



Lecturers from the education department of the University of Port Elizabeth at the people's education seminar.



Speakers at the people's education workshop . . . Jeremiah Sulelo, Max Mamase, George Mashamba and Fana Zungu.

PE debate continues

A PEOPLE'S education seminar hosted by IDASA in Port Elizabeth in March focused on various aspects of this evolving education system.

The meeting, which was attended by academics attached to the education department at the University of Port Elizabeth and Vista University students, heard three addresses dealing with the origins and development of the term "people's", people's education as a nation building exercise and developing concepts within people's education.

The speakers were Jeremiah Sulelo of Vista University, George Mashamba of the Education and Policy Unit at the University of the Witwatersrand and IDASA's Natal co-ordinator, Fana Zungu, who is a past chairman of the Natal branch of the National Education Union of South Africa.

The debate was constructive and critical and all present felt that the discussion on people's education should continue. It was generally felt that the definition of people's education was not yet convincing, and that ultimately an "investigation" group — consisting of establishment education interest groups and those who are developing people's education — should be set up.

The concept of people's education is very "loaded" in South African politics. This must be understood against the background of the struggles waged by different peoples of the world against all kinds of oppression such as Nazism, facism, imperial-

ism and colonialism. The concept of "people's" became very much in vogue after the defeat of Nazism in Eastern Europe and after World War II, resulting in the establishment of "people's democracies" in these regions. "People's struggles" were waged in countries like Cuba and China.

Although the new governments of those countries were formed by groups with differing and diverse political beliefs, it was the communist parties that took the lead in every aspect of politics. This historical background has stigmatised the concept of people's education in South Africa. Therefore it is our duty to clarify this concept and its usage in the South African context.

The Freedom Charter speaks of the "people's government" which shall govern all sectors of the population irrespective of colour and race. It is anti-apartheid, anti-racism and anti-oppression.

Max Mamase
Eastern Cape
Regional Director

Video-reeks toon belofte

DIE MAANDELIKSE video reeks wat deur IDASA in die Wes-Kaap aangebied word, het reeds twee suksesvolle geleenthede beleef. Met die projek word beoog om 'n verskeidenheid video's in Bellville — 'n oorwegend Afrikaanssprekende gemeenskap — te vertoon.

Op 16 Februarie is die video "Cry of Reason: An Afrikaner Speaks Out" vertoon. Dit handel oor die

lewe van Dr Beyers Naudé wat as gesiene N.G. Kerkman betrokke geraak het by die "swart ervaring" van apartheid. Die video toon hoedat Dr Beyers Naudé as Afrikaner steeds (en toenemend) hoë agting geniet onder 'n groot deel van die burgers van Suid-Afrika. Dit toon ook hoedat Dr Naudé met sy betrokkenheid by die destydse Christelike Instituut, en later die Suid-Afrikaanse Raad van Kerke, bygedra het tot 'n daadwerklike Christelike getuigenis teen die sinnelose leed wat die beleid van apartheid en, meer onlangs, die minderheidspoging tot eensydige hervorming, aangerig het. Dit toon ook trefend hoe die man Beyers Naudé daadwerklike versoening uitleef.

Op 16 Maart is die video "The Dakar Conference" vertoon. Dit het gehandel oor die epogmakende besoek wat 'n groep Afrikaners in 1987 aan Dakar (Senegal) gebring het. Die video het gefokus op die besoek in die algemeen, maar ook op die konferensie waartydens Afrikaanssprekende Suid-Afrikaners indringend met 'n afvaardiging van die ANC beraadslaag het. Die video, wat 'n in-diepte blik op dié historiese ontmoeting bied, is goed ontvang en het 'n goeie bespreking tot gevolg gehad.

Die vertonings, aanvanklik vir klein groepe bedoel (dit sal moontlik later uitgebrei word), is tot dusver goed bygewoon. Die persone het ingesluit mediese dokters, predikante, teologiese studente en 'n verskeidenheid professionele mense. Daar word gehoop dat die video en interaksie-aande binnekort uitgebrei kan word tot

groter groepe, asook tot ander areas. Tot sover blyk dié vertonings 'n uiters bemerkbare konsep te wees en die gesprekkeleenthede wat daardeur geskep word, vertoon baie potensiaal.

Ian Liebenberg
IDASA Navorsingskonsultant

People's health project starts

A WORKSHOP to promote contact between the medical fraternity and community organisations was facilitated by IDASA in East London in March.

The theme was "Towards People's Medicine" and three papers on primary health were delivered by representatives of the medical fraternity. The lack of clinics, inoculation programmes and health education in the region were highlighted.

The young doctors and nurses who attended the workshop undertook to maintain close contact with community organisations and to endeavour to involve a wider spectrum of medical professionals in community health issues.

Cindy Deutschmann
Border
Regional Co-ordinator

Look into SA's future

THE FIRST public forum presented by IDASA in East London this year attracted wide interest.

Sixty people attended the forum which was held under the broad theme, "South

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Serious oversights in Lijphart's solution for SA

MACHTSDELING: DE OPLOSSING VOOR ZUID-AFRIKA?

by Arend Lijphart (Uitgeverij Gottmer en Beht, Bloemendaal, Haarlem, 1987)*

SINCE Lijphart's "Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration" was published in 1977, the theory of consociational democracy sparked off a fierce academic debate. The theory and application of consociational democracy was questioned. Arguments for and against consociationalism — also called pacificatory democracy (Dutch: *pacificatie-demokratie*) — were published widely in the Netherlands, Belgium and the rest of Europe. Eventually this academic exchange also reached the United States and South Africa.

Some elements of consociational democracy, although adapted to the "peculiarities" of South Africa, are to be seen in the President's Council Report of the early 1980s (constitutional committee). After further adaptations a form of "sham" consociationalism was implemented by Act No. 110 of 1983 in the form of the tri-cameral parliamentary system. Which, by the way, excluded the majority of South Africans as no black person was allowed to vote for parliament as a central legislative body. This contributed partly to the fact that the theory has become one of the "casualties of 'reform politics' in South Africa" (Pierre du Toit, in *Politikon*, vol. 13(2), December 1986, p. 106).

Machtsdeling: de Oplossing voor Zuid-Afrika? is a restatement by Lijphart of the case for consociational democracy in South Africa. It also deals with other constitutional proposals in the South African context. The proposals of several political parties, the SPROCAS-Report, Buthelezi-proposals (1982) and criticisms against the theory of pacification is dealt with. Lijphart concludes that most of

these proposals include elements of consociational democracy. However, very few of them went the whole way. Some other proposals were never implemented. He correctly refers to some of these proposals as semi-pacification and quasi-pacification. Such proposals, it is said, have very little hope of succeeding in broadening the basis of democracy in South Africa. An extreme example of this phenomenon of quasi-pacification is the 1983 tri-cameral constitution. It is suggested that this "sham constitution" is not only a bad step (in the wrong direction?) but also that it would result in a political impasse. And greater polarisation and violence, one feels like adding.

The book reflects intensive research and "a bibliography which is a compliment to many South African scholars" to quote Pierre du Toit (*Politikon*, 1986, 13(2)).

There are however some problem areas. Lijphart suggests a system of full pacificatory democracy as a solution to South African problems. Even if one accepts the assumption that consociational theory is sound, and that it can be transplanted to Africa (which is indeed a very, very optimistic assumption), there remain several inadequately addressed issues.

Firstly, in the whole book there is barely a single reference to the role of non-civilian (para-)military decision-making and policy-implementing bodies as found in South Africa. The State Security Council, the structures of the national security management system and militarisation are not discussed at all. Does the mere existence and operation of these bodies and structures not severely influence the process of attaining democracy? It can be argued convincingly that it is putting severe restrictions on any process of democ-

ratiation. Not to mention this, is a severe oversight.

Secondly, South Africa is a highly politicised country. It does not necessarily follow that the masses will follow their leaders into a negotiated settlement based on consociationalism (and this applies to all the major actors — NP, CP, ANC, PAC, UDF, etc). This issue is not discussed properly. The fact that the major actors in the liberation struggle (ANC, UDF, PAC and National Forum) and their followers give preference to a non-racial unitary system based on universal suffrage is not sincerely taken. Surely more attention could have been given to the link between high politicisation, the unitary state option and consociationalism. In that respect, the theory could have gained some practical application. This, however, was not done. In this respect, the book seems to lack practical application value.

This, together with the issues discussed above, are serious limitations in the theory and *Machtsdeling* barely succeeds in dealing efficiently with that.

The book is no doubt a sincere contribution to the South African debate. One hopes that the aforementioned limitations will be seriously addressed in later works.

IAN LIEBENBERG
Research Consultant, IDASA

* English Title: "Power-Sharing in South Africa" by Arend Lijphart, University of California, Berkley: Institute for International Studies, 1985.



Regional focus

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Africa — A Look Into The Future". The main speaker was IDASA board member Professor Peter Vale, who is the director of the Institute for Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University.

The topic was a very wide one and allowed for a very

broad look at South Africa's future, including the crisis within the National Party, the independence of Namibia and the social and economic implications this process could have for South Africa. Prof Vale also touched on corruption within government structures, an issue which is particularly relevant in East London where an MP has resigned under a cloud of corruption allegations and

almost the entire city council was unseated in the October municipal elections indirectly as a result of corruption allegations.

During question time, issues such as IDASA's involvement in the Democratic Party were deliberated. Some people appeared to be under the impression that the newly formed Democratic Party was the parliamentary wing of IDASA! However, the issue

was clarified to the audience who learnt that IDASA's director of planning and research, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, would be advising the new party in his private capacity while the institute itself would obviously, in the interests of a democratic future for South Africa, be prepared to share debating platforms with the DP.

Cindy Deutschmann
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Regional Co-ordinator