

# Consensus

'N PUBLIKASIE VAN DIE FW DE KLERK STIGTING

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#### Consensus

aims to publicise the work and the goals of the Foundation. It provides information on the Foundation's activities and projects, and on the activities of its chairman, FW de Klerk.

#### Consensus

poog om die ontwikkeling van die Stigting te bevorder, en om 'n rol te speel in die ontwikkelende debat oor vraagstukke van nasionale belang.

Daar is besluit op die naam **Consensus**, wat die Latyns vir konsensus is, aangesien die Stigting in essensie poog om konsensus te bevorder tussen Suid-Afrikaners oor potensieel verdeelbare kwessies van nasionale belang.



Instandhouding van Suid-Afrika se Nasionale Akkoord

FW de Klerk  
STIGTING

## EDITORIAL

# The Future of Afrikaans AT THE UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH

**WE INCLUDE IN** this edition of Consensus a report by our new colleague, Piet le Roux, on the recent International Conference on Language Policy, Planning and Support in Higher Education. It was hosted by the Language Centre of the University of Stellenbosch at the Spier wine estate on 17 and 18 November. The Language Centre should be congratulated on its initiative and also for promoting debate on this important question.

It emerged from the conference that the tendency for universities to shift to English is by no means limited to the former Afrikaans universities in South Africa; it is a worldwide problem that also threatens regional languages in other countries - and particularly in Europe. There is throughout a tendency - particularly among lecturers - to lecture and publish increasingly in the world language - English - to ensure that they and their universities can compete successfully in the global academic arena. International interaction also requires increasing exchange of academic personnel which usually means that foreign lecturers are appointed who cannot speak the local language and must thus teach in English. Academic personnel are normally cosmopolitan and naturally attach greater value to the development of their areas of study than to the maintenance and promotion of local regional languages. They are generally not hostile to the regional language - but believe that they have no special role to promote it - and it is often academic personnel who play the key role with regard to the future of the language of instruction.

On the other hand, all South Africans have a constitutional right to education in the language of their choice. They are also the tax-payers who are ultimately responsible for the payment of university subsidies. Opinion polls at the US show that 80% of Afrikaans-speaking students prefer tuition in Afrikaans. It is also not unreasonable that at least one of the four universities in a province in which Afrikaans is the majority language should remain predominantly Afrikaans. If this doesn't happen what will the implications be for the language and its speakers? Where will Afrikaans teachers and journalists be trained? Without Afrikaans teachers, what will the future of Afrikaans schools be? And what then becomes of the constitutional vision of a multicultural community? If Afrikaans, with its proud academic history, cannot continue to make knowledge accessible for its speakers, what are the prospects for our other indigenous languages?

All of this creates particular problems for the university management. They are caught on the one hand between Afrikaans students, former students and parents who are increasingly vocal about the decline of Afrikaans at the US; and on the other, a majority of the deans and academic personnel who are in pursuit of academic excellence; who have no vocation to promote Afrikaans and who are not at all in favour of having their language of tuition monitored. And there is also a third side in the form of pressure from the government to shed its white Afrikaner image and to become more demographically representative through the recruitment of black English-speaking students.

The result is that the US's language policy is increasingly moving in the direction of dual medium tuition and the reduction of single-medium Afrikaans tuition. Dual medium tuition means that English and Afrikaans are used in the same courses on a 50/50 basis. In practice - and as experience has already proved - it means an inevitable swing in the direction of English because of the proven impossibility of monitoring the system and because lecturers often have to repeat everything for English-speaking students. US surveys show that 40% of English-speaking students describe their language ability in Afrikaans as either quite weak or very weak. Dual medium tuition simply makes no pedagogic sense. In the final analysis the US administration is running the risk of satisfying no-one: not the Afrikaans community; not the English-speaking students; not the lecturers; not the government.

The US Language Centre - and the broader Afrikaans community - should continue to encourage and broaden fair and open debate on the university's language policy. Perhaps the US will be able to learn something from the North-West University and its very successful simultaneous translation approach - which works excellently and which is not nearly as expensive as experts had thought. ●

# Die Toekoms van Afrikaans

## AAN DIE UNIVERSITEIT VAN STELLENBOSCH

**ONS SLUIT IN,** in hierdie uitgawe van 'Consensus', 'n verslag deur ons nuwe kollega, Piet le Roux, oor die onlangse Internasionale Konferensie oor Taalbeleid, -beplanning en -ondersteuning in Hoër Onderwys. Dit is van 17 tot 18 November deur die Taalsentrum van die Universiteit van Stellenbosch (US) by die Spier-landgoed aangebied. Die Taalsentrum moet gelukkig word met hul inisiatief en ook met die bevordering van die debat oor hierdie belangrike aangeleentheid.

Dit blyk uit die konferensie dat 'verengelsing' geensins beperk is tot voormalig Afrikaanse universiteite in Suid-Afrika nie: dit is 'n wêreldwye probleem wat streekstale in ander lande - en veral in Europa - ook bedreig. Deurgaans is die drang - veral onder dosente - om toenemend in die wêreldtaal - Engels - te doseer en te publiseer om te verseker dat hulle en hul universiteite suksesvol in die globale akademiese arena kan meeding. Internasionale interaksie verg ook die toenemende uitruil van akademiese personeel wat gewoonlik beteken dat buitelandse personeel aangestel word wat die plaaslike taal nie kan praat nie en wat dus in Engels klas moet gee. Akademiese personeel is normaalweg kosmopolitaans en heg natuurlik groter waarde aan die ontwikkeling van hul vakgebied as die behoud en bevordering van plaaslike streekstale. Hulle is, oor die algemeen, nie vyandiggesind teenoor die streektaal nie, maar glo dat hulle geen spesiale rol het om dit te bevorder nie - en dit is die akademiese personeel wat dikwels die deurslaggewende rol ten opsigte van die toekoms van die onderrigtaal speel.

Aan die ander kant het alle Suid-Afrikaners 'n grondwetlike reg tot onderrig in die taal van hul keuse. Hulle is ook die belastingbetalers wat uiteindelik verantwoordelik is vir die betaling van universiteitsubsidies. Meningspeilings aan die US wys dat 80% van Afrikaanssprekende studente onderrig in Afrikaans verkies. Dit is ook nie onredelik dat ten minste een van die vier universiteite in 'n provinsie waar Afrikaans die meerderheidstaal is oorwegend Afrikaans moet bly nie. Gebeur dit nie - wat is die gevolge vir die toekoms van die taal en sy sprekers? Waar sal Afrikaanse joernaliste en onderwysers opgelei word? Sonder Afrikaanse onderwysers, wat sal die toekoms van Afrikaanse skole wees? En wat dan van die grondwetlike visie van 'n multikulturele gemeenskap? As Afrikaans, met sy trotse akademiese geskiedenis, nie kan bly voortbestaan om kennis toeganklik te maak vir sy sprekers nie, wat is die vooruitsigte vir ons ander inheemse tale?

Dit alles skep besondere probleme vir die bestuur van die universiteit. Hulle is vasgevang: aan die een kant tussen Afrikaanse studente, oud-studente en ouers wat toenemend hul stem dik maak oor die duidelike agteruitgang van Afrikaans aan die US; en aan die ander, 'n meerderheid van dekanes en akademiese personeel wat akademiese uitmuntendheid wil nastreef, wat geen roeping het om Afrikaans te bevorder nie en wat geensins wil hê dat hul onderrigtaalbenadering gemoniteer moet word nie. En daar is ook 'n derde kant in die vorm van druk van die regering om meer demografies verteenwoordigend te word deur middel van die werwing van swart Engelssprekende studente.

Die resultaat is die US se taalbeleid wat toenemend in die rigting van dubbelmedium-onderrig en die afskaling van enkelmedium Afrikaanse onderrig beweeg. Dubbelmedium-onderrig beteken dat Engels en Afrikaans binne dieselfde kursusse op 'n 50/50 grondslag gebruik word. In die praktyk, soos daar reeds getuie is, beteken dit 'n onvermydelike swaai in die rigting van Engels - omdat dit feitlik onmoontlik is om die stelsel te moniteer en omdat dosente dikwels alles in elk geval vir Engelssprekende studente moet herhaal. US-peilings toon dat tot 40% van voorgraadse, Engelssprekende studente hul taalvaardigheid in Afrikaans as taamlik swak of baie swak bestempel. Pedagogies maak dit eenvoudig nie sin nie. Op die ou einde loop die US-bestuur die gevaar dat dit niemand tevrede sal stel nie: nog die Afrikaanse gemeenskap; nog Engelssprekende studente, nog die dosente; nog die regering.

Die US Taalsentrum - en die breë Afrikaanse gemeenskap - moet voortgaan om die debat rondom die US-onderrigtaalbeleid op 'n ordentlike en billike wyse aan te moedig en te verbreed. Moontlik kan die US kers opsteek by die Noordwes-universiteit en hul baie suksesvolle gelyktydige tolkdienbenadering wat uitstekend werk - en wat glad nie so duur is as wat die kenners gedink het nie. ●

DIE INTERNASIONALE  
KONFERENSIE OOR

# Taalbeleid, -Beplanning en -Ondersteuning

IN HOËR ONDERWYS, SPIER  
DEUR PIET LE ROUX

Taalbeleid, -Beplanning  
en -Ondersteuning

**DIE TAALSENTRUM** van die Universiteit Stellenbosch (US) het tussen 18 - 20 November 2009 'n internasio-nale konferensie oor Taalbeleid, -beplanning en -ondersteuning in Hoër Onderwys by die Spier landgoed aangebied. Dit is bygewoon deur verskeie internasionale kenners en dosente en personeel van nie-Afrikaanse en voormalige Afrikaanse universiteite. Alhoewel die tema meer algemeen was, het die konferensie vir 'n groot deel gegaan oor die invoer van Engels in universiteite wat voorheen slegs in 'n nasionale taal klas gegee het, soos byvoorbeeld die US tot die einde van die 1980's. Uit die konferensie het geblyk dat Afrikaans skynbaar voorloop in 'n internasionale agteruitgang van nasionale tale op universiteitsvlak.

Soos te verwagte, was daar algemene eensgesindheid oor die meriete van "veeltaligheid," maar minder sekerheid oor stappe om te neem. Prof. Vic Webb van die UP, 'n voorste kenner van taalbeplanning, het as ere-spreker beklemtoon dat veeltaligheid in Suid-Afrika in die algemene belang is en dat dit nie in die eerste plek hoef te gaan om die belang van spesifieke taalgemeenskappe nie.

**DIE INTERNASIONALE  
ERVARING**

Universiteite hanteer die inbring van Engels hoofsaaklik met 'n soort kortter-

myn pragmatisme, waar die langtermynvoordele van plaaslike (taal)verbondenheid agtergestel word. Die meeste konferensiegangers was beswaard daaroor. Baie voormalig eentalige universiteite het eers onlangs "veeltalige" beleide aanvaar.

'n Vername rede vir verengelsing is klaarblyklik akademiese behoefte dat hul universiteit internasionaal gereken moet word, dat hulle erkenning van 'n internasionale gehoor kry deur publikasies in Engels en dat kundiges aangestel word al kan hulle nie die plaaslike taal praat nie. By implikasie is universiteitsbesture

en akademië dus skynbaar dikwels van mening dat die subsidiëring van die universiteite deur die plaaslike taalsprekers (onder meer d.m.v. belastinge) dit nie regverdig om taaleise aan akademiese personeel te stel nie. Verwysings hierna was egter veral terloops - sonder 'n deeglike ondersoek na die aansporings vir akademië om universiteite te verengels.

Dit lyk asof die politieke klimaat in verskillende lande ook 'n betekenisvolle rol speel: Die Estoniese universiteitsbestuur steun, byvoorbeeld, die klem op die plaaslike taal met uitgebreide akademiese vertalingsinisiatiewe en dit is skynbaar aanvaarbaar in die breë Estoniese politiek – anders as in Suid-Afrika. 'n Deense verteenwoordiger het weer gevoel dat die verengelsing daar aangehelp word deur die Deense regering (blykbaar liberaal) en het haar hoop geplaas op 'n konserwatiewe regering wat ten gunste van taalhandhawing sal ingryp.

Die Deense Universiteit van Kopenhagen se verteenwoordiger het (gefrustreerd) verduidelik hoedat hul beleid daar buigsamheid beklemtoon en hoe Deens of Engels volgens die universiteitsbeleid na keuse gebruik kan word. Sy het ook vertel hoe dit in die praktyk tot verdringing van Deens lei. Ek het haar gevra waarom senior universiteitspersoneel aanhou beweer dat so 'n beleid nie tot die verdringing van die plaaslike taal sal lei nie, ongeag die feit dat Engelse studente of personeel geen Deens hoef te verstaan nie. Sy het geantwoord: "I suppose it sounds more beautiful [than to acknowledge or face the fact that you are choosing to replace the local language]."

### **TOLKDIENTE AAN DIE NOORDWES-UNIVERSITEIT (NWU)**

Indrukwekkende aanbiedings is deur die NWU oor tolkdienste gedoen. Die vlak van toewyding en optimisme aan die NWU-kant was duidelik, onder

meer was prof. Theuns Eloff die enigste vise-kanselier daar en het hy self 'n aanbieding gedoen.

Potchefstroom tolk 700 lesings per week, hoofsaaklik van Afrikaans na Engels. Dit word deurgaans goed ontvang en hulle is reeds in die 5de jaar van uitrolling. Lopende koste vir hul volle taaldiens beloop sowat R10m per jaar. Dit werk uit op ongeveer R300 – R400 per jaar per kontakstudent vir hulle – veel goedkoper as parallelmedium en (alhoewel hulle nie hul model openlik met Stellenbosch kontrasteer nie) verkies hulle dit duidelik bo dubbelmedium se twee tale afwisselend in een klas.

### **VERDEDIGING VAN STELLENBOSSE DUBBEL-MEDIUM**

Dit lyk asof die US-verteenvoorders, soos prof Leon de Stadler, Marianna Visser, Brenda Leibowitz en andere steeds sterk oortuig is dat dubbelmedium die aangewese manier is om veeltaligheid te hanteer. Die indruk wat ek uit die aanbiedings gekry het was dat dubbelmedium/T-opsie nou die voorkeur-opsie by Stellenbosch is en dat die US dubbelmedium eintlik reeds deurgaans gebruik. Uit die aanbiedings het dit voorgekom asof dubbelmedium op groot skaal universiteitsbeleid is en asof daar, wat implementering betref, net enkele haakplekke is wat uitgestryk word. Volgens wat ek verstaan het uit die aanbiedings van die persone hierbo genoem is dit blykbaar nie wenslik om noukeurige, fyn gekwantifiseerde monitering toe te pas nie.

Ek kan nie met sekerheid sê wat die konferensiegangers se reaksie op die dubbelmedium-aanbiedings was nie, behalwe dat dit oorskadu was deur die, myns insiens, baie positiewe reaksie op NWU se tolkdienste. Dr Anu Virkkunen-Fullenwider, van die Universiteit van Helsinki, 'n bekende universiteitstaalkundige en ere-sprek-

er, het na afloop van die konferensie terloops teenoor my opgemerk dat sy haarself nou steeds afvra hoe die US se beleid in die praktyk werk.

*Die konferensie versterk die vermoede dat die verengelsing van universiteite ook gepaardgaan met akademië en senior universiteitspersoneel wie telkens beroepsgewys bevoordeel word deur 'n meer Engelse universiteitsomgewing. In die praktyk bepaal hulle die taalomgewing – en dit met ander mense se geld. Diegene wat die meeste geld betaal, maar die minste die taalpraktyk bepaal, is die belastingbetalers wat die universiteite se subsidies befonds en die studente wat studiefiooe betaal. Dit is egter juis hulle wat 'n veel groter belang het by onderlig in die plaaslike taal. Verengelsing is, so gesien, die gevolg van 'n skewe verdeling van mag en 'n botsing van belange tussen wie betaal en wie bepaal.*

*'n Taalstrategie vir Stellenbosch behoort die tolkdienste van NWU nou met prioriteit te ondersoek. Die NWU se deure staan blykbaar oop vir belangstellendes hieroor en 'n besoek daar sal 'n belangrike stap wees in die samestelling van 'n tolk-opsie vir die US. Gegewe die US se afskaling van die A-opsie en die publieke weerstand teen dubbelmedium/T-opsie, lyk tolkdienste na 'n opsie wat meerderheidsteun kan trek. Hiervoor moet 'n loodsprojekvoorstel opgestel word.*

SPEECH BY F W DE KLERK TO  
THE GLOBAL STRATEGY FORUM:  
LONDON, 16 NOVEMBER 2009

# The Impact of The Fall of The Berlin Wall

ON SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WORLD

The Impact of The Fall  
of The Berlin Wall

**WE HAVE JUST** celebrated the 20th anniversary of the destruction of the Berlin Wall. I was fortunate enough to be in Berlin for the occasion and to have discussed the implications and consequences of the momentous events of 9 November 1989 with two of the main protagonists - Mikhail Gorbachev and Lech Walesa. We all agreed that the fall of the Berlin wall was one of the turning points in modern history.

The events of 9 November 1989 will reverberate through history with similar impact to those of 14 July exactly two hundred years earlier. The fall of the Bastille was only a single incident in a lengthy and complex process. Nevertheless, it came to symbolise the success of the French Revolution. The French revolution, in turn, marked the beginning of the end of absolute monarchy in Europe and signalled the dawn of a new approach to the government of society.

In the same way, the fall of the Berlin wall - although only a single event in a broad historic process - has come to symbolise the collapse of international communism and the end of the bipolar world. Perhaps, even more significantly, it signalled the failure of ideology and social engineering to provide workable

solutions to the challenges of human societies.

The point of departure of ideologists is that intellectuals have the ability to construct utopia by shattering the old order and then remoulding it nearer to the heart's desire. This often involves not only the redesigning of the institutions of society - but of human nature itself.

However, ideologists usually discover that it is more difficult to remould human beings than they imagined. People have an obstinate habit of resisting change; clinging to traditions and pursuing what they believe to be their self-interest. For ideologists the utopian ideal is so imperative that they feel entitled to enforce conformity on those who disagree - usually by sending them to gulags or re-education camps. Ideolo-

gists also insist that because the revolution is never really complete they have a historic mandate to remain in power until utopia has been attained - in other words, forever. Almost invariably, ideology and freedom are irreconcilable.

The fall of the Berlin Wall was above all a victory for freedom. The crowds who gathered day after day in Leipzig and in other German cities quietly and peacefully reasserted their right to personal liberty. The constituent countries of the Soviet empire were able to assert their national independence - and in most cases quickly established constitutional democracies. At the same time, people throughout the former Soviet empire were able to begin to exercise their right to economic freedom. After decades in the straightjacket of command economies, they were finally able to participate in the newly re-emergent markets.

### ■ What factors contributed to these momentous developments?

In the first place, it had become evident to any rational observer that free markets generated much greater wealth and higher standards of living than rigid command economies. Western Europe was demonstrably a better place in which to live than the drab and severely rationed East. Even the most committed communist apparatchiks staring across the wall at the brash prosperity of West Berlin must have developed secret doubts. Khrushchev's boast in his 1957 kitchen debate with Vice-President Nixon - that the Soviet economy would eclipse the American economy in a couple of decades - simply did not happen. Instead of overtaking Americans in terms of prosperity, Soviet citizens fell further and further behind in the consumer race. Ultimately, the Soviet Union did not have the resources to continue to compete in the arms race against the United States.

Secondly, the citizens of the Soviet Union could no longer be isolated

from the impact of globalisation. Even before the advent of the internet, fax machines and modern communication technology began to inform Russians of global trends and fashions. The new generation wanted American jeans, the Rolling Stones and the Beatles - not Marx and Lenin.

As with all collapsing empires, the main cause of the decline was simply that the leadership began to lose faith in the political mythology on which their state had been founded. It had become increasingly obvious to new generations of leaders that communism was not delivering the utopian paradise that had inspired their predecessors.

At the other end of the Eurasian landmass Chinese communists were drawing similar conclusions. They were fully aware of the spectacular success of the Chinese populations of Hong Kong and Taiwan. They also knew that the critical success factor of these societies was economic freedom - but had noted that Hong Kong under British rule was not a politically free democracy. They concluded that the extension of economic freedom in China itself need not necessarily threaten the position of the communist party.

One of the most astounding aspects of the 1989 developments in Eastern Europe was that they were entirely unexpected and unpredicted. No-one envisaged only two or three years earlier that within a decade Germany would be reunited; the Baltic republics would be independent; Central Europe would be free and the Communist Party would be banned in Russia. Anyone who had done so would have been taken away for psychiatric assessment.

The most important consequence of the events of November, 1989 and its aftermath was the end of the bipolar geostrategic paradigm that had characterised global politics since the end of World War II. The central reality in global politics was no longer the confrontation between NATO and

the Warsaw Pact. The primary strategic threat was no longer the possibility of a nuclear war or a conventional invasion of Western Europe. Soviet-backed wars of national liberation no longer dominated strategic considerations in the third world.

Within a few short months all these factors - which had dominated the strategic debate for forty-five years - evaporated. The world was left with the United States as the single, unchallenged, global super-power. The mantle of sole global pre-eminence came unexpectedly to the United States. It was a role for which Americans were not properly prepared either by history or inclination.

The United States was now the only country that could effectively project its military power in any part of the world. Its political and economic system had emerged triumphant from its cold war engagement with communism. Francis Fukuyama wrote of the "End of History" based on the proposition that free-market democracy was the culmination of mankind's historic quest for the best possible system of political and economic government.

The result, inevitably, was a degree of hubris. When Vice-President Gore and Hilary Clinton came to South Africa in May 1994 to attend Nelson →

Mandela's inauguration, they bought their own armoured limousines in giant military transport aircraft. When our security authorities asked why they had done so when we could have provided perfectly good armoured vehicles for them, the reply was simply "because we can."

The United States could flaunt its power. It no longer felt it necessary to sacrifice its immediate national interests to comply with multilateral initiatives such as the Kyoto Protocol.

The question that American intellectuals now asked themselves was what the United States should do with its global military pre-eminence? The answer was provided in part by a Neo-Conservative think tank, The Project for a New American Century. In its 1997 statement of principles it asked whether the United States had the resolve "to shape a new century favorable to American principles and interests." Those principles included the need to promote political and economic freedom throughout the world; and the need preserve a world order that was friendly to America's security, prosperity and principles.

► ***The result was the second Iraq War.***

In the view of Neo-Con strategists Iraq presented an excellent opportunity to pursue their principles in practice. They could bestow the benefits of American democracy on the Iraqi people - and also secure the United States strategic position in the world's main oil-producing region. As a result, the Americans blundered into a tar-pit of conflict which they did not understand and from which they must still extricate themselves. History has not ended - and the new American century lasted less than twenty years.

America discovered in Iraq and Afghanistan - at an enormous cost - the limitations of its military power. Its economic power and prestige has at the same time been seriously tarnished by the current economic

crisis. Everywhere, neo-Communists are emerging from the woodwork and proclaiming that they were, after all, right about the weaknesses of the capitalism. Nobel Economics Laureate Joseph Stiglitz has expressed his worry that "as they see more clearly the flaws in America's economic and social system, many in the developing world will draw the wrong conclusions." He fears that "a variety of forms of excessive market intervention will return" and that "these will fail". He goes on to point out that "There has never been a successful economy that has not relied heavily on markets."

Of course, he is right. The problem is not the proven performance vehicle of free markets, but the reckless manner in which the vehicle has been driven - often egged on by the traffic police themselves! The answer is definitely not to return to the donkey cart of command socialism.

■ **The world after 1989 has been dominated by new and unforeseen factors:**

The first is a virtual end of wars between countries. Despite the continuing conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, we are living in one of the most peaceful periods in history.

The second is that the most serious threat to peace now comes from conflicts within countries between ethnic, religious and cultural communities.

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute 25 of the world's 27 serious conflicts are between ethnic, religious and cultural communities within countries.

A deep sense of cultural, religious or ethnic alienation lies at the root of many of the nasty little wars throughout the world - most of which seldom impact on the evening news. Too often, minority communities feel that they are not sufficiently accommodated, politically or culturally, in the processes by which they are governed. They feel that their governments are

insensitive to their languages and cultures; that they are subject to discrimination, repression and efforts to integrate them forcibly into the majority culture.

This sense of alienation often breaks out in conflict, rebellion, demands for secession and sometimes in acts of terrorism. Present or recent conflicts in Chechnya, Sri Lanka, Georgia, the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia and Darfur provide depressing examples.

Religious and cultural alienation are also among the main underlying causes of international terrorism. Most terrorists are motivated by a deep sense of religious and cultural grievance. The rampant advance of globalised consumer culture with its attendant political and social ethos, pose a threat to conservative societies and particularly to fundamentalist Moslems.

One of the great challenges of the new millennium will be to address cultural and religious alienation and to devise norms and approaches that will enable different communities to live together in peace.

Finally, the dominant development since 1989 has been the acceleration of globalization. The process of global economic and information integration is creating a new framework for international relations. Events in even the remotest regions can have an impact on the global environment. No one, no community, no country can any longer be ignored. Who would have thought ten years ago that Moslem fanatics hiding in caves in Afghanistan could possibly threaten the United States or downtown Manhattan?

In the same manner, the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 had dramatic repercussions for South Africa's constitutional transformation.

One of the South African Government's central political and strategic concerns before 1989 was the expansion of Soviet influence in southern Africa and the influence of the South African Communist



Party within the ANC.

Former South African governments were deeply concerned about Communist influence in the ANC. They knew that a large majority of the members of the ANC's National Executive Committee were also members of the South African Communist Party. They knew that SACP cadres controlled key functions within the ANC alliance, most notably its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. They knew that the SACP proposed a two phased revolution. During the first - national liberation - phase the ANC would be the vanguard party and would lead all forces opposed to apartheid to the goal of national liberation. During the second phase, the SACP would take over as the vanguard party and would lead the country to the establishment of a 'people's democracy'.

Former National Party governments did not feel that they were under any moral obligation to accept a one-man, one-vote process that would quickly lead to the demise of democracy and the establishment of a totalitarian communist regime – as had already happened in a number of neighbouring states.

This was not a question of 'reds under beds'. The communist threat was very real. The contest between the free world and the Soviet bloc was taking place through third world liberation struggles. Throughout the 1980s, South African Defence Force units were involved in direct conflict with Soviet and Cuban-led forces in southern Angola. The battle of the Lomba River in September, 1987, was one of the largest set-piece battles in Africa since the Second World War. However, the tide was already turning: the following year the Soviet Union and Cuba agreed to withdraw Cuban forces from Angola as the precursor for the implementation of UN resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia. The negotiations with the Angolans and the Cubans and the subsequent successful implementation of the UN independence plan

during 1989 reassured the South African government that it could secure its core interests through negotiations with its opponents.

The collapse of the Soviet Union symbolized by the fall of the Berlin Wall removed one of the major obstacles to a negotiated settlement in South Africa communism was in headlong disarray; the South African Communist Party was in shell-shocked retreat; constitutional democracy and free market principles were triumphant.

Never again would the balance of forces be so favourable for an equitable negotiated settlement. The destruction of the Berlin Wall opened a window of opportunity through which we unhesitatingly jumped. During the following four years we were able to negotiate a model democratic constitution which has served as the basis for 15 years of stability and growth - despite the many challenges that continue to confront us.

South Africa is now a full participant in the globalised world and economy. Our history will continue to be shaped by developments on the world stage. Our economy is also suffering from the effects of the global economic crisis. The South African Communist Party is trumpeting this as the long-awaited failure of capitalism and is making a serious bid to re-establish its influence over its ANC alliance partner. As with the rest of the world, relationships between our ethnic and cultural communities present a threat to stability and must be managed with sensitivity and toleration. Our future will also depend on mankind's ability to address the threat of global warming and to ensure sustainable development.

#### ■ What conclusions can we draw from the twenty years since November 1989?

- We have learned that countries that enjoy economic freedom and free markets perform much better than those with centralized command

economies;

- pragmatism is preferable to ideology of any kind: including soviet communism; Verwoerdian separate development; and even the Neo-Con's new American century;
- we are increasingly interdependent: events anywhere in the world can affect countries all over the world;
- if we wish to address global problems - like global warming and third world poverty - we must work together;
- the unipolar world has come to an end - and we are about to enter an era of multipolarity;
- the main threat to peace now comes from conflicts between cultural, ethnic and religious communities within countries;
- it is unwise - even for the most powerful countries - to become involved in protracted military adventures far from their shores and remote from their core interests;
- in a rapidly changing world, the future is unpredictable; and
- there is no end to history.

For us in South Africa, the fall of the Berlin Wall showed how deeply we are influenced by events on the global stage - and helped us to break down the walls between our own people. ●

10TH WORLD SUMMIT OF  
NOBEL PEACE LAUREATES,  
BERLIN, GERMANY

# Breaking Down Walls

FOR A WORLD WITH  
PEACE AND JUSTICE

## Summit Final Statement

**THE NOBEL PEACE LAUREATES**, representatives of non-governmental organizations and youth representatives, gathered in Berlin on 10-11, November, 2009, having considered the historical implications of the fall of the Berlin Wall and global developments during the 20 years since then, call on the international community to break down the national, international, personal, and institutional walls,

■ **walls that stand in the way of a nuclear weapons free world by**

- achieving a paradigm shift from counter-productive and excessive militarization to collective security based on cooperative initiatives to address global threats,
- fully implementing the non-proliferation and disarmament obligations under the NPT, and all other international agreements on nuclear weapons by all members of the international community,
- negotiating a new convention for the universal and verifiable elimination of nuclear weapons,
- supporting the successful conclusion of the initiative of President Obama and President Medvedev of adopting a new

agreement on nuclear disarmament and its successful implementation,

- supporting the UN Secretary-General's five-point plan on nuclear disarmament,
- respecting the rules of international humanitarian law and adopting the conventions banning indiscriminate weapons such as landmines and cluster bombs.
- addressing the root causes of regional and global conflicts to assure that the security of all states can be safeguarded without nuclear weapons;

■ **walls between rich and poor by**

- mobilizing all necessary national and international resources to achieve the full implementation of the Millennium

Development Goals, and by

- using the current financial crisis to construct a new global economic system that will be fair for all mankind and that lays the foundation for a strong, sustainable and balanced growth through the creation of the decent work

■ **walls between cultural, religious, and ethnic communities by**

- calling on the UN General Assembly to convene an international conference on minority rights, with a view to strengthening protections of the rights of religious, cultural and linguistic minorities;

■ **physical walls or barriers that separate or isolate people in various parts of the world and limit freedom of movement and the possibilities of communication by**

- breaking down walls and barriers such as those that divide Palestinians and Israelis; North and South Koreans; and the people of Kashmir as well as by
- addressing the reality and perception of the fears of aggression and terrorism upon which such walls and barriers have been constructed;

■ **walls that stand in the way of the crucial need to combat climate change by**

- ensuring the success of the upcoming Copenhagen conference in securing firm international commitment to effective global action as expressed in the (attached) special statement of the Summit, and by
- assuring sustainable development that will enable mankind to live in harmony with the fragile global environment and with each other;

■ **walls that stand in the way of inter-generation justice by**

- including youth and youth-led organizations effectively in the decisions concerning their future, and by

- ensuring active dialogue and communication between generations.

The Summit also calls on the international community to build bridges based on our shared values, vision and humanity. It also calls on all people to show love, compassion and toleration in their relations with one another. In this spirit we recommit ourselves to the Charter for a World Without Violence which articulates our vision for a world with peace and justice.



➤ **ATTACHMENT TO THE FINAL STATEMENT OF THE 10TH WORLD SUMMIT OF NOBEL PEACE LAUREATES**

**SPECIAL STATEMENT ON ENVIRONMENT ISSUE**

**Statement to COP15 Climate Change Meeting Copenhagen, December 2009**

■ **The above Nobel Peace Laureate Summit concluded that:**

- Climate change now poses an unacceptable risk of catastrophic and irreversible harm at a global scale, possibly even within the next decade, threatening global peace, human security and development and putting the sustainability of human society in jeopardy.
- Current negotiations are based on scientific information that is several years out-of-date. The latest science indicates that, on the balance of probabilities, we have badly underestimated both the extent and speed of climate change, to the point that we now run a rapidly increasing risk of sudden failure of some part of the climatic system, possibly via tipping points which may prove irreversible. →

- Despite 20 years of negotiation, virtually nothing has been done so far to contain the problem and there is no sign of that changing at the forthcoming Copenhagen meeting. Excellent work is underway by concerned governments and organisations, but it is now clear that conventional processes will not deliver the speed and extent of change required to avert potentially catastrophic impacts.
- New thinking is required to break through politics-as-usual. We have run out of time to take a graduated response and we must now move to global emergency action. This will require cooperation across the spectrum, involving civil society, public and private sectors, bipartisan political involvement, on an unprecedented scale. As the world's poorest suffer most from but contribute least to climate change and as we bear responsibility for future generations, climate justice must be a guiding principle.
- Successful resolution of our climate and sustainability dilemma requires transformational change, not incrementalism. It means almost complete decarbonisation of the global economy by 2050, a peaking of global emissions by 2015 and reduction of carbon dioxide already in the atmosphere. This is a far greater task than is acknowledged politically, but it is achievable given the will and states-

manship which humanity has demonstrated in previous emergencies.

- Every effort must be made to reach an agreement at Copenhagen built on the latest science, however unlikely that may be. If an unsatisfactory compromise does materialise, or no agreement is reached, the danger is that the pressure for further change will evaporate, locking in potentially catastrophic outcomes as carbon emissions continue to accelerate. From a global peace and security perspective, let alone from moral and ethical considerations, that cannot be allowed to happen.
- In these circumstances, the Copenhagen process should be halted and global leaders immediately called into emergency session to chart a new path for transformative change. Whilst this action may seem extreme, that is what the considered science, and prudent risk management, now implies.
- To be successful, this initiative must involve a very personal commitment from key world leaders. In the interests of world peace and security, the Nobel Peace Laureates urge global leaders to make that commitment without delay, as others have done in the past.



Breaking Down Walls

**PARTICIPANTS IN THE 10TH WORLD SUMMIT OF NOBEL PEACE LAUREATES WORKS**

Mikhail Gorbachev, Frederik Willem De Klerk, Lech Walesa, Muhammad Yunus, Mairead Corrigan Maguire, Thomas Stelzer from the United Nations, Mohan Munasinghe from Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Vappu Taipale and Ehasz Agyeno from International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Urban Gibson from International Peace Bureau, Mary Ellen McNish from American Friends Service Committee, Paolo Cotta-Ramusino from Pugwash Conferences, Alexander Liebeskind from International Committee of the Red Cross, Morten Hovda International Labour Organization, Walter Veltroni, Ahmed Kathrada representing Nelson Mandela, Martin Frick from Global Humanitarian Forum, David Steward on behalf of Frederik Willem De Klerk Foundation, Piotr Gulczynski on behalf of Lech Walesa Foundation, Alexander Likhotal representing Green Cross International, David Ives representing Albert Schweitzer Institute, Maria Sachs, Mario Luis Rodriguez Cobos aka Silo representing the World March for Peace and Nonviolence, Giulietto Chiesa representing World Political Forum, Luisa Brunori representing Italian Observatory on Microfinance, Peter Spiegel representing GENISIS-Institute for Social Business and Impact Strategies, Prof. Franz Josef Radermacher from the Club of Rome and Global Marshall Plan initiative, Jacob Romer being Member of the Student Peace Bureau Heidelberg, Emily Büning being German Youth Delegate to the UN General Assembly, Falko Mohrs being German Youth Delegate to the UN General Assembly.

## DONATIONS

### TO THE FW DE KLERK FOUNDATION AND THE CENTRE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

Defense of the Constitution and the rights it contains provides one of the best ways of ensuring the continuing success of the new South Africa. However, this function requires effective watchdog organizations. The F W de Klerk Foundation is actively engaged in initiatives to uphold the independence of the judiciary and the national prosecuting authority; to protect property rights; to work for balanced and effective transformation policies; to protect language rights and the right to mother-tongue education - amongst many other initiatives.

**SHOULD YOU WISH TO HELP US CONTINUE AND EXPAND OUR WATCHDOG ACTIVITIES PLEASE DONATE TO THE FOUNDATION. Donations are tax-deductible.**

#### ■ THE BANK DETAILS OF THE FW DE KLERK FOUNDATION

BANK NAME: Absa Private Bank  
ACCOUNT TYPE: Cheque  
ACCOUNT NAME: The F W de Klerk Foundation  
ACCOUNT NUMBER: 4060092839  
SWIFT CODE: absazjj  
BRANCH CODE: 632005

## SKENKINGS

### AAN DIE FW DE KLERK STIGTING EN DIE SENTRUM VIR GRONDWETLIKE REGTE

Die beskerming van die Grondwet en die regte wat dit vervat is een van die beste maniere om die voortdurende sukses van die nuwe Suid-Afrika te verseker. Hierdie funksie vereis egter effektiewe waghond-organisasies. Die F W de Klerk Stigting is aktief betrokke by inisiatiewe om die onafhanklikheid van die regbank en die nasionale vervolgingsgesag te onderhou; om eiendomsregte te beskerm; die beywering van gebalanseerde en effektiewe transformasie beleide; om taalregte en die reg op moedertaalonderrig te beskerm - asook baie ander inisiatiewe.

**INDIEN U ONS GRAAG WIL HELP OM VOORT TE GAAN MET ONS WAGHOND-AKTWITEITE EN OM DIT UIT TE BREI, MAAK ASSEBLIEF 'N SKENKING AAN DIE STIGTING.**

**Skenkings is belastingaftrekbaar.**

#### ■ DIE BANKBESONDERHEDE VAN DIE F W DE KLERK STIGTING

NAAM VAN BANK: Absa Privaatbank  
TIPE REKENING: Tjek  
REKENINGNAAM: The F W de Klerk Foundation  
REKENINGNOMMER: 4060092839  
SWIFT KODE: absazjj  
TAKKODE: 632005

## PERSONNEL / PERSONEEL



► In December we say goodbye to **KATHRYN SERAFINO-DOOLEY**, legal research assistant of the Centre for Constitutional Rights. She has accepted an internship at the Constitutional Court as law clerk in Judge Nkabinde's Chambers, starting January 2010. Kathryn made an invaluable contribution to the Centre during her time with us and we wish her every success with this new and exiting chapter in her career.



► **NOLUTHANDO NTLOKWANA** dien sedert Oktober as assistent-direkteur van die Sentrum vir Grondwetlike Regte. Sy was voorheen verbonde aan Deneys Reitz Attorneys waar sy as prokureur praktiseer het. Ons het volle vertroue in haar dat sy 'n groot en waardevolle bydrae sal lewer tot die aktiwiteite van die Sentrum, en wens haar alle voorspoed toe.

# Seven Threats

## TO THE CONSTITUTION

### Seven Threats

**F W DE KLERK HAS** identified the SACP's Mid-Term Vision of imposing working class hegemony over the state and all centres of power as one of seven threats to the Constitution. In a lecture this evening at the Potchefstroom Campus of North-West University he said that the Constitution is "the indispensable basis of our national unity and our best and abiding hope for continuing freedom, prosperity and stability."

**DE KLERK IDENTIFIED THE FOLLOWING SEVEN THREATS TO THE CONSTITUTION:**

**1. Legal amendment.** To its credit, the Government had shown little inclination to amend the Constitution. The exceptions were the Constitution 14th Amendment Bill in 2005 which would have seriously undermined the independence of the judiciary and the Constitution 17th Amendment Bill relating to the powers of municipal government. The former bill was withdrawn after it encountered vehement opposition from jurists and commentators across the political spectrum. The latter was still before parliament - and if adopted would give government at the national level the power to intervene in a wide range of municipal functions. According to De Klerk this "would undermine one of the key compromises in the Constitution".

He said that it was important to note that Parliament could amend the founding provisions in Section 1 of the Constitution only with a 75% majority. "In other words, Parliament has only a very

constrained ability to amend any provision that would undermine the basic institutions of democracy; the supremacy of the law; and the values of non-racialism, human dignity, equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms."

**2. Erosion by ordinary legislation.** Last year's Expropriation Bill would have undermined access to the courts by seriously limiting the role of courts in determining fair compensation for expropriated property. Fortunately, the Bill was withdrawn. The legislation that abolished the Scorpions diluted the constitutionally guaranteed independence of the National Prosecuting Authority. In the same manner, the recently adopted Films and Publications Amendment Act undermined important aspects of the right to freedom of expression.

**3. Government neglect parts of the Constitution that it did not like.** This was particularly apparent in the manner in which the Constitution's language provisions have been systematically ignored since 1994.

#### 4. Dysfunctional service delivery.

Key constitutional rights were undermined because of the state's inability to assure them. Rampant crime deprived people of their right to life; their right to be free from violence; and their right to property. The right to equality had been negated by the fact that South Africa was still one of the most unequal societies in the world. Similarly, children's rights; the right to basic education and speedy trial were all undermined by the state's inability to assure service delivery.

#### 5. An executive or sectionally-minded judiciary.

De Klerk stressed that this had not yet happened. "The courts have, on the whole, given judgments that are independent and impartial. The new Chief Justice has convincingly expressed his commitment to uphold the independence of the judiciary and of the Constitution."

Although it was acceptable that the bench should keep pace with changing public values and attitudes, there were limits to the political evolution of the judiciary in multicultural societies. "If the courts consistently deliver judgments in favour of just one side of the balance, the carefully constructed compromises at the heart of our constitution will be destroyed. With them will go prospects for national unity and stability."

**6. Political subversion.** The ANC conference at Polokwane had shown that power did not rest with parliament or the executive but with the faction that controlled the majority party. It was accordingly important to observe the power relationships within the ruling party and the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance. In this regard, observers should take note of the COSATU/SACP's Mid-Term Vision "to secure working class hegemony in the State in its diversity and in all other sites of power".

The SACP, which had 80 members in the last parliament elected on the ANC's list, had decided that "although elections are important, there is not a

'pre-determined singular route for the working class to hegemonise power.'" It had also quoted with approval the long-standing instruction of the Communist party of the Soviet Union that the SACP should concentrate on 'developing systematically the leadership of the workers and the Communist Party' with the ANC.

F W de Klerk noted that COSATU and the SACP had recently launched a full frontal attack on Minister Trevor Manuel, because they believed that the Green Paper on National Strategic Planning presaged a return to the broad economic policies of President Mbeki. He said that the outcome of this struggle would show where the centre of gravity in the ANC now lies.

"COSATU and the SACP are making no secret of their intention of seizing 'working class hegemony in the State and in all centres of power' as the prelude to the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist state. Needless to say, any such move would be a fatal blow - not only to our Constitution and our democracy - but to our economy to any prospect for peace and stability".

**7. Apathy.** The most insidious threat to the Constitution was "our own apathy ... our unwillingness to support our Constitution and to claim the rights that it guarantees". De Klerk called on South Africans to make the Constitution a central part of their thoughts and of their lives. "We are prepared to pay good money to insure our homes, our cars, our health and our lives. What are we prepared to do to ensure our future freedom, peace and prosperity?"

F W de Klerk concluded by saying that despite the threats to the Constitution he remained an optimist. "I am confident that many people in the ANC leadership share many of the concerns that I have expressed this evening. I am confident that great majorities from all our communities support the Constitution." ●

*"... the Constitution is "the indispensable basis of our national unity and our best and abiding hope for continuing freedom, prosperity and stability."*

*"We are prepared to pay good money to insure our homes, our cars, our health and our lives. What are we prepared to do to ensure our future freedom, peace and prosperity?"*

# The Enemy WITHIN OUR GATES

**THE 10TH SUMMIT** of Nobel Peace Laureates took place in Berlin on 10 November in conjunction with celebrations to mark the 20th anniversary of the fall of the wall. One of the highlights of the Summit was the presentation to the singer Annie Lennox of a special award for the work that she is doing to combat AIDS in South Africa and to help AIDS victims. Annie Lennox presented a heart-wrenching video that she had made of the reality of AIDS in South Africa: emaciated bodies; faces scarred by lesions; dismal funerals; pinewood coffins with string handles. She also showed what could be achieved with well-directed AIDS programmes. For a brief moment, in a far-off corner of the world, opinion was focused on South Africa's dominant tragedy.

Earlier that day I had watched the Sky News coverage of the funerals of six British servicemen who had been killed in Afghanistan the previous week. There were photos of each of the victims and extensive interviews with their grieving families. Their deaths brought the number of British troops who had died in the war to 229 - each of them covered by the media, each of them mourned by the nation.

The same week 5 000 people died of AIDS in South Africa. There were no reports in the media and no interviews with grieving relatives. AIDS deaths are no longer news - because 5 000 people have been dying each and every week since the beginning of this decade. And yet each death is a tragedy. Each death brings with it suffering and pain - not only for the victim but for the children, parents, brothers, sisters and friends that they leave behind.

Our problem is that we have lost all sense of the scale of the disaster that is afflicting our country. More people die of AIDS every 18 days than were killed in the South African armed forces during six years of the Second World War. More people die of AIDS every thirty-five days than were killed in political violence and conflict in the 34 years between 1960 and 1994. We have already lost more than 2.4 million people in the nine years since 2 000 - compared with 491 000 that Britain lost in World War II.

Why has there not been the same degree of national mobilisation that we witnessed in South Africa, Britain and other countries that we saw during WWII? The threat and the loss of life is far greater. Why have we not mobilised every sinew of our resources to combat the enemy that is already within our gates?

► ***On 30 November 2000, F W de Klerk made the following plea to a conference in Lagos, Nigeria:***

"We know what causes AIDS. We know how to stop it from spreading. We know how to protect our children and ourselves. We must spread the message of how we can

defeat AIDS in all our communication. We must discuss it in our homes and in our schools. We must spread the message in our places of work and when we get together for recreation. It must be sung in our songs and depicted in our paintings; it must be whispered into the ears of lovers; it must be shouted by children to one another in their games; it must be written on our walls and in our books. Only if we are all totally committed to this struggle will we succeed.

"We must show the compassion of Africa to those who become the victims of AIDS - either those who themselves succumb to the disease and to the millions of orphans who will be left in its wake. Where possible we must alleviate the symptoms and prevent the spreading of AIDS by making anti-retroviral drugs available to those who suffer from the disease and particularly to pregnant mothers. We must ease the passing of the dying and ensure that they leave us and their families with dignity and with as little suffering as possible. We must harness the spirit of ubuntu to open our hearts, our homes and our communities to the millions of AIDS orphans. We must not allow them to grow up unloved and uncared for in the streets or in impersonal institutions."

That was nine years - and 2.4 million lives - ago. According to StatsSA there are 1.6 million people suffering from AIDS who require anti-retroviral therapy - but only 870 000 are receiving it. Another 3.5 million are HIV positive. There are 1.9 million children who have lost one, or both, parents to AIDS. One in every five women between the ages of 15 and 49 is HIV positive. Unless they receive treatment they will die within ten years of contracting the disease - which now accounts for 43% of all deaths in South Africa.

We need the kind of national mobilization that countries like Britain and the United States mounted in World War II. Annie Lennox is mobilized: she cares and is working tirelessly to help AIDS victims: Shouldn't we all be doing the same? ●



# Die Vyand BINNE ONS POORTE

**DIE 10DE SPITSBERAAD** van Nobel-vredesprysweners het plaasgevind in Berlyn op 10 November tesame met feesviering vir die 20ste herdenking van die val van die muur. Een van die hoogtepunte van die spitsberaad was die toekenning van 'n spesiale prys aan die sanger Annie Lennox, vir die werk wat sy doen in die bekamping van VIGS in Suid-Afrika en die hulp wat sy verleen aan slagoffers van VIGS. Sy het 'n hartverskeurende video aangebied wat sy gemaak het oor die realiteite van VIGS in Suid-Afrika: uitgeteerde liggame; gesigte vol littekens; droewige begrafnisse; dennehoutkiste met toue as handvatsels. Sy het ook gewys wat bereik kon word met goed bestuurde VIGS-programme. Vir 'n vlietende oomblik, in 'n verafgeleë uithoek van die wêreld, is die aandag gevestig op Suid-Afrika se dominante tragedie.

Vroeër daardie dag het ek gekyk na die Sky News uitsending van die begrafnisse van ses Britse dienaars wat dood is in Afganistan die vorige week. Daar was foto's van elk van die slagoffers en uitgebreide onderhoude met hul gebroke families. Hul dood het die getal Britse troepe wat in die oorlog dood is, op 229 te staan gebring - waarvan elk deur die media gedek is, elk gerou is deur die nasie.

Dieselfde week is 5000 mense dood aan VIGS in Suid-Afrika. Daar was geen beriggewing in die media nie en geen onderhoude met gebroke familieledere nie. VIGS is nie meer nuus nie - want 5000 mense sterf elke liewe dag sedert die begin van hierdie dekade. En tog is elke sterfte 'n tragedie. Elke sterfte gaan gepaard met lyding en pyn - nie net vir die slagoffer nie, maar ook vir die kinders, ouers, broers, susters en vriende wat hulle agterlaat.

Ons probleem is dat ons uit voeling geraak het met die enorme ramp wat ons land in die gesig staar. Meer mense sterf elke 18 dae weens VIGS as wat gesterf het in die Suid-Afrikaanse gewapende magte gedurende ses jaar van die Tweede Wêreldoorlog. Meer mense sterf elke 35 dae aan VIGS as wat dood is in politieke geweld en konflik in die 34 jaar tussen 1960 en 1994. Ons het reeds meer as 2.4 miljoen mense verloor in die nege jaar sedert 2000 - in vergelyking met 491 000 wat Brittanje verloor het in die Tweede Wêreldoorlog.

Hoekom sien ons nie dieselfde graad van nasionale mobilisasie wat ons gesien het in Suid-Afrika, Brittanje en ander lande gedurende die Tweede Wêreldoorlog nie? Die bedreiging vir en verlies aan lewe is immers baie groter. Hoekom het ons nie mobiliseer met elke moontlike hulpbron om die vyand binne ons poorte te beveg nie?

► **Op 30 November 2000 het F W de Klerk die volgende beroep gedoen tydens 'n konferensie in Lagos, Nigerië:**

“Ons weet wat VIGS veroorsaak. Ons weet hoe om te

keer dat dit versprei. Ons weet hoe om ons kinders en onself te beskerm. Ons moet die boodskap versprei oor hoe om VIGS te beveg. Ons moet dit in ons huise en skole bespreek. Ons moet die boodskap versprei in ons werkplekke en wanneer ons bymekaarkom vir ontspanning. Daar moet oor gesing word in ons liedjies en uitgebeeld word in ons skilderye; dit moet gefluister word in die ore van ons geliefdes; dit moet geskree word deur kinders wanneer hulle speel; dit moet geskryf word op ons mure en in ons boeke. Slegs as ons volkome toegewyd is aan hierdie struggle sal ons suksesvol kan wees.

“Ons moet die meegevoel van Afrika betoon aan diegene wat slagoffers is van VIGS - diegene wat daaraan dood is, sowel as aan die miljoene wesies wat agtergelaat gaan word. Waar moontlik moet ons die simptome probeer verlig en die verspreiding van VIGS voorkom deur antiretrovirale medisyne beskikbaar te stel aan diegene wat met die siekte besmet is en veral aan swanger moeders. Ons moet die afsterwe van lyers makliker maak en toesien dat hulle ons en hul families met waardigheid en so min lyding as moontlik agterlaat. Ons moet vasklou aan die gees van ubuntu en ons harte, huise en gemeenskappe oopmaak vir die miljoene VIGS-wesies. Ons moenie toelaat dat hulle sonder liefde en onversorgd op die strate of in onpersoonlike instellings grootword nie.”

Dit was nege jaar en 2.4 miljoen lewens gelede. Volgens StatsSA is daar 1.6 miljoen mense met VIGS wat antiretrovirale behandeling nodig het - maar slegs 870 000 ontvang dit. Nóg 3.5 miljoen is MIV positief. Daar is 1.9 miljoen kinders wat een of albei ouers verloor het weens VIGS. Een uit elke vyf vroue tussen die ouderdomme van 15 en 49 is MIV positief.

Ons kort die soort mobilisasie wat lande soos Brittanje en die Verenigde State organiseer het in die Tweede Wêreldoorlog. Annie Lennox is gemobiliseer: sy gee om en werk voortdurend daaraan om slagoffers van VIGS te help - moet ons nie almal dieselfde doen nie? ●



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