

Van die redakteur:

**Prof. Das Steyn 2019**

Vanaf die begin van die mensdom was daar verskillende tipes ongelykhede tussen mense. Party kon vinniger hardloop as ander, sommige vinniger dink as ander, of ander was net groter en sterker as die res. Die menslike samestelling is van so 'n aard dat die kombinasie van menslike eienskappe nie altyd dit was wat elkeen sou verkies nie. Die mooi reus met die fyn stemmetjie, die kreupel dowe genie, die doodgoeie arbeider of enige ander kombinasie.

Om weg te kom van die "oorlewing van die sterkste" is daar groepe en gemeenskappe gevorm wat met verloop van tyd elk 'n eie kultuur ontwikkel het. Bogenoemde menslike verskille, eienskappe en soms gebreke is deur verskillende kulture verskillend hanteer. By kulture waar oorlewing elke dag 'n stryd was, is 'n persoon met 'n gebrek of ander hindernis byvoorbeeld ouderdom, wat die groep se oorlewing in gevaar stel, doodeenvoudig die kans gegun om te sterf. Soos beskawings ontwikkel het, het verskillende waardesisteme ontwikkel vir verskillende gemeenskappe met 'n eiesoortige godsdiensbeskouing wat hierdie ongelykhede tussen mense verklaar. Dit het ook berusting gebring in elke gemeenskap waar mense hul plek en rol in die gemeenskap aanvaar het as deel van 'n groter orde.

In meeste kulture was daar 'n definitiewe klasseverskil tussen landvolk (Engels 'peasants') en die verskillende groepe met sogenaamde "blou bloed" (adel, stamhoofde en geestelikes). Die Renaissance het 'n gees van vrywording in die Weste losgelaat op verskillende lewensterreine. Die mens en sy werke is nou al belangriker en vorm nou die middelpunt van menslike denke. Die mens poog om alles te verander wat nie na sy smaak is nie, gehelp deur die ontwikkeling van die moderne wetenskap en

From the editor:

**Prof. Das Steyn 2019**

Since the beginning of mankind, human beings have always been subjected to different kinds of inequalities. Some could run faster than others; some could think faster than others, and some were simply bigger and stronger than others. The human being's character is such that the combination of human characteristics was not always what s/he would prefer: the gentle giant with an excellent voice; the crippled deaf genius, the good-to-a-fault labourer, or any other combination.

To do away with the "survival of the fittest", groups and communities were formed which, in time, developed their own culture. Different cultures dealt differently with human differences, characteristics and impairments. In cultures where survival was a daily struggle, a person with an impairment or other impediment (for example, old age), who jeopardised the group's survival, was simply afforded the opportunity to die. As civilisations developed, different values systems developed for different communities with their own view on religion that explained the inequalities between people. Every community came to terms with its situation: people accepted their place and role in the community as part of a larger order.

Most of the cultures presented a definite class difference between peasants and those groups with so-called 'blue blood' (nobility, tribal chiefs and the clergy). In the West, the Renaissance instigated a spirit of liberation in various walks of life. The individual and his work now become more important and form the centre of human thought. S/he attempts to change everything that is not to his/her liking, with the help of the development of modern science and rational thinking. The individual becomes important and believes that his/her fate is now in his/her own hands. In terms of religion, the Reformation ended the church's control of society in

Ho tswa ho mohlopholli:

**Prof. Das Steyn 2019**

Ho tloha qalehong ya botho, batho esale ba anngwa ke mefuta e fapaneng ya ho se lekalekane. Ba bang ba ne ba kgona ho matha ka pele ho feta ba bang, ba bang ba ne ba kgona ho nahana ka pele ho feta ba bang, hape ba bang ba ne ba le baholo le matla ho feta ba bang. Semelo sa motho se ka mokgwa wa hore ke kopano ya dintlha tse fapaneng tsa motho, ka mokgwa oo yena a ka se se thabeleng ka mehla: senatla se bonolo ka lentswe le kgabane; ya holofetseng a le bohlole haholo a sa utlwe ditsebang, the-good –to-a-fault-labourer, kapa kopano e nngwe le e nngwe.

Ho tlosa "ho phela ha ba matla ka ho fetisisa", dihlopha le ditjhaba di ile tsa botjwa/etswa, ka nako, di ile tsa ba le botjhaba ba tsona. Mefuta e fapaneng ya botjhaba e sebitsana le ho se tshwane ha batho, dimelo tse sa tshwaneng, le bofokodi, ka ditsela tse sa tshwaneng. Botjhabeng boo ho bona tsela ya ho phela e neng e le tshokolo ya letsatsi le letsatsi, motho ya neng a e na le bofokodi kapa tshito e itseng (mohlala, botsofadi/botsofe), ya senyang kgonahalo ya ho phela ho ba habo, o ne a fuwa monyetla wa ho shwa. Ha tlhaboloho e ba teng, mekgwa e fapaneng ya dintho tsa bohlokwa e ile ya hlaha ditjhabeng tse fapaneng ka lebaka la pono ya bona ya tumelo, e ileng ya hlalosa ho se lekalekane dipakeng tsa batho. Batho bohle ba ile ba amohela maemo a bona: batho ba ile ba amohela sebaka sa bona le seabo sa bona setjhabeng jwalo ka karolo ya taelo e kgolo.

Bongata ba botjhaba bo bontshitse phapang e hlakileng ya dihlopha pakeng tsa balemi le dihlopha tseo ho thweng ke tsa batho ba maemo a itseng "blue-blood" (seriti, marenana a merabe le boruti). Ka Bophirima, Tsosoloso e tlišitse moya wa tokoloho mahlakoreng a itseng a bophelo. Jwale motho le mosebetsi wa hae di se di le bohlokwa le ho feta, mme di bopa karolo e bohlokwa

rasionele denke. Die individu word belangrik en glo sy lewenslot is nou in sy eie hande. So het daar op godsdienstige vlak die Hervorming plaasgevind wat die beheer van die samelewing deur die kerk in Noord-Europa beëindig het. Die nuwe denke het ook op politieke gebied tot die sogenaamde “Glorious Revolution” van 1688 gelei, waardeur Engeland ’n demokratiese regeringsvorm gekry het wat in die volgende eeu deur die Amerikaners en die Franse nagevolg sou word. Hierna volg die negentiende eeu wat as die Eeu van Revolusies bekend was en tot politieke demokratisering van meeste Westerse lande lei.

In hierdie tyd word aan die een kant die ou orde, die Tradisionalistes, gevind, waar kultuur en tradisie sentraal staan. Kultuur en geloof leer die mens dat elke persoon verantwoordelikheid vir sy eie lewe moet aanvaar. Die groep ag dit belangrik om beheer oor die eie sake uit te oefen. Aan die ander kant, die Moderniste, is dit die mens se vryheid wat alle denke oorheers. Vir hul het die mens ’n reg tot iets. Laasgenoemde groep, ook humanisme genoem weens hul klem op die mens, gee geboorte aan twee uiteenlopende “kinders”, wat elk weer ’n eie siening van vryheid en geregtigheid het. Vir die een “kind” is die individu en sy vryheid die belangrikste en is die staat se rol beperk. Dit is die kapitalisme waar die vrye mark vir alle mense die reg verleen om bates te besit, daarmee te woeker, gelyke toegang tot die mark te verkry en op eie krag bo uit te kom. Die ander “kind”, die kommunisme, glo weer dat die staat die instrument is wat gebruik moet word om gelykheid en alle menseregte soos die reg op behuising, gesondheid, onderwys, werk en gelyke behandeling te verseker. Die staat moet alle terreine van die samelewing oorheers en sal deur die effektiewe beheer tot ’n utopia lei, die werkersparadys. Beide hierdie

Northern Europe. As for politics, the new thinking also led to the so-called “glorious revolution” of 1688, whereby England obtained a democratic government that would be pursued in the next century by the Americans and the French. The nineteenth century, known as the century of revolutions, led to the political democratisation of the majority of the Western countries.

At this time, there were two orders. On the one hand, the Traditionalists focus on culture and tradition. Culture and faith teach man that every individual must be responsible for his/her own life. This group deems it important to exercise control over its own affairs. On the other hand, the Modernists focus on man’s freedom that dominates all thinking. The individual has a right to something. This group, also called humanism, gave birth to two diverse “children”, each with their own view of freedom and justice. On the one hand, the individual and his/her freedom are crucial, and the state’s role is restricted. This is capitalism, where the free market grants all people the right to possess and make the most of their assets, to gain equal access to the market, and to come out on top on their own steam. On the other hand, communism believes that the state must be used to ensure equality and all human rights such as the right to housing, health, education, employment and equal treatment. The state must control all spheres of society, thus leading to utopia, the worker’s paradise. Both these groups are internationally predisposed and attempt to expand their own ideas globally.

Yet history has shown that both these approaches ultimately lead to poverty and oppression. Under capitalism, the uncontrolled markets lead to monopolies where the rich become wealthier and the gap between the rich and the poor increases. In the majority of communist or ex-communist countries, the state could only survive under a one-party system. Human nature shows that all people do not work equally hard to realise the communist ideal. Some

ya kgopolo ya motho. O leka ho fetola dintho tsohle tseo a sa di rateng, ka thuso ya ntshetsopele ya saense ya mehleng ya hajwale le ka monahano o nang le kelello. Motho o ba bohlokwa, mme o dumela hore jwale bokamoso ba hae bo matsohong a hae. Bakeng sa bodumedi, Ntjhafatso e ile ya fedisa taolo ya kereke hodima setjhaba Yuropa e Leboya. Tabeng ya dipolotiki, kgopolo e ntjha le yona e ile ya etsa ntho e bitswang ka hore ke “phetoho e kgolo e nang le tlotliso” (“glorious revolution”) ya 1688, moo Enyelane (England) e ileng ya fumana mmuso wa batho bohle/demokrasi, oo o neng o tla ntshetswapele ke MaAmerika le MaFora nakong ya dilemo tse lekgolo tse tla latela. Mongwahakgolo wa boleshome le metso e robong (19th century), o tsebahalang jwalo ka mongwahakgolo wa diphetoho tse kgolo, o ile wa etsa hore ho be le demokrasi ya polotiki boholong ba dinaha tse ka Bophirima.

Ka nako ena, ho ne ho na le ditaelo tse pedi. Ka lehlakoreng le leng, ba dumelang ho moetlo/ho tsa setho (Traditionalists) ba tsepamisitse maikutlo hodima botjhaba le setso. Botjhaba le tumelo di ruta motho hore motho e mong le e mong o tlamehile ho jara maikarabelo a bophelo ba hae. Sehlopha sena se dumela hore ho bohlokwa hore ba be le taolo hodima ditaba tsa bona. Ka lehlakoreng le leng, ba dumelang ho tsa sejwalejwale (Modernists) ba tsepamisa maikutlo hodima tokoloho ya motho, e fetang kutlwisiso yohle. Motho o na le tokelo ya ntho e itseng. Sehlopha sena, sa batho ba sa dumeleng tumelong efe kapa efe, se bitswang “humanism”, se tswetse “bana” ba babedi ba fapaneng, e mong le e mong ka pono ya hae ya tokoloho le toka. Ka letsohong le leng, motho le tokoloho ya hae o bohlokwa haholo, mme seabo sa mmuso se thibetswe. Bona ke bokapitale, moo mmaraka o lokolohileng o fang batho kaofela tokelo ya ho ba le ho hong, le ho etsa ka mokgwa oo ba ka kgonang ka teng ka thepa ya bona, bakeng

groepe is internasionaal ingestel en poog om hul eie idees globaal uit te brei.

Tog het die geskiedenis bewys dat beide die twee benaderings uiteindelik tot armoede en onderdrukking lei. By kapitalisme is gevind dat die onbeheerde markte lei tot monopolistiese toestande waar die rykes al ryker word en die gaping tussen ryk en arm al groter word. In meeste kommunistiese of oud-kommunistiese lande kon die staat net voortbestaan as daar 'n eenparty stelsel is. Die menslike aard wys dat alle mense nie ewe hard werk om die kommunistiese ideaal te verwesenlik nie. Party is bloot lui, onbekwaam, leuenaars, kansvatters of diewe. Die stelsel werk dan nie. Die staat as die enjin wat alles moet dryf, is dan ondoeltreffend, nie in staat om dit te doen nie en word toestande meestal slegter as beter. In plaas van 'n samelewing waar almal alles wat hul nodig het, sou hê, is bevind dat die meeste mense baie swaar kry weens tekorte aan noodsaaklike goedere en dienste.

Die humanisme het egter meeste van die teorieë ontwikkel in lande wat redelik kultureel homogeen was en hierdie feit word nie altyd in ag geneem nie. Hier in Suid-Afrika is daar nie net klasseverskille nie, maar ook etniese verskille, magsverskille, godsdiensverskille, verskille tussen die mense wat een of ander vorm van modernisme aanhang teenoor die tradisionalistes wat weer die eie kultuur wil bevorder en onder andere ook mense met werk en mense sonder werk.

Die land het slegs vir 'n klein periode van sy geskiedenis positiewe ekonomiese groei beleef. Van 1954 tot 1974 is 'n groeiakoers van 5% beleef en van 1994 tot 2012 'n groeiakoers van 3.5% gehandhaaf, wat beteken het dat gedurende hierdie tydperke die ekonomiese groeiakoers hoër was as die natuurlike bevolkingsgroei. In die eerste tydperk het almal nie eweveel in die groei gedeel nie,

are simply lazy, incompetent, liars, chancers, or thieves. This system does not work. The state as the engine that must drive everything, is not efficient, and most of the time conditions deteriorate rather than improve. Instead of a society in which all individuals have everything they need, the majority of the people find it difficult to survive, due to shortages in essential goods and services.

Humanism has developed most of the theories in countries that were reasonably culturally homogeneous. This fact is not always considered. In South Africa, there are not only differences in class, but also ethnic, power and religious differences. There are also differences between those who support one or other form of modernism and those who want to promote their own culture, and between those who are employed and those who have no job.

South Africa experienced a positive economic growth for only a short period in its history. The country had a growth rate of 5% from 1954 to 1974, during which time not everyone shared equally in the growth, but the country developed into a modern industrial state. It had a growth rate of 3.5% from 1994 to 2012, during which time the money was mostly in the hands of the corporate sector and the profits were taken out of the country. This implies that, during these two periods, the economic growth was higher than the natural population growth. In addition, an unproductive and inefficient government, corruption and state capture have caused that the greatest part of the taxes was not used to improve the condition of the poor.

The present dilemma: How to solve the problem? There is a fair amount of trust in democracy and the constitution to solve the problem. But it is not all plain sailing. First, the South African democracy is modelled to rule on a 50%-plus-one system. Voters must now be persuaded to vote for a party. The problem is: "You can't outpromise a socialist". Expectations that cannot be met

sa ho fumana tumello e lekanang ya ho kena mmarakeng; le ho tswa pele tshebedisong ya matla a bona. Ka letsohong le leng, bokomonisi bo dumela hore mmuso o tlamehile ho sebediswa ho netefatsa tekatekano le ditokelo tsa batho kaofela; jwalo ka tokelo ya ho ba le bodulo, bophelo bo botle, thuto, mesebetsi le ho tshwarwa ka ho lekana. Mmuso o tlameha ho laola dikarolo tsohle tsa setjhaba; ka hoo, seo se etsa hore ho be le lefatshe la ditoro (utopia), paradeisi ya basebetsi. Ka bobedi dihlopha tse, di tlele ka matjhabatjhaba, mme di leka ho phatlalatsa mehopollo ya tsona lefatsheng ka bophara.

Le ha ho le jwalo, nalane/ historisi e bontsha hore mekgwa ena e qetella e entse hore ho be le bofuma le kगतello. Tlase bokapitale, dimmaraka tse sa laolweng di qetella di entse hore ho be le dimonopoli/kgwebanotshi, moo teng batho ba ruileng ba ruwang le ho feta, mme sekgeo se dipakeng tsa barui le bafumanehi se a eketseha. Boholong ba dinaha tsa bokomonisi kapa tseo e neng e le tsa bokomonisi, mmuso o ne o kgona ho phela feela tlasa tsamaiso ya mokgatlo o le mong. Tlhaho ya botho e bontsha hore batho kaofela ha ba sebetse ka thata ka ho lekana ho fumana maemo a bokomonisi. Ba bang ba botswa, ha ba tsebe mosebetsi, ba leshano, ba nka menyetla kapa ke mashodu. Mokgwa ona wa tshebetso (system) ha o sebetse. Mmuso jwalo ka engene e tshwanetseng ho kganna dintho tsohle, ha o sebetse hantle; mme boholong ba nako, maemo a a theoha ho ena le hore a ntlafale. Ho e na le hore ho be le setjhaba moo batho kaofela ba nang le dintho tsohle tse ba di hlokang, bongata ba batho ba fumana ho le thata ho phela, ka lebaka la kgaello ya disebediswa le ditshebeletso tsa bohlokwa.

Ho se dumele tumelong efe kapa efe "Humanism" ho hlalositse ditheori tse ngata dinaheng tse neng di tshwana ka mokgwa wa tsa botjhaba (culturally homogenous). Ntlha ena ha se hangata e elwang hloko. Afrika

maar is die land ontwikkel tot 'n moderne industriële staat. Met die tweede tydperk van groei, het die geld meestal in die hande van die korporatiewe sektor beland en is die winste grotendeels landuit. Verder het 'n onproduktiewe en oneffektiewe staatsdiens, korrupsie en staatskaping daartoe gelei dat 'n groot deel van die belasting nie gebruik is om armes se toestande te verbeter nie.

Die huidige dilemma is: Hoe word die saak opgelos? Daar is 'n groot vertroue in die demokrasie en die grondwet om dit op te los. Maar dit is nie so eenvoudig nie. Eerstens is die Suid-Afrikaanse demokratiese model geskoei op 'n 50%-plus-één stelsel om te regeer. Kiesers moet nou oorgehaal word om vir 'n party te stem en die probleem is: "You can't outpromise a socialist". Verwagtinge waaraan nie voldoen kan word nie, word nou geskep en hoe meer die regering geld spandeer wat hy nie het nie, hoe meer moet van die wat het, gevat word, totdat almal ewe arm is en die stelsel in duie stort. Rykdom kan alleen versprei word as die ekonomie groei en die groei gebruik word om die behoeftiges op te help. Tweedens is in die grondwet die fout gemaak om in naam van menseregte sekere sosiaal-ekonomiese regte in die grondwet in te skryf. Verder kies die staat welke regte vanuit die grondwet toegepas word en welke nie (taalregte vir al 11 amptelike tale het verval tot enkel Engels). Daarby het grondwette wêreldwyd 'n gemiddelde leeftyd van 20 jaar waarna 'n nuwe geslag dit verander of anders vertolk in die grondwethof. Huidiglik is eiendomsreg in die kalklig en word net 'n twee derde meerderheid benodig om dit te verander.

Miskien is dit nou tyd om te herbesin oor hoe die verskeidenheid van mense en volke binne hierdie land geakkommodeer word? Die Verenigde State van Amerika beroep hul ook op 'n regstaat, 'n regstaat wat 'n republiek van verskillende state is en waar die verskillende state beskerm word

are now created and the more money (which it has not) the government is spending, the more must be taken from those who have, until all are equally poor and the system collapses. Wealth can only be distributed if the economy grows and the growth is used to help those in need. Secondly, an error was made in the constitution: certain social-economic rights were written in the constitution in the name of human rights. In addition, the government chooses which rights from the constitution are applied and which are not (language rights for all 11 official languages are down to only English). Besides, constitutions worldwide have an average lifespan of 20 years, whereafter a new generation changes the constitution or interprets it differently in the constitutional court. Currently, the focus is on the right of ownership; only a two-third majority is required to change this.

Perhaps time has come to reconsider how people and nations are accommodated in this country. The United States of America also appeals to a constitutional state that is a republic of different states where the latter are protected against the power of domination of the masses, democracy. In South Africa, people are increasingly classified as those who are employed and those who are not. This can give rise to a conflict between those who have and those who do not have. South Africans may be under the impression that this is a wealthy country; in fact, the South African gross domestic product (GDP) is less than that of the city of Amsterdam.<sup>1</sup> What can be done in South Africa to protect it against an ochlogracy?

One way is to create space for different choices of existence in the country. The differences as to how a society is made up create different expectations.

<sup>1</sup> For 2018, the GDP of Amsterdam is given as US\$350 billion and that of South Africa as US\$349 billion. The population of Amsterdam stands at less than one million, whereas South Africa's population stands at 57 million, without taking into account the illegal immigrants.

Borwa, ha se feela maemong a itseng moo ho nang le diphapang, empa ho na le diphapang tsa merabe, le tsa matla le tsa tumelo. Hape ho na le diphapang pakeng tsa ba tshhehetsang mofuta ona kapa o mong wa tumelo ya ho tsa sekwalejwale (modernism) le ba batlang ho nyolla botjhaba ba bona, le ba hirilweng le ba senang mesebetsi.

Afrika Borwa e fumane kgolo e ntle ya moruo nakong e kgutshwane nalaneng/historing ya yona. Naha ena e bile le sekgahla sa kgolo sa diphesente tse 5 (5%) ho tloha 1954 ho ya ho 1974, ka nako eo batho ba ne ba sa fumane karolo e lekanang kgolong, empa naha e ile ya fetohela ho ba naha ya induseri ya sekwalejwale (modern industrial state). E bile le sekgahla sa kgolo sa 3.5% ho tloha ka 1994 ho fihlella ka 2012, ka nako eo tjehelete e ne e le matsohong a sektoro ya dikgwebo (corporate sector) haholo, mme diphahello di ne di ntshuwa naheng. Sena se hlalosa hore, dinakong tsena tse pedi, kgolo ya moruo e ne e feta kgolo ya tlhaho ya batho. Ho tlatselletsatsa, mmuso o se nang tlhahiso, hape o sa sebetseng, bobodu le ho haptjwa ha mmuso di entse hore boholo ba lekgetho bo se ke ba sebediswa ho ntlafatsa maemo a bafumanehi.

Bothata ba hajwale: Ho lokiswa bothata jwang? Ho na le tshepo e lekaneng demokrasing le molaotseong ho lokisa bothata. Empa tsohle ha di tsamaye ka thello. Taba ya pele, demokrasie ya Afrika Borwa e bopilwe ka tsamaiso ya hore ho laole 50%-plus-één. Hona jwale Bakgethi ba tlameha ho kgannwa hore ba voutele mokgatlo wa bona. Bothata ke hore: Mohlomong nako e fihlele ya ho nahana botjha ka tsela eo batho le ditjhaba di tshwerweng ka teng naheng ena. Dinaha tse kopaneng tsa Amerika le tsona di ipiletsa hore ho be le mmuso o nang le molaotse (constitutional state) oo e leng rephaboliki (republic) ya di naha tse fapaneng, moo tse boletsweng mona pele di serelleditsweng matleng a ho laolwa ke bongata, demokrasie. Afrika Borwa, hangata

teen die mag van oorheersing van die massas, die demokrasie. In Suid-Afrika word mense al meer op grond van die met werk en die sonder werk verdeel. Dit kan lei tot 'n konflik tussen die wat het en die wat nie het nie. Suid-Afrikaners is waarskynlik onder die indruk dat hierdie 'n ryk land is, maar in werklikheid is die SA bruto nasionale produk (BNP) kleiner as die van die stad Amsterdam.<sup>1</sup> Wat kan in Suid-Afrika gedoen word om die land te beskerm teen 'n oglokrasie?

Een manier is om ruimte te maak vir verskillende keuses van bestaan in die land. Die verskille oor hoe 'n samelewing saamgestel word, skep verskillende verwagtinge. Vir tradisionalistes is dit om kinders groot te maak in 'n gemeenskap wat die eie waardes hoog ag. Vir die moderniste is dit 'n wêreld wat of deur kapitalisme of deur sosialisme oorheers word. Kan daar in plaas van een groot gemeenskap wat tot 'n vrugtesap saamgepers word, 'n kaleidoskoop van moontlikhede wees, soos 'n vrugteslaai waarin die verskillende vrugte elk herkenbaar is en elk sy eie bestaansreg het? Kan daar plek vir die verskillende soorte tradisionalistes in Suid-Afrika wees, soos die Zoeloe, die Venda, die Xhosa, die Afrikaner en ander tradisionele gemeenskappe, met ruimte om hulself te wees? Kan daar dele van Suid-Afrika wees wat die vrye mark aanhang en die skeppers van werk en groei wees? Vrystede soos Singapoer en Hong Kong wat kan werk verskaf vir omliggende gemeenskappe? Kan daar dele wees waar mense toegelaat word om die sosialisme of kommunisme te beoefen as dit hul keuse is?

Klosterman (1978) het in 'n artikel "Foundations for normative planning" getoon dat die Westerse beplanning deur twee belangrike intellektuele tradisies ontwikkel

Traditionalists raise their children in a community that respects its own values highly. For modernists, the world is dominated by either capitalism or socialism. Instead of one large community that is compressed like fruit juice, can there be a kaleidoscope of possibilities such as a fruit salad, in which the various fruits are recognisable, each with their own right to exist? Can there be a place for the different kinds of traditionalists in South Africa such as the Zulu, the Venda, the Xhosa, the Afrikaner and other traditional communities, with the space to be themselves? Can parts of South Africa support a free market and create jobs and growth? City states such as Singapore and Hong Kong can provide employment to neighbouring communities. Can there be parts where people are allowed to exercise socialism or communism, if that is their choice?

In an article entitled "Foundations for normative planning", Klosterman (1978) shows that Western planning has developed through two important intellectual traditions: the rational tradition and the reformation tradition. These have contributed towards making the West a better place. All attempts must thus be economically viable in the endeavour towards helping people improve their position, without a revolutionary breaking with the past. Klosterman concludes that value-free planning is, in principle, impossible, as planning is, in fact, of a political nature. The differences between the traditionalists and the modernists entail different political approaches or ideologies to solve a problem. If democracy causes only one ideology to dominate, then there are many losers in planning. Rather, there should be a variety of possibilities from which the population can choose. People can then join whichever solution they support or earn money in one area and live in another. A South Africa consisting of different cantons or federations or city councils, each being

batho ba kgethwa ka tsela ya hore ke ba sebensang le ba sa sebenseng. Sena se tsosa ntwala dipakeng tsa batho ba nang le dintho le ba se nang tsona. E ka nna ya ba hore MaAfrika Borwa a tlasa monahano wa hore naha ena e ruile, hantlentle, moputso wa Afrika Borwa ha o kopantswe kaofela (GDP) o tlase ho wa toropo ya Amsterdam.<sup>1</sup> Ho ka etswa eng Afrika Borwa ho e sirelletsa kgahlahong le mmuso wa matswallwa kapa batho ba bangata (ochlocracy)?

Tsela e nngwe ke ho etsa sebaka bakeng sa dikgetho tse fapaneng tsa ho ba teng naheng. Diphapang tsa hore naha e bopehile jwang di etsa ditebello tse fapaneng. Batho ba dumelang moetlong kapa setsong (Traditionalists) ba hodisa bana ba bona setjhabeng se hlomphang dintho tse bohlokwa ho sona haholo. Bakeng sa batho ba dumelang ho tsa sejwalejwale (modernists), lefatshe le phahametswe ke bokapitale kapa socialism. Ntle le hore re be setjhaba se leng seng se seholo se kopaneng jwalo ka lero la ditholwana (fruit juice), na ho ka ba le moo teng ditholwana tse fapaneng di bonahalang jwalo ka salateng ya ditholwana, moo tholwana e nngwe le e nngwe e bonahalang ka tokelo ya yona ya ho ba teng? Na ho ka ba le sebaka bakeng sa batho ba fapaneng ba dumelang ho tsa meetlo/ setso (different Traditionalists) Afrika borwa, jwalo ka Mazulu, Mavenda, Maxhosa, Maburu le ditjhaba tse ding tse dumelang setsong; ka dibaka tsa hore ba be le bobona? Na dikarolo tse itseng tsa Afrika Borwa di ka tshheheta mmaraka o lokolohileng, mme tsa thea mesebetsi, le kgolo? Metse-setoropo e kang Singapore le Hong Kong di kgona ho fana ka mesebetsi ditjhabeng tseo ba ahisaneng le tsona. Na ho ka ba le dikarolo tse itseng moo batho ba dumelletseng ho etsahatsa

<sup>1</sup> Vir 2018 word die BNP van Amsterdam as US\$350 biljoen aangegee en die van Suid-Afrika as US\$349 biljoen. Die bevolking van Amsterdam is minder as een miljoen teenoor SA se 57 miljoen sonder onwettige immigrante.

<sup>1</sup> For 2018, the GDP of Amsterdam is given as US\$350 billion and that of South Africa as US\$349 billion. The population of Amsterdam stands at less than one million, whereas South Africa's population stands at 57 million, without taking into account the illegal immigrants.

het, naamlik die rasionele tradisie en die hervormingstradisie, wat bygedra het om van die Weste 'n beter plek te maak. Alle pogings moet dus ekonomies haalbaar wees in die strewe om mense te help om in 'n beter posisie te kom, sonder om revolusionêr met die verlede te breek. Klosterman het tot die gevolgtrekking gekom dat waardeevrye beplanning in beginsel onmoontlik is aangesien beplanning wesentlik polities van aard is. Die verskille tussen die tradisionalistes en die moderniste behels verskillende politieke benaderings of ideologieë om 'n probleem op te los. As die demokrasie daartoe lei dat slegs een ideologie oorheers, dan is daar baie verloorders in die spel van beplanning. Daar moet waarskynlik eerder 'n verskeidenheid van moontlikhede toegelaat word, waartussen die bevolking kan kies. Mense kan dan inskakel by welke een van die oplossings hulle ondersteun, of geld verdien in een en woon in 'n ander gebied. 'n Suid-Afrika wat uit verskillende kantonne of federasies of stadsrade bestaan wat elk outonoom is om self te kies welke ideologie vir die betrokke groep van belang is. Beplanners sal moet help om die limiete van moontlikhede hier bloot te lê.

autonomous to choose which ideology is important for the group concerned. Planners need to help expose the limits of possibilities in this instance.

socialism le bokomonisi, ha e ba ke kgetho ya bona eo?

Atikeleng e bitswang "Foundations for normative planning", Klosterman (1978) o bontsha hore thero ya ka Bophirima e hlahile ka ditso tse pedi tsa bohlokwa tsa mohlalefi: setso sa motheo (rational tradition) le setso sa ketso botjha (reformation tradition). Ditso tsena di nkile karolo bakeng sa ho etsa Bophirima sebaka se betere. Ka hoo, diteko tsohle di tlamehile di kgonahale lehlakoreng la moruo (economically viable) tekong ya ho thusa batho ho ntlafatsa boemo ba bona; ntle le ho thulana ho hotjha le dintho tse fetileng/tsa kgale. Klosterman o qetela ka hore "value-free planning" e, motheong wa yona, ha e kgonahale ho ya ka moo morero o leng ka teng, bonneteng e na le sepolitiki ka tlhaho. Diphapang dipakeng tsa batho ba dumelang moetlong/setsong (Traditionalists) le batho ba dumelang dinthong tsa hajwale (modernists) di hloka mekgwa kapa mehopolo e fapaneng ya dipolitiki bakeng sa ho rarolla bothata. Haeba demokrasie e etsa hore mohopolo o le mong feela o buse, e tla ba hore ba bangata ba hlotswe tabeng ya ho etsa ditlhophiso/merero. Ho e na le hoo, ho tlamehile ho be le dikgonahalo tse fapaneng moo teng batho ba ka kgethang. Batho ba ka kenela tharollo efe kapa efe eo ba e tshhehetsang kapa ba fumane tjehelete sebakeng se seng, mme ba phele ho se seng. Afrika Borwa e nang le dibaka kapa mekgatlo/dihlopha kapa makgotla a toropo a fapaneng, e nngwe le e nngwe e ikemetse bakeng sa ho kgetha hore ke kgopolo (ideology) efeng e bohlokwa bakeng sa sehlopha se amehang. Batho ba etsang meralo ba tlameha ho thusa ho hlahisa meedi ya dikgonahalo bakeng sena.