Introduction

Increased levels of violence and unrest in South Africa over the past eighteen months have focused world attention on South Africa as never before. Both domestic and international pressures have mounted for the reform or the complete dismantling of the apartheid system. The unbridgeable gap between the aspirations of the majority and the limited reforms offered by the National Party government has created such a volatile situation in South Africa that it is impossible to predict what will happen over the coming months and years. It is even less possible to anticipate the eventual outcome with any certainty.

The future of South Africa is an issue of overriding importance to the international community. In an effort to help focus attention on the complex issues raised by apartheid and the struggle to end it, and to provide a forum for the diverse groups in South Africa to address our audience of policymakers, scholars, and lawyers, the Yale Journal of International Law offers this beginning of a Colloquy on the future of South Africa.

Our goal in developing the Colloquy was to frame a broad, forward-looking inquiry that would enable respondents to articulate their concerns about the present ills of apartheid, as well as to consider the future constraints and opportunities that a democratic South African government committed to social, economic, and political equality will have to face. The question we posed to the participants in the Colloquy was as follows:

In the nearly forty years since the formalization of apartheid under the Nationalist government, the laws and practices of apartheid have achieved their goal of creating white political and economic domination and black
disenfranchisement and dependence. Apartheid has deprived the majority of any role in the governing of their country, has displaced millions of people in order to create segregated living areas and "homelands," has offered non-whites inferior education, and has forced them to occupy jobs at the lowest levels. Ending the legal and political structure of racial domination alone will not redress the social and economic conditions created by apartheid. Other positive measures are needed before white dominance can be overcome, the injuries to the victims of apartheid healed, and true racial equality achieved.

Assuming that a new government will not be willing or able to wait so long, in what ways do you think a post-apartheid government could and should go about correcting the damage done by apartheid? What policies should be pursued, what kinds of institutions could be created, and what social, political and economic structures would be useful in the attempt to make whole the non-white majority?

The Journal invited only South Africans to participate in the Colloquy. We have made strenuous efforts to solicit participation from a wide range of individuals and organizations. We have sought submissions from members of all racial groups, from church leaders, trade unionists, business people, local community activists, artists, and the spokespeople for a variety of popular national political organizations. Each participant has been encouraged to interpret the Colloquy inquiry freely and to develop an individualized focus in response.

From the first, this effort has met with significant logistical problems. The oppressive South African state security apparatus has rendered many of our attempts to communicate by mail unsuccessful. The need for discretion has often made telephone communications ineffective as well. Moreover, the press of events and the continual crisis situation in South Africa has made it impossible for some participants to complete their contributions according to the original publication schedule.

The four initial submissions appearing on the following pages reflect varying and important perspectives and political priorities. We do not suggest, however, that this beginning of the Colloquy in any way constitutes a balanced representation of the spectrum of viewpoints, or even of opposition viewpoints, in South Africa today. Indeed, we recognize that important voices within the country presently active in the struggle to end apartheid are lacking. We regret this shortcoming. However, we view this Colloquy as an ongoing discussion. We publish these statements now because we believe they can contribute to an understanding of the problems posed by apartheid and provide additional impetus for the debate over South Africa's future. We sincerely hope that further contributions will be included in the second issue of Volume 11 of the Journal.
Foreword: Colloquy on South Africa

and that these forthcoming submissions will help achieve a greater balance of viewpoints.

In general, we have undertaken only minor editorial changes of the submissions. In a few places we have added explanatory notes or citations to the text, which should not be attributed to the authors. We have sought, as far as possible, to act only as a forum for the expression of views about the future of South Africa from those who will have a role in shaping that future. We hope that in some small way this Colloquy will contribute to a greater understanding of the situation in South Africa today.

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