

# DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

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

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Opportunities still existed for developing a creative response to the crisis in education, IDASA's regional director in Natal, Mr Paul Graham, told the Teachers' Federal Council at a recent meeting in Durban.

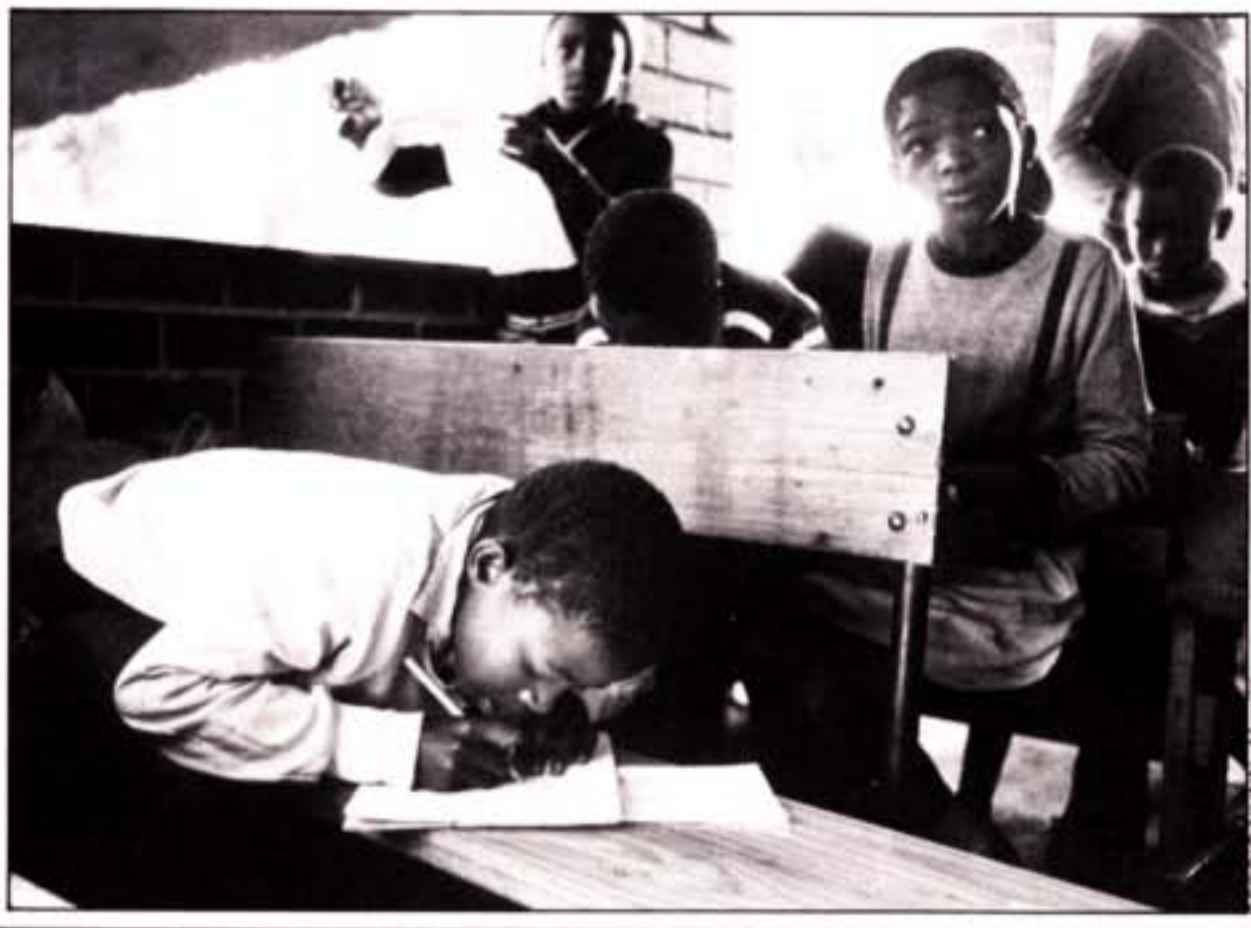
Hestressed, however, that a creative response to the present crisis would only be possible if white people were willing to work with, rather than against, those people who represent the broad democratic movement. IDASA, he said, would stand ready to assist white people to start the conversation with groups and organisations that represent the demands and aspirations of the majority of the people in South Africa.

The teachers' body had invited IDASA, along with representatives of the Democratic Party, the National Party and the Conservative Party, to submit suggestions on the provision of education in South Africa.

Mr Graham's remarks to the TFC came at a time when the crisis which has been simmering in black schools since the beginning of the year came to a head with the closure by the Department of Education and Training of schools in Khayelitsha, Umlazi and Soweto. Exams were also suspended at many schools throughout the country after police took action against protesting pupils who are demanding the instatement of SRCs and object to the presence of security forces at their schools.

Mr Graham pointed out that the reasons for the disruptions at black schools were not new. "Alleged corruption and misappropriation of school funds, inadequate textbooks, corporal punishment, non-recognition of SRCs, mismanagement of examinations — these vary little from the list of grievances

## Schools crisis: looking ahead



By PIERRE DE VOS

drawn up by students in 1985."

"It is common knowledge that education and schooling has been at the centre of civil strife for years prior to the rise of community based organisations up to 1983. Sporadic and cyclical school boycotts rolled around the country in 1976, 1979, 1980/81 and continued on a regular basis thereafter.

"The fact that these grievances continue to plague our educational system, and that, despite a massive attempt by the state to destroy organisations engaged in the educational field, people still band together in response to grievances should not be underestimated by the planners of education," he warned.

Such spontaneous action has made it extremely difficult to produce a plan for

educational innovation. It is therefore not surprising that the DET's 10-year plan for equal education has failed miserably.

During the heady days of 1985-86 people in opposition to the government appeared to be able to provide an alternative to state education and even to establish "liberated zones" in the schools where curriculum innovations could be made and implemented.

The National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) was formed in 1985 and held two significant conferences before it was crushed by the state after the imposition of the state of emergency in 1986. The institutionalisation of the NECC meant that people had focused on issues other than those seen as educational by the authorities. According to Mr Graham, the people's education programme developed in this period can be regarded as the concretisation of the educational consequences of the Freedom Charter.

He said it was important to note that the NECC offered "critique not only of 'bantustan education' but also of white education. The values being espoused were being promoted not as sectional but as those for a unitary, non-racial South Africa."

Although the nationwide state of emergency declared in 1986 had disabled this movement toward people's education, the ideas introduced in this period have not disappeared. "It is already three years since the demise of the NECC as a national representative force. Its influence remains however through structures established in universities and through a network of organisational structures being developed by extra-parliamentary forces in response to the state of emergency. Numerous attempts

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IDASA's goals are:

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

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# Clash of white fear, black aspirations

In any political analysis of the South African situation, there is a juxtaposition of white fear and black aspirations and anger. Let it be said immediately that what often takes the form of expressed fear by some whites is simply an excuse for greed, the maintenance of the status quo and the holding on to white privilege. This attitude must be exposed for what it is and must be challenged as strongly as possible.

However, there can be no doubt that many whites have genuine fears which cannot be ignored and must be respected. The causes of these deep-seated fears are legion. They include ignorance of their black countrymen and here apartheid has succeeded in its rigid policy of separation. Whites and blacks for the most part live in different worlds and isolation breeds ignorance and ignorance brings with it fear. Secondly, it should be admitted openly that the independence trail in Africa has often been accompanied by economic chaos and infrastructure breakdown. Whilst there are many reasons for this, it is perceived by the majority of whites in South Africa that when blacks enter the corridors of power, it brings with it dire consequences.

### Revenge

Thirdly, many whites are consumed with guilt and believe that if blacks share power, they will use this leverage to wreak revenge for past injustices. The propaganda machine of the state has become highly sophisticated and through its electronic media as well as the majority of newspapers, the myth is propagated that any desertion from the National Party will bring disastrous consequences, especially for whites. Many whites too worry about the lowering of standards particularly in the fields of health services and education. The fact that blacks have had inferior health services and pathetic education facilities for so long escapes most of us.

In particular, it is our experience that many quite decent and fair-minded whites

are concerned about their personal safety if there should be a settlement in South Africa bringing about the end of white minority control. In our workshops and seminars, when whites are freed to talk openly and freely, they use phrases like "will I be able to walk on the streets safely?" and "will I still be able to keep my own home, my own job?".

It simply does not help to condemn these fears out of hand because tragically they are very real for the people concerned. We have to take these fears seriously and try and deal with them.

### Protection

If we accept that we cannot ignore these fears, how can we address this central problem? It is a problem which is filled with urgency because unless we do this, the majority of whites will cling to their prejudices, to their fears and to the established order which they see as unworkable and even undesirable, but which gives them a measure of protection. The loud beating of the drum of law and order has whites in its spell.

### Ignorance

One way of trying to deal honestly and seriously with this phenomenon is to expose the basic ignorance which feeds fear. We have tried to do this by encouraging and enabling whites to move into black townships so that they can experience for themselves something of the conditions under which the vast majority of South Africans live. We have tried also to break down stereotypes and myths so as to provide a climate of trust where whites, with blacks, can discuss and acknowledge these fears.

### Vacuum

In all our workshops, our seminars and our conferences, in large gatherings and small, people have been encouraged to express these fears so that we can look at them together and build up the beginnings of a common commitment to a new South Africa

## Ja-Nee

Na die Nasionale Party se opspraakwekkende neerlaag in Linden, verskyn daar 'n klein opskrif in die *Sunday Tribune*: "Afrikaner has outgrown NP, says DP victor."

— Kan 'n mens die versoeking weerstaan om te sê "Kom Blye Dag"?

### Foreign wisdom

In a recent Sunday night religious broadcast on television, the SABC paraded the former advisor of Martin Luther King, the Rev James

Bevell, as an authority on black struggles. Blacks are not oppressed and apartheid is not **the problem** in South Africa, the cleric declared in response to some leading questions. The answers to their problems were to be found somewhere in the area of self-discovery and nationhood!

— Dare the poorly informed viewer question the views of someone with Bevell's credentials?

### Participation has its problems

What does the Department of Education and Culture do when they discover that a

small village like Graafwater in the Western Cape has invited popular figures like Franklin Sonn and Beyers Naude to the inauguration of their school?

— Withdraw from the proceedings, of course.

### Tenminste oopkop

Dieselfde Franklin Sonn van die Kaaplandse Professionele Onderwysersunie bied toe ook onlangs 'n nuwe perspektief op die veelbesproke "drie-koppige monster" wat aan die hoof van die Demokratiese Party sou staan. Toe die NP stadsraadslid, Chris Joubert,



free from fear. We have been enormously encouraged by the changing attitudes of so many of those who have participated in IDASA events, whether they have been inside or outside of the country. One overwhelming conviction is that you cannot deal with white fear in a vacuum, but that you can deal effectively with these fears when whites and blacks meet together. It would appear that white leadership on its own cannot convince

whites that their fears are largely without foundation; but when they meet with their black counterparts and listen to something of their aspirations, their anger and their readiness to include all South Africans who are committed to non-racialism and a future democracy, then the miracle can and does take place.

**Alex Boraine**  
Executive Director

## I had a dream . . .

**H. Pool, Villiera**

Last night I had a dream.

In my dream I saw a long conference table and around it sat a number of important people. I saw the Archbishop Tutu, Professor Boshoff, Professor Heyns, Dr Alan Boesak, Dr Beyers Naudé, Dr Oberholzer, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, the Rev Rex Mathie, Pastor Ray McCauley and quite a few others. The people I saw were all religious leaders representing their respective churches.

It was quiet, but disturbingly so, as if the people who attended did not want to be there. Nobody wanted to be the first one to speak.

Then I heard a loud voice from above saying: "I pray that all of you be one." This frightened some, but after a few seconds all present suddenly started talking at the same time.

They realized that this wouldn't work so they agreed that each of them be allowed to speak for an hour or so. Each of the delegates related their childhood experiences and the incidents in their lives that would help explain their present day activities. This went on for the next 24 hours or so and there developed between them an inexplicable bond of love. During some of the speeches I saw tears on the faces of the people who listened. At the end of it all there was again a long silence. Everyone was now trying to find solutions to our common problems.

They said: "We can and we will work together for peace; we can and we will find a way toward a fair constitution."

Then I woke up and I wept. But the tears I shed were none for joy. I cried because I realized that this had all been just a dream.

(Reprinted from Pretoria News)

weer eens die stelling herhaal tydens die loodsvergadering van die "Oop Stad" inisiatief in Kaapstad, toe vat mnr Sonn hom vas. "Maar julle (die NP) het net een kop en hy vat ook nie altyd nie," sê die onderwysman.  
— Hoor, hoor?

### Viva Sister!

A question for the "room full of men in dresses" who voted against women in the pulpit for the Anglican Church: "If Margaret Thatcher can run a country, Frith van der Merwe can run the Comrades, why can't women run the church?" asked a Catholic

nun, Dr Marié-Henry Keane, on television.

— They have tried to answer . . . but we're not convinced.

### Kom, Kom Broers . . .

Nog so om die preekstoel. 'n Dominee wie se vrou aan die gesprek met ANC-vroue in Harare deelgeneem het, loop hom toe vas in 'n paar van sy ouderlinge. Nee dominee, sê hulle, ons is nie kwaad vir jou vrou nie. Maar ons het wel 'n probleem met jou. Óf jy stem met jou vrou saam, óf jy kan haar nie beheer nie?

— Sterkte, dominee!

## Letters

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

### Give the OFS a chance too!

Firstly, as always it is very enjoyable to receive *Democracy in Action*. Friends to whom it is passed also enjoyed the continued debate on the various facets of democracy.

However it is very noticeable to all that the Orange Free State is mostly absent from all seminars, conferences, reports and reflections.

Perhaps people have forgotten about the birthplace of the ANC, National Council of African Women, the PFP, Nusas and even the NP; most people prefer to laugh about the OFS, fly over it or by-pass it. Nevertheless it remains a natural confluence of most routes in this country.

The core of permanent residents could exercise tremendous influence which would radiate from the centre as people move on . . . if, for example IDASA exposed the Free State and its people to the same influence of democratisation as is happening to the converted in other centra.

Hier woon en werk alle "klassifikasies" van mense binne 'n radius van twee kilometer rondom Naval Hill saam. Hier bestaan reeds sedert 1924 'n "joint council" wat uitsluitlik bestaan om te verhoed dat "die mure van apartheid", wat met die mynwerkersopstand van 1922 in werksreservering tot uiting gekom het, tussen die mense van Bloemfontein moet verrys. Dit is hier waar die vroue van Mangaung in 1913 gemarsjeer het in betoog teen pas dra. Dit is hier waar boere voorskoolse skole bou vir die swart plaaskinders; dit is hier waar sommige boere hul werkers laat deel in profyte aan die einde van 'n finansiële jaar . . .

In 1958 skryf Albert Luthuli, in sy boek, *Let My People Go*: "After my glimpse of white Parliament in action I was standing in a corridor with Senator Ruben and a reporter. A young Afrikaner passed us. Impulsively he turned back, and to my astonishment gripped my hand. 'You know,' he said, 'I come from the Orange Free State. I'm ashamed of what's being said in there. I'm ashamed of what they're doing!' Then he was gone before I could reply."

Dit is hier waar dinge moet gebeur vir die regte redes, dit is hier waar visie en moed en 'n nuwe toekoms gevind moet word . . . vir die hele land.

**Marleen Webber**  
Bloemfontein

### Church debate

Firstly, I would like to subscribe to your very educative newsletter, *Democracy in Action*. IDASA is one of the organisations of our time.

I am a lay minister in my parish, and my best wish is to see IDASA calling conferences or seminars on the issue of theology, as we experience it in South Africa today and as it will develop in the future. Since the emergence of black theology, liberation

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## Letters

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theology and the Christianity versus politics debate, certain quarters see all this as communistic and Marxist-orientated. Other quarters see Christianity and politics as inseparable.

All these arguments can be answered, by conservative and liberal Biblical scholars and theologians. Lest we forget South Africa calls itself a Christian country, St Augustine of Hippo once said "it takes a big mind to make a heretic".

**Bangumzi Mayana  
Soweto**

## Everyone has role to play

I would like to thank IDASA most sincerely for inviting me to the women's conference in Harare.

It was a stimulating experience to meet so many people who I would never have met — with many different views, but also so much in common. It certainly has given me the courage and enthusiasm to continue in South Africa to work for a peaceful settlement.

I have often questioned what role I have in the conflict and now I am convinced that everyone has a role — the only question is whether you choose to pursue it.

**Margaret Winter  
Durban**

## Exchanges vital

I would like briefly to congratulate IDASA on the work it is doing in projecting the concept of negotiation and giving white South Africans the opportunity to meet high calibre black leadership.

Such exchanges are going to be essential in every part of South Africa if we are going to avoid escalating violence and militarisation.

**Bev Nelson  
Durban**

# Namibians state th in Pretoria

By LOU-MARIE KRUGER

Mr Daniel Tjongarero, member of the central committee of Swapo, and Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, both reiterated their parties' total commitment to the implementation of Resolution 435 at two separate meetings held at IDASA's newly established office in Pretoria during May.

Mr Tjongarero, Mr Mudge and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert of IDASA were the speakers in this well attended and highly successful three-part series of lectures on Namibia.

Both Namibians also stated that independence and an election was inevitable. All three meetings were characterised by intense discussions after the formal speeches, with speakers being bombarded with a wide range of questions.

Although all three of the speakers proved to be very popular with their audiences, Mr Tjongarero's reception was exceptionally warm and enthusiastic. Members of the audience greeted him with freedom songs and a Swapo flag. He seemed confident that Swapo would win the Namibian election with a two thirds majority and said that except for the churches in Namibia, Swapo was the only group in Namibia who had always, since its inception, worked ceaselessly for independence.

Mr Mudge, however, claimed that no party would get more than two thirds of the votes and said that a run-over result in

favour of any party would be a disaster for Namibia as this would ultimately lead to a one-party state. He suggested that all the political parties in Namibia should have a pre-independence conference which should not exclude an election.

It was emphasised by Mr Mudge that the DTA was the first non-racial party to be established in Namibia and that this party had, in the last 10 years, achieved a desegregated Namibian society through its fight against racial prejudice.

Mr Tjongarero argued that the Namibian struggle was a struggle of de-colonisation and not a struggle against other parties in Namibia. Swapo, he explained, was formed in 1959 and its first years up to 1966 were years of peaceful struggle where negotiation was seen as the only means to obtain liberation for Namibia. In 1969, after the world court in the Hague had decided that the Namibian case would not be heard before the court, Swapo declared war against South Africa. Between 1978 and 1988 Swapo fought a lone crusade to get Resolution 435 to be implemented. Mr Tjongarero mentioned that in 1989 Swapo was astonished to find that those who were against Resolution 435, like the DTA, now called themselves the sole initiators of 435.

"Swapo will inherit a country riddled with racial and ethnic divisions, socio-economic inequalities and a population with a variety of hopes and expectations," Mr Tjongarero contended. Swapo's answer to this, he told

## How do we address this crisis?

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have also been made to integrate the values of people's education in non-formal educational programmes."

The focus of people's education was not only the development of a curriculum more appropriate to a developing country in Africa, said Mr Graham. The first conference of the NECC met under the banner "People's Education for People's Power", a statement of the liberating role of education and the desire to exercise control over education.

He said it became clear that education and politics were inextricably bound. "There is a constant link between political action and education and participation in popular organisations is important in learning about building a democratic society.

"The struggle to develop a relevant educational practice now and to build a new society will therefore both be essential factors in the development of any future system. While there will inevitably be a contest over ideological aims, it will be resolved in practice and reflection upon practice."

While this is being waged, however, the contradictions in the present educational

system will grow and there will even be pressure for change within government and establishment circles.

Graham believes that the future non-racial democracy is going to rely most heavily for the development of policy on those who were seen to be working for, rather than against, this society. "This should not lead people to believe this is the forerunner of some totalitarian system," Graham said. "For this reason IDASA attempts to put people in touch with one another so that they can together begin to work out the future."

IDASA was therefore committed to developing the future with all who wished to participate in this struggle. "In attempting to do this we will espouse certain values and these will inevitably affect the interventions we might make within the educational field," Graham said. These values include that:

- The provision of education should equip people to take part in constructing a new South Africa;
- It should be designed to enable the greatest possible participation of those affected by it in decisions about curricu-

lum, financial priorities, and general policy;

- It should ensure that the divisions which threaten to cripple South Africa now and in future are overcome;
- In any intervention which IDASA makes it would want to ensure that all actors are able to communicate directly with each other, and that people are not precluded from the debate by lack of expertise or power;
- IDASA will support the right of professionals in education to associate freely and will encourage them to take initiatives to communicate with all who are interested in the future provision of education.

But what action may be taken by people to address the present crisis? According to Graham there are two categories of action which can assist the process of developing both a society in which normal education is possible and a system of education which is appropriate.

Firstly action of symbolic significance can be taken. "Amongst these would be participating with others in the calls for restrictions to be lifted on organisations and individuals working in the educational field. Symbolic acts which have significance out of all proportion to their actual impact are courses

# eir case



Mr Dirk Mudge . . . stressed that the DTA was against a centralised state. Mr Tjongarero (right) . . . Swapo will work for a mixed economy which would satisfy the needs of the people.

the 400 people in the audience, would be the creation of a non-racial unitary state with a division of judiciary, executive and legislative powers. He foresaw a bill of rights for Namibia and said that Swapo favoured a strong central government as "decentralisation at this stage in the already fragmented Namibia would stink of apartheid". Regarding the economy of a new Namibia, Mr Tjongarero said that Swapo would work for a mixed economy which would "satisfy the needs of all segments of the population".

which are non-racial in nature, the development of think tanks which include community representatives, a willingness to provide a presence at events and commemoration days which have significant community support."

"But," said Graham, "it is also possible for people in all levels of society to perform substantive actions. It is not enough, despite the propensity for all South Africans to expect a messiah, to issue statements. People should be encouraged to act and should have this action supported."

He stressed that all these initiatives should be substantive in promoting non-racialism, national unity and development. "What we need to do now is spell out the vision in terms of education and training of what it would take to realise a desirable national future."

Graham said what would count ultimately would be the expectations and demands of the majority of the people of South Africa, expressed through the organisations which represent most closely their views. "Those involved in education now will want to begin a conversation with these groups and individuals. And IDASA will stand ready to assist in these conversations."

□ Pierre de Vos works in IDASA's publications section.



CEDRIC NUNN, Atrapix

He also made it clear that should Swapo come to power, the white people of Namibia would not get special privileges: the rights of all Namibians would be protected. Swapo would not allow whites to make Namibia a hostage of their economic power and technical skills, he said.

Mr Mudge said that the DTA stood for a

## 'Swapo would not allow whites to make Namibia a hostage of their economic power and technical skills'

unitary state and a multi-party democracy in which the rights of individuals would be protected by a bill of rights. Although his party believed that everyone should have a right to their own language and culture, he said, it did not believe that these rights needed to be entrenched constitutionally. Regarding an economic policy he warned against the creation of false expectations and emphasised that Namibia was not a rich country and that independence would not bring investment and prosperity. In contrast with Swapo, the DTA was against a centralised state.

Mr Mudge expressed the fear however that the forthcoming September election in South Africa would influence the independence process in Namibia.

When answering a question about Swapo guerillas crossing the border on April 1 this year, Mr Tjongarero said: "I am going to make a blanket statement. I am not going to blame anybody, but I am also not going to accept any blame. This incident could have happened anywhere in the world. The truth lies in one reality and that reality showed the irony of Resolution 435. In their moment of

glory Namibian fighters were confined 400 km from their country's borders and those they have fought were given the honour to stay in their country until independence."

Mr Mudge interpreted the incident differently. He said that although Swapo had always claimed to have won the war, they did not have a single base in Namibia. The crossing of the border on April 1, he said, was a final desperate attempt to establish bases in the country and to thus save themselves the embarrassment of the international community finding out that after so many years they did not have any bases in the country.

In the last meeting in the series, Dr Slabbert argued that, because of South Africa's security and economic dominance, there would be no lasting peace in the sub-continent until South Africa had found stability and peace. He said that although there were very important structural differences between South Africa and Namibia, South Africans could learn a few very important lessons from the Namibian process of liberation. Those, he said, were:

- the futility and waste of war and violence;
- the inevitability of one single nation-state for one country;
- that it was better to normalise politics sooner than later;
- the need to negotiate with real organisations with real power and a real following; and
- the overriding and urgent need to maintain economic growth.

He concluded by saying that the important debate of the 1990s would not be whether South Africa would become a one-nation state, but rather about what kind of one-nation state South Africa would become.

□ Lou-Marie Kruger is the regional co-ordinator of IDASA in Pretoria.

# Peace breaking out?

In 1986, the world was deeply involved in damaging conflicts. Today, improved superpower relations are bringing about a new approach to the resolution of regional conflicts, and necessary attention is now being given to global problems.

**ANTHONI VAN NIEUWKERK reports**

1986 was the year the United Nations had hopefully designated as the "International Year of Peace". The world, however, experienced almost 100 armed conflicts in that year alone. Regions most heavily involved in war were the Middle East (Iraq and Iran; the Lebanon), Africa (Western Sahara; Northern Chad; Sudan; Ethiopia; Angola; Namibia; Mozambique and South Africa), South America (El Salvador; Nicaragua), and South and East Asia (Sri Lanka; India; Afghanistan; Cambodia; the Phillipines; Indonesia; Korea).

The superpowers were heavily involved in these conflicts. The United States of America's spending on covert aid to guerillas in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola and Cambodia was believed to be almost three times the amount spent by the Soviet Union on its guerilla allies.

Today, the changes that sweep the world are stunning. Some of the more pertinent changes include:

- The collapse of communism as an economic model and the rise of a radical reformer in the Soviet Union;
- The new ascendancy of economic power, rather than military strength, as a determinant of national security and well-being;
- The palpable reduction in the threat of war between the superpowers;
- Seemingly endless wars between Iraq and Iran, and in Afghanistan are winding down; and
- Conflicts in Angola, Namibia, Cambodia and the Sahara, raging for more than a decade, are in the process of being resolved.

The old divisions so familiar in world affairs — East-West, North-South, First World-Third World — have given way to a baffling new array of converging interests. There is now an urgent need to tackle the following global problems through international co-operation and multilateral agencies:

- Restoring balance and order in world finance and trade;
- The proliferation of nuclear weapons;
- Drug trafficking and abuse;
- The spread of Aids;
- The environmental challenge, such as the damaged ozone layer, the "greenhouse" effect, desertification and deforestation;
- Explosive population growth with attendant unemployment and mass poverty.

Of all these continuing global shifts, the exciting developments in East-West relations in particular, will affect our region. Southern Africa will be profoundly affected by the redirection of the international system because there is wide consensus on the



necessity for Namibian independence and the need to end apartheid in the most expeditious manner.

How can one explain these international changes affecting almost every part of the world? What has brought about shifting relations of power and new alliances? Many argue that these new developments are not yet fully understood by scholars, and that the development of a proper theoretical base for interpreting these changes are still in its infancy. It is possible, however, to point to one important development that is having such a profound impact on southern Africa: the changing superpower relationship.

## Ideological Modernising

The scaling down of wars and regional conflicts around the world is understood to be to a large extent a consequence of the Soviet Union's new foreign policy direction. Broadly speaking, regimes in Eastern Europe, China, the Soviet Union and south-east Asia are busy with ideological modernising and adaptation. These developments were largely triggered by the limitations of the outdated Stalinist command economy. The Stalinist model was self-contained, without the need, in theory, for interaction with the capitalist markets of the outside world. It is therefore a system uniquely unsuited for the high-tech, information-based and highly interdependent world economy of the 1980s. Ideological modernisation has therefore become an urgent task for communist-ruled countries, with Mr Gorbachev as probably the best known innovator in this regard.

President Gorbachev's "new thinking" in foreign policy, which stems in large part from the domestic needs of the Soviet economy, has led, amongst other things, to a new attitude towards the West. The international community is at present witnessing a search for a new, more stable and co-operative relationship between the superpowers.

The implications of this "search" are momentous. Unlike the Cold War period,

we are now seeing remarkable efforts to settle disputes and conflicts in various regions including Cambodia, Afghanistan, the Middle East, Central America, the Horn of Africa and southern Africa.

Could we therefore conclude that peace is breaking out all over the world? Such a conclusion would be premature. A genuine policy of non-interference in the affairs of other nations, which Gorbachev now asserts as a Soviet goal, would represent a dramatic departure from the policies the Soviet Union has followed since 1917. Such a policy would mean that the Soviet Union would never use its power to prevent a nation from choosing a government it wants, even if that were a non-communist government. It would also mean that the United States would never use its power to prevent a nation from choosing a government it wants, even if that were a communist government. If Soviet-American relations are really entering a new era of "live and let live", the United Nations will have a crucial role to play in sustaining it.

## New Approach to UN

It is in this context that Gorbachev's new approach to the UN must be seen. In an extraordinary article in *Pravda* in September 1987, he has proclaimed a new interest in strengthening the UN, indicating that co-operative action among interdependent nations should now take precedence in Soviet foreign policy over international class warfare. He furthermore called for a "comprehensive system of international security", and endorsed the use of UN peacekeeping forces in regional trouble spots. This new approach, which is already being implemented in southern Africa, offers the hope that the UN peacekeeping and peacemaking role can be even more important in the future.

The future looks promising. We are already seeing the development of a pattern whereby superpower involvement in regional conflict is on the decline. Superpower pressure can instead be used to nudge regional clients towards compromise, and peacekeeping

**'The ability and will of the present government to accept and come to terms with changes in the international community, however, remain in doubt'**

## PROFILE

# Motlana: tireless in service of change



**Dr Motlana . . . white opinion needs to be influenced**

**In Soweto all roads seem to lead to Dr Nthatho Motlana's house. ELSABE WESSELS interviewed this respected community leader who is also a member of IDASA's board of directors.**

responsibility of white South Africans to work in their own constituency and I believe in IDASA as an ideal vehicle to mobilise those forces," says Motlana.

He takes his cue from his experience in the African National Congress in the fifties when a strong objection to whites preaching to blacks developed.

While an undergraduate at Fort Hare University Motlana was secretary of the African National Congress' Youth League which he joined in 1948. He played a prominent role, alongside the likes of Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, in the Defiance Campaign of 1952 which resulted in a banning order.

"One of the reasons for Robert Sobukwe's break-away from the ANC was the increasing white presence in Congress affairs, while failing to work within their own constituency. There was a common feeling that instead of addressing a converted audience in Soweto, white activists should have been addressing meetings in white suburbs where they could be heard by those resisting change. There was a strong objection to whites trying to preach to blacks.

"Today black South Africans are saying the same thing about white individuals who walk into executive positions in black-based organisations without bringing a white constituency with them. Within the black community they are talking to the converted.

"We don't need whites to come and run our lives. It is more important for them to change the hearts and minds of conservative factions in their own community," says Dr Motlana.

"I am not propagating ethnic groupings. But a nucleus needs to be formed in the white community to bring them closer to the mass democratic movement. Work needs to be done among conservative whites.

"White opinion needs to be influenced and I believe that it is within the unconverted white constituency that new initiatives such as IDASA can win over hearts and minds."

□ Elsabé Wessels is a journalist with *Vrye Weekblad*.

"There are two ways to effect change in South Africa. We can either crack skulls or gain victory through peaceful means and retain the future and wealth of the country for all South Africans."

This is the view of an effervescent Dr Nthatho Motlana. In Soweto all roads lead to Dr Motlana's house. Or so it seems. As a respected leader, father figure and medical practitioner, he has played a pivotal role in the affairs of his own community.

In the seventies Dr Motlana bounced into prominence as chairman of the Committee of Ten, set up in the aftermath of the 1976 bloodbath. Today he still holds the position of honorary chairman while remaining dedicated to the issues in the trouble-torn township.

The well-worn threshold of his Dube home bears witness to decades of human commitment.

His endeavour to bring about a South Africa free of white oppression, however straddles the divides of an apartheid-sick society. Both in South Africa and abroad Dr Motlana has become a vociferous spokesman and campaigner for justice.

Throughout the years he has retained a delicate balance between the medical profession and his role as community leader. Today, given the choice, he would like to devote all his time to the latter. However, his practice pays his way.

And what a practice. A record of his patients reads like the Who's Who of the struggle.

"At present more than half my time is devoted to involvement in the community. There is so much that needs to be done out here that I would like to turn it into a full-time occupation," Motlana says with characteristic energy.

Reaching beyond the parameters of the sprawling township his curriculum vitae lists a host of business and community responsibilities, including his position as a founder director/trustee of IDASA.

Motlana is very clear about his interest in IDASA. What prompted him was the recognition for the extra-parliamentary mobilisation of white South Africans. "I was touched by Van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine's descriptions of the frustrations of working in a whites-only parliament. It became quite clear that change will not come through Parliament but through extra-parliamentary pressure.

"However, for peaceful change we have to change the minds of Afrikaners and other white South Africans. I believe it is the

carried out in a UN framework with support from both superpowers but direct involvement of neither.

### Southern Africa

Developments in southern Africa — particularly Namibia and Angola — are part of the hopeful worldwide trend described above; it is not a unique development. The changing Soviet policies have been a positive contributing factor. In this region, Moscow has seen the possibility of being able to demonstrate that constructive co-operation with the United States works to a mutual advantage. If Namibian independence can be successfully brought about — and there is no reason to doubt the commitment of all the parties involved to see that the peace process succeeds — the door will be open to further diplomatic efforts by both the USSR and the US on solving the crisis in Mozambique and eventually South Africa itself. They can make a positive contribution in promoting negotiations and in bringing influence to bear on the parties which have to negotiate. There is now a convergence of views within the US, UK and others on the need for progress towards negotiations, in which all representative parties, including the ANC, would be included.

South Africa's role in the future of the southern African region is under the same spotlight. The economic development and future prosperity of the region depends largely on South Africa's economy and its closer integration with the region. This means, however, that the conflict and disputes, caused and at present sustained by apartheid, must first be ended. Post-apartheid South Africa's foreign policy direction would open up fascinating possibilities, especially when keeping in mind that the Russians are hoping to expand their economic links with the region, as part of their global effort to become part of the international economy.

One stumbling block remains, however. That is the firmly held belief by both the present government and its main challengers that since the other can militarily and politically be defeated, there is no need for negotiations. Indications are that the ANC is reconsidering strategies and tactics. The ability and will of the present government to accept and come to terms with the new changes in the international community, however, remain in doubt. The coming general election for white South Africa will indicate whether its rulers have discarded the ideological baggage of the "total onslaught". If not, the space created by international developments for South Africa to discover a way forward and out of the current malaise, might be lost forever.

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

# Black resistance: a statement of hope

By DR WELI MAZAMISA



Dr Weli Mazamisa

has an impact on university education. University attendance per 1 000 of population is: whites about 29,5 and Africans about 4,4. This means that whites are being over-educated at the expense of blacks. If one bears in mind the fact that the economy of this country is carried by black shoulders then any sensible person can understand why blacks are angry about financing the education of whites.

It is common to speak about "white fear" in this country without taking into account that the flip side of white fear is "black fear"! Black fear is based on things like the "national security ideology" and "total strategy"! These are frightening operations since they override some of the more superficial aspects of apartheid. The national security ideology is the "absolute idea" that intends to drag on its opponents into docility. It is propagated by systematic indoctrination of a hubris-filled white electorate, and aims at subordinating black economic, social and political aspirations to minority interests. Moreover, the philosophy of "national security" and "total strategy" is to militarise the white society and to criminalise the black society. The impact of this militarisation of the white society is being felt by black communities when tear-gas cannisters are fired into black homes without provocation. The essence of criminalising black people is to ignore black humanity and black dignity. It is walking on the food of black people with dirty shoes.

However, in spite of the experience of having been abused and exploited, black people have not lost the urge to be free in a free society. To the extent that they are conscious of being agents of freedom will they be more in a position to improve on their lot. What will happen in the future of this country economically and politically will be determined in large measure by the input of black people in the process of creating a free and just and democratic society. It is commonplace to say that the initiative of creating an alternative society is

# Boereblues

Deur JOAN KRUGER

Die "Alternatiewe Afrikaner" is besig om heeltemal 'n media-figuur te word; maar hoe diepgaande is die verandering werklik? Daar is iets aan die gebeur.

Niks, sou fluisteringe dit wou hê, is meer heilig nie.

Nie party, kerk of leiers nie.

In boek, lied en limerick word die spot met hulle gedryf, word hulle liederlik in die gesig gevat en skewebek voor getrek.

Op die verhoog rock jongelinge in breërandhoede en Oom Paul T-hempies rondom 'n ossewa — en doen méér vir sy aansien as twee simboliese trekke.

Uit 'n ou bankgebou naby Johannesburg se vlooiemark word Vrye Weekblad uitgegee — en word 'n losse lyfband vir almal wat awe van regs is.

Op die verhoog word gebeentes van Afrikanerhelde opgegrawe; in "grensromans" wil die gebeentes van die gesneuweldes nie rus nie.

Het die takkraal te klein geword? Kan die doringtakke van kerkrade en kultuurrade, Rapportryers en ringskommissies nie meer heel die volk binne hou nie?

Het die volk die alternatiewe geur van vryheid gekry...?

Daar is, sê filosofe, 'n paradigma-verskuiwing aan die gang. Die ou antwoorde het 'n leë gepraat in die wind geword, die ou oplossings wil nie meer oplos nie en die ou illusies het in desillusie ontaard.

Nou is ál meer Afrikaners radikaal nuwe antwoorde aan 't soek.

Dit is amper onvermydelik, sê hulle.

"In '48 het ons ons politieke onskuld verloor. Ons het politieke mag gekry en daarmee saam politieke skuld," sê een van die nuwe geslag denkers.

Voorheen was die vraag: Wat het politieke magte aan ons gedoen?

Nou het die vraag geword: Wat het ons met politieke mag gedoen?

Tussen hierdie twee vrae het dekades van Nasionale regering kom lê, '76 se opstande, '83 se grondwet, halssnoere, geweld en pessimisme.

Vandag is daar meer en meer Afrikaners wat hul norme buite die kortbegrip van Afrikanerdom soek — in iets soos 'n mense-regte-handves, byvoorbeeld.

Die Alternatiewe Afrikaner het sy tentatiewe verskyning gemaak.

Om dadelik op sy beurt van alle kante bevraagteken te word.

in black hands. Nevertheless, this development must not be looked at in a negative way; it does not imply that white people have no contribution to make. Some white people and organisations are already making useful contributions towards the creation of an alternative society.

If blacks demonstrate a common desire to take initiative in deciding and determining the future of this country, then it may only benefit the entire population. This desire must mean more than sheer nostalgia. It



# oor apartheid



Die SUID-AFRIKAAN

dikwels 'n "kunsmatige pseudo-demokratiese retoriese verandering".

Is die alternatiewe Afrikaner dan net 'n illusie?

'n Handjievol voëlvryes maar geen swerm nie?

'n Paar swaeltjies hoogstens?

Groot en geesdriftige skares by Afrikaanse rock-konserte? Almiskie: "Die beat is OK, maar dit word nie na politieke denke herlei nie."

Ander verskil van dié standpunt, sien iets soos 'n nuwe ontwaking van die Afrikaner.

Probeer jy vir die nuwe Afrikaner 'n gesig opsit, is dit soos om geblinddoek die donkie se stert te moet vassteek. Jy tas in die duister rond — en hóór reeds die gelag.

Nietemin. Selfs geblinddoek weet jy: dit gaan nie hier net om opsigtelike boerepunks of boereboheme nie. Dit gaan ook nie om mense wat Afrikaans verwerp nie. Dit gaan

**'Hulle praat Afrikaans as taal van bevryding, hamer teen kerkdeure tot dit vir almal oopgaan, bokspring bo Hillbrow in 'n Voortrekkerrok en sit 'n turbobooster aan die ossewa'**

nie hoofsaaklik om heethoofdige rebelle nie.

Dit gaan dalk om Afrikaners wat eerstens mens wil wees, dan Afrikaner.

En die mense wat die radikaalste oorverandering praat, is dikwels dié wat altyd die "siel van die volk" uitgemaak het, mense met Afrikaner-nasionalisme in hulle ingeteel.

Dikwels nie meer jonk nie, want dis nie hoofsaaklik en veral die spontane opstand van jongmense teen die *establishment* nie. Dertigjariges. Veertigjariges. Vyftigjariges. Onderwysers. Dosente. Huisvroue. Sake-manne. Lede van ouerkomitees. Eens ook kerkraadslede.

Dis mense wat tot onlangs nog aan lojale verset vasgehou het, maar een keer te veel bedroë daarvan afgekome het.

Hulle is sulke onwaarskynlike opstandelinge.

Tog is hul opstand eg.

Hulle het in die woorde van 'n filosoof uit hul ideologiese verblindings uitgebreek. Hulle het besef dat die Afrikaner sedert '48 nie

meer die slagoffer van die geskiedenis is nie, maar die maghebber.

Een so 'n Afrikaner sê: "Daar is morele en godsdienstige dinge in die naam van die Afrikaner gedoen wat ek nie kan onderskryf nie. Ek het die donker kant van ons ideale gesien en weet ons mag word in stand gehou met pantserwaens en gewere."

'n Ander: "Ek weier om ingehok te bly in 'n Afrikanerskap wat my begrens, my weghou van die breër waardes van die mensdom. My Afrikanerskap mag my nie 'n vreemdeling laat bly vir die ander mense in hierdie land en ons almal tot stereotipe vereng nie."

Hulle is moeg vir groepdenke. Daarom ook dat die benaming Alternatiewe Afrikaner hulle nie aanstaan nie. Die implikasie bly: bestaan sêlf is verkneg aan 'n groep.

Hul wegdraai van die tradisionele waardes en mites van die Afrikanerdom kan nie altyd net as 'n flirtasie afgemaak word nie.

Want om die waardes wat vir jou deur hiërgargie van kerk en volk neergelê word, te versmaai, is om 'n uitgeworpene te word. Die establishment se wraak is bitter. Vervreemding bring groot pyn mee.

Uiteindelik moet jy tog toegee: jy kan geen enkele gesig vir hierdie anderster Afrikaner opsit nie. Daar is onder hulle 'n politieke groep, 'n teologiese groep, 'n filosofiese groep, 'n kunstenaarsgroep. Die een loop met Vrydag se Vrye Weekblad onder die arm, die ander neurie Hillbrow, die volgende sluit by die DP aan en 'n vierde skryf 'n ope brief aan geloofsgenote.

Met een gemene deler: verset teen apartheid, 'n soeke na 'n nuwe Suid-Afrika met ideale van vryheid en gelykheid en 'n wil om reg te maak wat verkeerd is.

En een bereidheid: om 'n geloofsprong te doen in 'n toekoms in wat geen waarborge verskaf nie.

Hulle het, skelm boggers, ook al agtergekom 'n weerligstraal slaan jou nie dood as jy "Sit dit af!" skree of op 'n kampus verbied raak nie.

En hulle laat hulle ook nie vervreem van wat hulle voel hul eie is nie. As die Volkswag beslag lê op sekere simbole, vat hulle dit terug en maak dit vry. As die kultuurosse nog diëkant toe beur, krink hulle die wa somer kortom.

Hulle praat Afrikaans as taal van bevryding, hamer teen kerkdeure tot dit vir almal oopgaan, bokspring bo Hillbrow in 'n Voortrekkerrok en sit 'n turbobooster aan die ossewa.

Hulle is oneerbiedig, bevrydend, bekkig, banaal en as hulle boonop nog Afrikaans ook is . . . "so what!"

(Met erkenning aan *Rapport*)

□ Joan Kruger is 'n vryskutjoernalis in Johannesburg.

must mean the birth of a new creativity covering all the significant sectors of our existence.

Black initiative to free South Africa of apartheid must be understood as expressive of a new kind of responsibility; a mature responsibility which is inclusive not exclusive and rises above ideological differences. After 40 years of apartheid we are stuck with a culture which has little experience of negotiation; people are unable to talk to themselves, let alone with one another.

The ideological differences between the African National Congress on the one side and the PAC and black consciousness organisations on the other side have brought us to a point of stagnation where debate is not tolerated. The emergency rule has of course contributed to this. But we must move beyond this point. It is important that the dialogue between these groups start now; it will be another sign of maturity, reflecting the responsibility to acknowledge positive elements in your opponent.

If we do not accept this challenge we will simply be expressing the major weakness of the National Party all these years — rejecting and excluding those who do not agree with us. It is a destructive absolutism we cannot afford if the old order is to change, yielding place for a new free society.

□ Dr Mazamisa is an executive member of the Western Province Council of Churches and a lecturer in religious studies at UCT.

## Tukkies step into Soweto — past and present

On a cold Saturday morning in May, 30 Tukkies students boarded a bus in Pretoria on a social history tour of Soweto. The tour was a joint project between Brug (an SRC committee) and IDASA.

It was with a sense of apprehension that the tour was started in the Triomf area in Johannesburg. Our guide gave a vivid description of life in this suburb when it was still called Sophiatown. We visited the old house of Dr Xuma, the old church of Father Huddleston, as well as many other interesting sites in Triomf.

We then moved off to visit Soweto, starting our tour by visiting a middle-class suburb, and moving on to the area where the Soweto riots in 1976 started. A clear description was given of these events near the spot where Hector Peterson was shot and killed by police during those stormy days.

Next we visited the squatter camp in Mushenguville. Everyone on the bus was appalled by the shabby conditions — water and sewerage running down the streets; people queueing for water and a terrible smell hanging over the place, due to a lack of infrastructure. What was remarkable though, was the care that the community took in decorating their tiny shacks so as to retain and express their dignity.

We visited Kliptown, the area where the Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955, and on our way had a brief encounter with teargas: the police broke up a funeral procession in the area. From there, we moved on to the upper-class suburbs and were shown the empty house of the mayor of Soweto, who lives in a protected area as he is not accepted by the community.

We then moved to the Funda Centre, where we had a discussion, saw a video and had lunch.

The group of students returned, tired but happy, after a full and busy day. As the tour group consisted of supporters of the Conservative Party, National Party, Democratic Party, the SDS, as well as two members from Nusas (Wits), who provided the tour leaders and co-ordinated events in Soweto, the opinions of participants afterwards also varied drastically. But in the

end, everyone agreed that it was a thought-provoking and most worthwhile experience.

**André Zaaiman**  
Pretoria Regional Director

## Midrand residents explore joint action

On May 27 IDASA facilitated a meeting between residents of the Midrand, Tembisa and Rabie Ridge communities. Those who attended included church ministers from local churches, members of their congregations, Midrand town councillors, management committee members from Rabie Ridge, a coloured area, and members of the Tembisa Residents Association.

The meeting was the culmination of a number of previous meetings between representatives of the three communities to try and break down the divisions created by apartheid and explore ways of working together to improve the quality of life of all Midrand residents.

After viewing a video on the Mamelodi Encounter, representatives from each community talked about the problems they experience, and why they felt it was important to come together. The meeting then came up with ideas for future action and activities.

"Every Saturday morning the youngsters of Rabie Ridge meet and play soccer. Wouldn't our white youngsters like to join them?" asked one person. "Could we not look at establishing non-racial nursery schools?" suggested someone else.

Other ideas raised included meal groups, establishing an advice office and a youth club and study groups around evangelist Michael Cassidy's recent book, *The Passing Summer*.

The meeting decided to explore all these ideas but also to arrange to attend a church service in Tembisa followed by a visit to see the township and a braai.

**Lisa Seftel**  
Transvaal Regional Co-ordinator

## Women share Harare experience

The IDASA seminar room in Port Elizabeth overflowed on

the evening of June 7 with over a hundred people — mainly women — coming to hear about the "Women in the Struggle for Peace" conference which took place in Harare in April.

A range of women's groups and individuals were invited to attend the report-back meeting, at which delegates to the Harare conference gave their impressions of the experience.

Elizabeth Mtsatse, IDASA's regional secretary, began by telling why and how the conference was organised. Other delegates then spoke of the impact of the conference on themselves, what they learnt, the issues covered there, and their impressions of the ANC and Zimbabwean women. Leonie Hofmeyr spoke of the ANC women in exile being mothers and wives, like ourselves, who also had problems and who wanted a peaceful solution. The lessons to be learnt from the civil war in Zimbabwe were stressed. It was felt that a clearer understanding of the ANC had been gained by the delegates who attended the conference, and they were now attempting to convey this information to others in South Africa. The response of those who attended the report-back was enthusiastic, and during question-time calls were made for women in Port Elizabeth to establish contact with one another and unite around issues of common interest.

It is hoped to take this initiative still further by arranging another forum of women's organisations in Port Elizabeth in the near future.

## PE cultural groups meet

The first of a series of consultative meetings has been held in preparation for a cultural seminar in Port Elizabeth on July 31 which will be facilitated by IDASA.

Two white cultural groups in the city who attended the first meeting expressed reservations about participating in this initiative which is aimed at promoting cultural activities across apartheid barriers. These mainly concerned constraints imposed by their funding agencies.

It was also pointed out that notions of exclusive cultural and group identity could present a major obstacle in engaging a wide spectrum of people in the community in the project. In spite of these obstacles, how-

ever, it was decided that a start should be made with the process of bringing together people engaged in cultural activities in the area.

**Max Mamase**  
Co-director, Eastern Cape

## IDASA: MDM concerns

IDASA's Natal staff had their work cut out for them during May when they had to answer many pertinent and probing questions from representatives of the mass democratic movement.

The occasion was a meeting called by IDASA at which organisations were asked to present their queries and concerns about the institute.

Natal regional director Paul Graham outlined IDASA's aims and pointed out what the institute could and could not accomplish. He pointed out that its aims included striving to win people away from apartheid and encouraging a climate for negotiations for a post-apartheid South Africa. He stressed that it was not a funding organisation, and also that IDASA wanted more responsive consultation with the mass democratic movement.

Questions revolved around issues like IDASA and Dr Van Zyl Slabbert's relationship with the Democratic Party; the origins of IDASA, the relevance of Parliament, IDASA's relationship with students on Afrikaans campuses, how conferences were arranged and how IDASA perceived its role in South Africa.

Feedback was also given that the institute was perceived by many progressive organisations as an affluent body capable of promoting a sleek image, which many organisations were unable to do. Organisations were concerned that this could lead to misconceptions about IDASA's role and objectives within the community.

Finally the institute was advised to try and make sure that consultation with organisations did not remain merely at leadership level but also involved the membership of these organisations.

IDASA staff and participants of the workshop agreed that the feedback on both sides had been extremely useful and that meetings of this nature should be held on a more regular basis.

**Rose Louw**  
Natal Region

# Maak oop jou hart, maak oop jou stad . . .

Die "Oop Stad" inisiatief is hoofsaaklik 'n blanke "issue", volgens Franklin Sonn, president van die Kaaplandse Professionele Onderwysunie.

"Julle moet die saak regstel, dit is julle verantwoordelikheid," het hy aan 'n oorwegend blanke gehoor van etlike honderd mense gesê tydens die loodsvergadering van die veldtog in Kaapstad in Mei.



Jonk en oud (en natuurlik ook alle kleure) het die "Loop Kaapstad Oop"-staptog meegemaak.

## Die 'Oop Stad' veldtog begin nou koers kry dwarsoor die land . . . en dis 'n saak wat blankes moet regstel, sê sommige

Die ander sprekers by die geleentheid was Chris Joubert, 'n Nasionale Party stadsraadlid in Kaapstad, Prof Julius Jeppe van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch en Dr Van Zyl Slabbert van IDASA.

Sonn het kaspie gemaak teen Joubert en Jeppe se argument dat die geleentheid wat die nuwe Vrye Vestigingsgebiede wetgewing bied vir die oopstelling van sekere woongebiede nie sonder meer verwerp moet word nie aangesien "integrasie oornag" 'n menigte van maatskaplike en ekonomiese probleme tot gevolg kan hê.

Toe julle voorouers die Groepsgebiedewet op ons afgedwing het, het hulle dit nie op 'n 'incremental' gedoen nie, ons moes eenvoudig net verkoop en waai," het Sonn gesê. "Diegene wat dink dat ons in paaimente uit hierdie moeras kan kom, verstaan nie die omvang van gevoelens teen apartheid nie."

Hy het gesê dat argumente oor, onder andere, die sogenaamde verlaging van eiendomspryse wat die oopstelling van woongebiede tot gevolg sou hê, doodeenvoudig nie aanvaarbaar was nie. "Dit is Afrika hierdie



Uit die hart van die Kaap . . . David Kramer sing vir die stappers.

en ons moet leer om met die probleme van Afrika te worstel en saam te leef."

Hy het gesê die nuwe samelewing kan nie op vrees gebou word nie. Dit moet op vertroue gegrond wees.

Slabbert het gesê die regering het die stryd verloor teen die wil van "gewone mense" om te bly waar hulle 'n bestaan kan voer.

In 'n groot mate heers daar ook 'n illusie onder blankes dat hulle woonbuurte "wit" is. "As jy nege-uur in die aand 'n fluitjie in Houghton blaas, sal jy besef dat daar meer swartmense as wittes bly," het Slabbert gesê.

Sedert die loodsvergadering het sowat 2000 mense aan 'n "Loop Kaapstad Oop"-staptog vanaf die Baxter-teater na Distrik Ses deelgeneem. Die veldtog word in Kaapstad gevoer deur 'n alliansie van die Demokratiese Party, die Cape Democrats, die Black Sash, Jews for Justice en Nusas. Verskeie ander liggame soos IDASA, die Kaapse Chamber of Commerce en die Stedelike Stigting ondersteun die inisiatief. In Johannesburg en Durban het veldtogte ook reeds begin, en in kleiner stede soos Oos-Londen is daar ook sprake van soortgelyke inisiatiewe.

## Violence: Durban looks for answers to end suffering

A disturbing picture of vigilante attacks emerged from an interview with several youths from the Inanda area at a "Shaping our Future" forum held by IDASA in Durban on May 21.

The forum, "The Durban Shackland: What is life like and what is going on?", gave participants an opportunity to hear a first-hand account from the residents who had suffered physical and emotional hardship. Participants were also able to ask questions and to discuss possible ways of trying to end the violence. The event drew about 40 people, including planners, development staff and city officials.

The youths, interviewed by Crispin Hemson of the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal, alleged that vigilante groups tried through violent means to force them to join their ranks. The youths went on to describe how they were allegedly beaten when they tried to resist the vigilantes. Allegations were also made about attempts by

outside forces to deliberately create divisions within the Shacklands community at a time when people were striving to organise the community. The view was expressed that if more people were charged in court, this could help to stop the violence.

Reports of alleged beatings, harassment, torture and of homelessness by a group of (mainly senior) residents from Luganda, an area particularly notorious for violence, clearly upset and appalled many present. An elderly man, who had spent some time in detention, said he had found his home bulldozed to the ground on his release. He made no attempt to hide his bitterness. Other residents with similar experiences expressed concern about how their families were being fragmented by the violence and by similar destruction of their homes. "Why was my home demolished while I was in detention?" was the anguished cry of a resident. This issue was dealt with fairly extensively in a question and answer session.

Crispin Hemson then discussed different ways of looking at the violence, raising several suggestions about how to possibly contextualise the issues. Needless to say, the issue emerged as emotionally charged and highly complex.

Participants were initially left with a feeling of powerlessness and hopelessness and were divided into small discussion groups to try and deal with these feelings.

A variety of suggestions came to light as to what action could be taken. These included: trying to have more contact with township people in one's day to day existence; speaking to one's friends and colleagues and encouraging them to attend similar forums; helping Shackland people to become more aware of their rights; supporting democratic organisations and joining non-racial organisations; looking for action from the "top" and pressurising the government to release leaders in detention.

The evaluation forms submitted by the participants revealed an on-going hunger for more knowledge and action. Most participants wrote that they felt better informed after attending the forum and many felt stimulated to action.

**Rose Louw**  
Durban Region

# A force for lasting peace

Apologists for the ANC and violence  
... overseas funded manipulators  
... campus infiltrators.

IDASA's critics have been harsh in their condemnation of the institute's role in SA politics.

RONEL SCHEFFER asked executive director Alex Boraine and campus co-ordinator André Zaaiman to respond to some of these points.



Dr Boraine ... helping disillusioned whites

**Q: IDASA appears to be a rather unique organisation in South African politics. Can this work not be done by any of the existing political parties?**

**AB:** South Africa is a deeply divided society and characterised by extreme polarisation. The fact that black South Africans have been excluded from the constitutional process makes them understandably hostile towards Parliament and therefore highly suspicious of any of the existing registered political parties. They cannot participate in elections and therefore this form of politics is not a priority for them. IDASA is therefore in a unique position in that it has no formal links with any of the parliamentary political parties and is also not linked with any of the extra-parliamentary mass-based organisations. It does therefore have scope to act in a facilitating role which is not possible for any political party. In this way IDASA can help disillusioned and confused whites to encounter significant blacks in order to build a democracy.

**Q: IDASA receives the bulk of its funds from abroad. Do you think that foreign donors' assistance to the institute constitutes "improper interference" in South Africa's domestic affairs as is often claimed by those who are critical of foreign funding?**

**AB:** Certainly not. We have made it very clear to all foreign donors that we write our own agenda and that their donations to IDASA can only be accepted by us on the condition that it is given without any strings attached. Our procedure is simple: we work out our own programme after considerable consultation and submit this programme to potential donors.

If they are interested in a particular event, they will then sponsor that event or make a grant for overheads so that the work of IDASA can continue.

**Q: Would IDASA prefer to have local funding for its projects, and do you foresee more funding becoming available from local sources in the near future?**

**AB:** Obviously we believe that funding sources within South Africa have a particular responsibility to support organisations which are clearly committed to a democratic future for all South Africans. It is in fact in their self interest. We do receive funding from within South Africa and certainly during 1989 this has been on the increase. It is not nearly sufficient and we are making every effort to raise more funds locally.

**Q: IDASA is often described as an "extra-parliamentary" political organisation. Is this description accurate, and if not, what makes the institute different from those organisations?**

**AB:** The term "extra-parliamentary" has taken on a very negative connotation in the

South African context. The state has suggested on many occasions that "extra-parliamentary" organisations have forsaken the constitutional path towards change and therefore are automatically in favour of some violent solution to South Africa's problems. This is arrant nonsense. IDASA is an institute registered as a Not For Profit Company and has no mass-based constituency. This is the critical difference between IDASA and other organisations who are working outside of the parliamentary structures.

This I think is also a strength insofar as our facilitating role is concerned. I must stress that both IDASA and the so-called "extra-parliamentary" organisations are committed to change through peaceful means but are hardly encouraged to follow these by the

**'We cannot and dare not leave the initiative for resolving our present conflict to the government and Parliament, to the regional and local structures alone'**

state's repression of almost any organisation which dares to oppose the apartheid system.

**Q: The institute has initiated discussions between a wide range of South Africans and the African National Congress. Where does IDASA itself stand in relation to the ANC and how do you, for example, feel about their armed struggle?**

**AB:** IDASA seeks to base its strategy on sound political analysis. It has become increasingly clear that the ANC has far-reaching support throughout South Africa. They cannot be ignored and must be seen as a major partner in any future negotiation towards a non-racial democracy. We have studied the constitutional guidelines of the ANC and support their belief in a multi-party state, a bill of rights, return to the rule of law and an independent judiciary and a mixed economy. We have stated on many occasions that we understand that the ANC's commitment to the armed struggle is a direct response to state repression, which led to the organisation being banned and its leadership either imprisoned or in exile. Nevertheless, we are deeply concerned at the dangers posed by the proliferation of uncontrolled political

violence from whatever source. IDASA does not condone or support violence from whatever quarter it comes from.

IDASA's central commitment is to negotiation politics and therefore we will continue to expose as many whites in particular as possible to black South Africans who clearly enjoy the support of a considerable constituency. I think that the South African government is beginning to realise the need to talk not only with those who support them but those who oppose them. The lessons they have learnt in discussing and negotiating with Angolans, Cubans and the Soviets can scarcely be lost on them.

**Q: Do you think there is a possibility that dialogue between South Africans in leadership positions and the ANC may retard rather than expedite negotiations between the government and the ANC?**

**AB:** On the contrary. The state has sought to demonise its opponents and in particular the ANC. By our stress on face-to-face meetings, we have in many instances destroyed stereotypes and myths and have helped to create a climate which will be conducive for negotiations which involve representative leaders rather than those merely chosen by the state.

IDASA in a sense is anticipating the future. There are many white South Africans who no longer believe that apartheid is defensible or workable. The problem is that they don't see any alternative to a system which they have known for so long. IDASA seeks to operate as it were in a "no man's land" and help whites to deal with their fears which in large measure stem from their ignorance of black aspirations and grievances.

We cannot and dare not leave the initiative for resolving our present conflict to the government and Parliament, to the regional and local structures alone. There is a desperate need for ordinary South Africans, who are impatient about the present system of injustice and bankruptcy, to realise their full potential and to enjoy equal opportunity in every sphere of life. IDASA is committed to helping these people to do just that.

**Q: What has been the extent of IDASA's involvement on university campuses, particularly Afrikaans campuses?**

**AZ:** IDASA has had a limited involvement on the Afrikaans campuses, as we do not have any offices on any of these campuses. Our programmes are aimed at both lecturers and students. The programme for universities includes visits to frontline states and European countries (for exposure), but we rely mostly on small group discussions, informal gatherings and video evenings.



Mr Zaaiman . . . open debate threatens universities

**Q: Why do you think that some rectors of Afrikaans universities have reservations about IDASA's work among students while they do not seem to object to the presence of an organisation like Jeugkrag and political parties on their campuses?**

**AZ:** IDASA has as a clear aim to win whites away from apartheid towards a non-racial, democratic future. Afrikaner-nationalism is breaking apart: it is an organic process causing the National Party's version of Afrikanerdom to fall apart. In order to retain the current status quo, (of which Afrikaans universities are the products), rectors feel they should blame this organic process on the "evil" work of a small cabal of "communist inspired" activists, in order to try and stigmatise and thus discredit the dissension.

**Q: How would you respond to the charge that IDASA's debate forums on democracy is merely a smokescreen to promote the image of the ANC among students?**

**AZ:** It is ludicrous. One only has to listen to the stories of Dominee Nico Smith to understand how undemocratically secret organisations such as the Broederbond and Ruiterswag manipulate and literally rig university appointments and SRC elections to understand why some rectors believe so fervently in conspiracies. Because they always try to manipulate and influence, they assume everyone does this, hence demonstrating their limited understanding of democracy.

**Q: Would you say that the average Afrikaans student is an easier target for indoctrination and manipulation by the National Party or the ANC?**

**AZ:** Afrikaans students are easier prey for indoctrination because they are not taught on their campuses to think independently and critically, but rather to follow a particular ideology uncritically. Obviously, the National Party and its tentacles have perfected the art of propaganda (through schools, churches, universities and the SABC). But more and more Afrikaners are realising the extent to which these myths have been perpetuated through a deliberate propaganda campaign. And this is what makes (and should make) the authorities anxious. But again, I want to stress that it is not because IDASA or the ANC is trying to "indoctrinate" students that the authorities are worried, it is simply because any real process of democracy or open debate inherently threatens these universities. Lastly, the ANC is a banned organisation and the target of a massive disinformation campaign by the National Party government: there is no way in which that organisation can indoctrinate anyone on an Afrikaans campus.

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# SA students in Soviet Union

## Bring hope for future — Mabuza

"The Soviets we met drew parallels between South Africa and Nazi Germany," Enos Mabuza, Chief Minister of Kangwane, told an IDASA meeting in Johannesburg recently. "During World War II all civilised countries united to oppose Nazism. Today the world is doing the same to oppose racism in South Africa," he added.

Mabuza was, along with Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, reporting back on their recent visit to the Soviet Union. He painted a moving picture of his experience at the Patrick Lumumba University where he met a group of South African students "thousands of miles away from home".

"They showed no sense of remorse or hatred, despite the fact that it was South African legislation which made it intolerable for them to remain.

"In these young people we see hope for our country," Mabuza said. "One day they will return, educated as architects, planners, and so on, to rebuild the bridges we may destroy."

Slabbert said the Soviets were interested in a political solution to the conflict in South Africa, and that one of the reasons for their visit was to explore the reasons behind the shifts in Soviet policy.

For the Soviet Union, a political solution meant unbanning organisations, the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the State of Emergency, the dismantling of apartheid legislation and creating a climate for negotiation.

This was not very different from what the other major international players — the UK and USA — were demanding. A convergence of opinion is developing around a formula which involves creating the conditions to make negotiations possible.

On the Soviet Union's relationship with the ANC, both Mabuza and Slabbert stressed that the Soviets respected the ANC's right to pursue their own methods of struggle. At the same time, the Soviets do not limit their relations to the ANC; they are keen to have contact with all South Africans.

Mabuza said he could not recall being subjected to any "communist" ideology during their visit. Instead there was a great debate about socialism, communism and Marxism. There is self introspection and the admitting of mistakes.

"Soviet society is going through a convulsion," confirmed Slabbert. "There is a feeling that things are never going to be the same again."

When the delegation left the Soviet Union, they asked one of their guides what he regarded best about the Soviet Union. Equality and security was the answer. This was a lesson for South Africa, concluded Mabuza: "In South Africa equality only works if you belong to one race."

Lisa Seftel

Transvaal Regional Co-ordinator

## Ignorance, violence key features of our land

"WHO CONTROLS THE PAST,  
CONTROLS THE FUTURE,  
WHO CONTROLS THE PRESENT,  
CONTROLS THE PAST."

This quotation from the work of historian Colin Bundy seems to sum up present-day South Africa.

Prof Peter Vale, speaking at a workshop on the Freedom Charter in East London, which formed part of an all-day IDASA seminar in June, felt that the two main features of South African society were ignorance and violence.

"The ignorance," he said, "grew from perceptions coloured by our schooling, and moulded by our responses to the world at large. This is evident in South African life. Children are only given one view of South African history. There are, according to the school history books, no black heroes in our history. The very nature of schooling in this country makes us ignorant of our fellow South Africans."

On the violence inherent in South African society, Prof Vale read out a list of conflicts which occurred in the period between the landing of Van Riebeeck and the 1980s — a staggering number by anyone's standards.

The Freedom Charter is to be viewed in its historical context and not be taken as a prescription for the future. By the very nature of the document, it would set very high ideals and would be marked by vagueness.

In the discussion, one of the delegates asked why the Freedom Charter had never been updated. Prof Vale explained the emotional attachment that many people had to the Charter and compared changing the Charter with trying to get Afrikaners to change the philosophy behind the Day of the Vow. Another delegate added that for updating of the Charter to take place, there would have to be another Congress of the People, impossible under present conditions.

The afternoon session was entitled "Growing up in a Divided Society". The three speakers were Mr W. Sobahle, Mrs L. Maart and Dr Cecile Cillier. Each gave their experience of life under apartheid. Mr Sobahle, an educationist at the University of Fort Hare, spoke of the irrelevancy of the present education system. He spoke of the pain he, as a parent, faces when his children are confronted by racist attitudes and comments.

Mrs Maart, born in Goodwood, Cape Town, told of the impact of forced removal. She spent part of her childhood in Goodwood before it was rezoned to a white residential

area. The community was removed to Elsie's River. She spoke of the losses suffered, both material and in spirit; of antique heirlooms which had to be sold because the new houses were so small. Hardly had the community started picking up the pieces of their lives when Elsie's River was declared a "black spot". Once again the fibre of the community was torn apart, resulting in an upsurge in gangsterism and a rise in the crime rate along with a loss of the traditional moral and ethic code of the community.

Dr Cillier, a Johannesburg-based magazine columnist, offered a different viewpoint on the issue. She dealt briefly with her childhood and dwelt more on the attitudinal changes she had found it necessary to fight off in her adult life. She spoke of the reluctance of white South African women to face reality because deep down they knew that once faced, reality would give them no peace of mind. She added that white South African women were always talking about "building bridges" but very few of them ever had the courage to cross the bridges they built. When asked how she had crossed the bridges

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**'SA women are always talking about building bridges, but few of them have the courage to cross the bridges they built'**

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she had built, she replied: "'n Mens doen dit maar net, and after the first time it is very easy."

Discussion in the afternoon session was open and frank. One of the community organisation delegates asked why it was that whites felt it was necessary to always have meetings of this nature in white areas rather than in the townships. The response from the floor mirrored a major white fear. "Can you guarantee my safety if I attend something in the township?" The other major white fear to emerge was what would happen to the standard of education if all schools were made non-racial. One aspect of the afternoon which surprised me, was that some of the women delegates felt that the ANC's constitutional guidelines had overstepped the mark by writing in women's rights as an area that needed government protection and intervention. They felt that women could stand up for themselves and that the issue was not a political one!

The project was a joint venture with the women's organisation, Kontak. For many Kontak members it was their first experience of direct debate with black South Africans. One woman was heard to comment that she had not realised that black South Africans actually cared about the feelings and fears of whites.

Cindy Deutschmann  
Border Regional Co-ordinator

# Chikane: no life of his own

*NO LIFE OF MY OWN* by Frank Chikane  
(Skotaville Publishers, 1988)

Frank Chikane is, in every respect, an extraordinary person. Which has made it possible for him to write this personal account of his life at 37.

At this early age, the former Apostolic Faith Mission pastor who has remained a member of the AFM, was appointed general secretary of the South African Council of Churches. Traditionally the theological protest against the "system" has almost always come from the so-called mainstream churches. Chikane has signed both the Kairos Document and the Evangelical Witness to South Africa.

The book was partly written while he was in hiding and had slipped abroad. One important decision with which Chikane was wrestling, and of which he gives the reader a glimpse, was whether he should come back to South Africa. The book starts with a letter written to the church from abroad in which he informs them that he is on his way back home. Chikane decided, against all reason, to return to the country. His decision was in the main motivated by his concern for those he knew and the people who expected him to minister to them.

The second chapter of the book is written by Chikane's wife, Kagiso, who relates in a passionate way how they met, and also shares the experiences and fears of the family on each occasion he was detained. This chapter provides insight into the awful fate suffered by the families of those who are up against



Frank Chikane... faithful despite snubs

the "system". The title of the book becomes an obvious choice after reading this chapter.

Chikane recalls his experience of religion during his school and university days. He says it was difficult for many of his friends to be positive about the Christian religion. "We had to choose between rejecting it because it was misused or otherwise take responsibility for reappropriating the Bible, putting it in its rightful place, and reinterpreting it."

In several of the chapters his relationship with the (conservative) AFM is under discussion. Chikane's decision to stay with the church which dropped him and his family on different occasions can only be explained in his own words: "It is the depth of its

spirituality that appealed to me." He accepts the fact that churches are made up of humans and human faults.

Chikane makes it clear that his vision of the church and theology is one which "rejects the dominant theology of the powerful and takes the way of the cross". A contextual theology and a theology that takes the poor and the marginalised seriously is the type of theology he practises.

He is critical of a universal kind of theology applicable in all situations and at all times. Important for Chikane is the ecumenical side of theology — his autobiography is in a way an invitation to churches to engage in dialogue with each other.

Several letters written by and to Chikane are taken up in the book, recalling his struggle with his church, his struggle against the socio-political system in South Africa and his prophetic letters to the church abroad. The book gives one an idea of what goes on in the townships and how black people experience apartheid laws, the police, the army, detention without trial etc.

In a certain sense, the story of Frank Chikane is the story of many black people in South Africa. His story is unique in the sense that he wrote it as a religious leader. His "political" involvement is a result of his pastoral ministry as a religious leader. His devotion to his church and to South Africa and all its people becomes very clear. His vision of the role of the church and his commitment to the Christian faith are sincere.

The book is a challenge to both white and black people in South Africa. It is a word of comfort to those that experience the onslaught of the government, it challenges the church to proclaim the message of Jesus Christ. It challenges both believer and unbeliever to take the cross seriously.

**Bobby Nel**

□ Bobby Nel is a theologian and attached to the Dutch Reformed Mission Church in Cape Town.

## THE FREEDOM CHARTER AND THE FUTURE: PROCEEDINGS OF THE IDASA NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE FREEDOM CHARTER AND THE FUTURE

Edited by James A. Polley, published by IDASA, Mowbray, 1988 (second impression, 1989)

The Freedom Charter is among the most influential documents in contemporary South African history. Drafted in 1955 at Kliptown, it embodied the non-racial reaction to colonialism and the implementation of apartheid policies in 1948.

The coming to power of the National Party in 1948 saw the total erosion of the rights of black people and the entrenchment of white minority rule in South Africa. The Freedom Charter can thus be seen as a reaction to unjust apartheid rule. However, it also signifies the creation of a unifying document to mobilise the oppressed in South Africa. As such, it was the first systematic statement in the history of the oppressed in South Africa that embodies the vision of a free, democratic

## A vivid picture of Charter's lasting appeal

and non-racial South Africa. It also was, and still is, a document that adheres firmly to democratic principles accepted throughout the world.

Given the importance of this document in the South African political dialogue, *The Freedom Charter and the Future* was published by IDASA during 1988.

The book contains 20 papers from well-known South African political leaders, academics and educationists. These papers, delivered during the proceedings of an IDASA Freedom Charter conference in Cape Town during 1988, addresses the role and position of the Freedom Charter in contemporary South Africa. Contributors include Dr Nthato Motlana, Dr Farouk Meer, Prof

Hermann Giliomee, Mark Swilling, Cyril Ramaphosa, Prof Lourens du Plessis, Dr Johan Kinghorn and Prof Colin Bundy.

A striking quality of the book is that the contributions do not reflect a mere academic perspective on the importance of the Charter. It reflects the real-life influence and role of the document, the history behind it and focuses on its current appeal. Contributions are limited to a few short pages per person, thus offering a very "reader friendly" publication. A good balance between analysis and "experience" is discernible throughout the publication.

Apart from a few small printing errors, the book is a commendable addition to South African political literature. It will be of great use to the lay person, academic and politically interested person. It will be valuable to contemporary South African politics, history and other disciplines. In these areas, it can be put to good use as a practical guide and as illustrative material.

**Ian Liebenberg**  
IDASA Research Consultant

# 'Everything is also wrong with white schooling'

**WORKING TOWARDS DEMOCRACY**



Speakers at the seminar . . . Jeremiah Sulelo, Max Mamase, Fana Zungu (IDASA, Natal) and George Mashambe.

The content of people's education will be determined by those who participate in its development - and no one is being excluded from the debate . . .



A broad spectrum of those active in education attended the seminar.

Education in South Africa could not be separated from the socio-political reality because the whole education system was rooted in the policies of the apartheid state, Mr Jeremiah Sulelo, an education student at Vista University, told delegates at an IDASA seminar held in Port Elizabeth at the end of May.

Some 50 people, representing a broad spectrum of those active in education in the country, attended the seminar on people's education. In addition to academics and students from universities in the region, the seminar was attended by officials from the Department of Education and Training and representatives of the National Education Union of South Africa, the African Teachers Association of South Africa and community organisations.

The discussion centred on the interpretation of the term "people" in the South African context. The meeting resolved that all interest groups should be involved in the development of people's education so that its content would reflect a cross-section of participation of the South African population.

Reservations were expressed by some academics about the manner in which people's education had originated in countries like Brazil and Argentina. It was felt that it was used as a tool to "get the masses away from the government". However, the speakers argued that it was rather a system to prepare people for full participation in a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

Mr Sulelo said the architect of Bantu Education, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, maintained that blacks were entitled to separate forms of education which befitted their status of historical inequality with whites. "Thus Bantu Education was aimed at producing people who would always be inferior, subservient and docile."

This was not to say that white education was the answer. "On the contrary everything is also wrong with white education. It has shielded the white child from the South African realities," Sulelo said.

He said that the concept of people's education can be understood against the background of the struggles fought by different people of the world against all kinds of

oppression such as Nazism, facism, imperialism and colonialism. "People's struggles were waged in countries such as Cuba and China where the communist parties took control of every aspect of politics. It is this historical background that has stigmatised the concept of 'people'. It is therefore up to us to try and clarify this concept as it is used in the South African context," he said.

Sulelo explained that the concept of people's education became popular in South Africa in the late 1970s. "The clamour was not for 'white' or 'black' education but rather for an education for all. People realised that separate education can never be equal education."

He said that people's education implied a non-racial, free, equal and a compulsory education. It also implies an education which will enhance the respect for people. "People's education by its very nature should involve every interest group such as students, pupils, teachers, workers and the community."

George Mashambe, researcher at the University of the Witwatersrand's education policy unit, explained that "different notions of the term 'people' have emerged, and have contended for ideological supremacy in the ongoing struggles in South Africa since 1910."

"Thus the 'people', as conceived and legislatively underwritten by the Union constitution of 1910, only included whites. In 1912 another concept of 'people' was forged by the founding fathers of the ANC. Quantitatively, the empirical referents of this notion were the Africans but, right from the beginning, it was potentially inclusive of all South African inhabitants — black and white," Mashambe said.

He quoted from the Rev Z.R. Mahabane's address to the Cape branch of the ANC in 1921: "... I want to declare that South Africa will never attain her noble ideal of peacefulness, happiness, prosperity, greatness and national unity . . . without the full and free co-operation of all white and black races of the land and of all classes and conditions of men."

Mashambe explained that when the African, whites, coloureds and Indian people started broadening their concept of

'people' in the arena of struggle from the mid-1940s to include not only their ethnic or racial group but all the people of South Africa some Africans objected to this. "These Africans then formulated their own concept of 'people' to refer to 'Africans' only."

In the late 1960s and early 1970s — in a climate of extreme repression — another concept of 'people' emerged, which referred exclusively to blacks — including African, Indian and coloured people.

"In people's education the concept 'people' is used in all three senses of 'African', 'blacks' and 'blacks and whites', but the latter dominates," Mashambe said.

He stressed that for the democratic movement the term "people" refers to "an alliance of social forces arranged against apartheid, informed by the ideals of non-racialism and democracy and within which the working class is invariably identified as the leading force".

"The concept 'people' in people's education is, therefore, not the populist or the workerist concept, but the specifically non-racial, democratic one."

According to Mashambe, people's education is education for the "people" — people who aspire to be non-racial and democratic, predominantly black and working class. "It is therefore primarily informed by the interests and aspirations of the nationally oppressed blacks and the exploited working class."

Thus, according to the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), people's education is education that:

- Enables the oppressed to understand the evils of apartheid system and prepares them for participation in a non-racial democratic system;
- Eliminates illiteracy, ignorance and the exploitation of one person by another;
- Eliminates capitalist norms of competition, individualism and stunted intellectual development and replaces it with one that encourages collective input and stimulates critical thinking and analysis;
- Equips and trains all sectors to participate actively and creatively in the struggle to obtain liberation.

**Max Mamase**  
Co-director,  
Eastern Cape