationalism in all the republics. is something that was not possible some years ago. Their feelings might have been the same or a little different. but it is only now possible for them to function and put forward their demands.

Maybe there is another reason for the 'sharpness' of the situation. and that is the fact that the economic situation is rather serious, which makes people irritated. They attribute their difficulties to other nationalities. for instance to the central republics. to the Russian people. the Russian people in turn attribute it to some other people, and so on . . .

When the Soviets sent soldiers into Afghanistan. was there any opposition from the soldiers - were they conscripted by law?

DAVIDSON: Soldiers are soldiers. And they obey orders.

FILATOVA: Maybe not immediately because. you see. we did not understand the problem from the start. The whole thing was quite unexpected. It was not discussed by the Supreme Council or anywhere else. It was just a matter of the troops being sent to help (to end the Afghan government . . .

The whole issue was discussed in the Supreme Council recently. and they demanded to know who was responsible for the decision to send troops to Afghanistan. They haven't got any answer yet.

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the seriousness of the problem immediately. But afterwards many people refused to go to Afghanistan and some of them defected. What happened to people who refused to go?

lill.A'li()VA: I know about one a hes a student of my institute - who was sent as an interpreter to Afghanistan and refused to go. He was expelled from (lomsomo and excluded from the institute. But not for very long. then they accepted him again. He was restored as a student. What in your opinion are the prospects for socialism in South Africa?

FILATOVA: It is unpredictable. It depends entirely upon how the situation develops. which forces prevail, upon the policy of the government. upon the policy oli the MDM. and how all these complicated lltetors are at play. It needs time. We (lonit foresee even a political lltution in the immediate future and you already want us to forecast what is going to happen alter that!

What. in your view. are the objective difficulties?

FILATOVA: I think South Atirieais problems are very different from the problems in developing countries. You have a big industry here, and very close ties with the international capitalist market, eeonontie structures subordinate to this connection, many Other things . . . There are some political difficulties . . . It is a very complicated problem. But as far as socialism is eoneemed. the people of the country are to decide for themselves how they are to go about these obstacles.

DAVIDSON: If we were able to answer your question, we would not deserve only the Nobel Prize. but we would become the Classics of Marxism!

Traditionally the socialist world system was being constructed seperately from the capitalist world system. And perestroika seems to he an abandoning of that endeavour - in fact, it may lead to an integrated world economy of capitalist and socialist countries. Is that the ease. and what are the implications?

FILATOVA: I wouldnt call it an 'integrated economy'. But it is quite Clear that we are together on one earth. and it is impossible to be without some economic ties. some forms of connections . . .

DAVIDSON: Duringy our October Revolution many people had the idea that it is necessary to ruin our railroads because they were seen as a heritage of capitalism. The same ideas were aired in some African countries during times of national liberation.

What effect do you think the debate in Eastern European countries will have on what is happening here?

FILATOVA: Events in Eastern Europe and in my country show the complexity ot the economic. social and political problems connected with socialism. l d(tlld know how those problems are discussed here. Maybe people will look at the situation more closely. and they will l'ind better ways of building socialism or a just social order in this society.

What will be the main impressions you will take back with you?

HLATOVA: Matty of them It is very difficult to formulate them yet. We will write about the people we met. we will write about shanty towns. reaction to the Soviet policy in the past and presentt growingy politieal consciousness. about the sharpness of political perceptions . . .

On both sides of the divide?

HLATOVA: The people are divided, but on all sides they are eonseious.

Well informed?

FILATOVA: lit the main not well informed. But I donlt know what you mean by "well informed. They are very well informed about what is going on in South Africa, but we cant judge because we are not well informed. What I can say is that we found them conscious. I

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INTERVIEW

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economic structures subordinate to this connection, many other things
Overseas subscription to

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SEAMAIL l:

AIRMAIL ij

AIAth/y valrllp n... nnnr (u nu, nuuuuuu IIHHL Lumply. ailll utcy Wlll
find better ways of buildiney socialism or a just social order in this
society.

What will be the main impressions you will take back with you?

li'llA'l'OVA: Many of them. It is very difficult to formulate them
yet. We will write about the people we met. we will write about
shanty towns. reaction to the Soviet policy in the past and present,
growing political consciousness. about the sharpness of political
perceptions . . .

On both sides of the divide?

lw'llATOVA: The people are divided. but on all sides they are
conscious.

Well informed?

FllATOVA: In the main not well informed. But I don't know what
you mean by twell inliormetll. They are very well informed about
what is goimcy on in South Africa. but we cant judge because we are
not well informed. What I can say is that we found them conscious. I

Die gees van 'n gemeenskap leef in sy kuns.
ontvanElinStenaars van elke vastelan'd, beeld die lewe uit soos hulledit waarne
em: hulle is
is die lewende reageer op sensiewe wyse op die invloed van die tyd en die plek. Die Standard Bank-
groep
leer gewortel in Afrika en hy glo dat die kuns van die hede en die verlede gekoester en be-
waar moet
word. Hy glo dat die beeldende kuns ons 'n dieper insig bied in die wese van ons gemeenskap.
Jou soort
Die Standard Bank van Suid-Afrika 80pm. v(Son-mat(eerdv 84va Run om n'

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uitmuntende smaak ..
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Johnnie Walker simmium mot uilnmntumlu
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vyfbotluls whisky Wat (lcur Skutland uitguvoer
word.

7:

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Uitmuntende smaak.

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individueel gedistilloer. word in Johnnie
Walker versny - '11 uitmuntenda smuak.
g(rsog in meer as 2001ande.

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