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The spectrum of liberal opinion is in fact quite broad, ranging from the undisguised self-interest of big business, to the more sophisticated spinings of various political scientists. Despite their emphasis, these various shades of liberal opinion find a

I common denominator in the central theme that the system of apartheid, as it operates at present, is untenable and should be scrapped, sooner rather than later. However, this system, as conceived and discussed by these liberal commentators, is abstracted from its material foundations, and they treat it as if it exists as a 'pure' phenomenon.

9 the ideology and practice of the National Party. Traditionally South African liberal scholarship has regarded apartheid as some form of W. political savage survival, foisted upon the otherwise rational capitalist system by the backward frontier mentality of past generations of White South African politicians. Consistent with this view, the English liberal analysts claim that the capitalist system, left to its own devices would, through its imperative to generate the maximum profit, have swept away racial prejudice and the other irrationalities of racism long ago. The task facing South Africa and its people today, so they argue, is to create the space for capitalism to assert its essential rationality, which will in due course, bring about a non-racial society governed by the pursuit of individual profit. Moreover, the liberal aim, such an course synchronises well with the economic

I self-interest of the majority of Whites, who though they are apprehensive about change, will be more amenable to it.

I once they recognise its

9 unmistakable economic benefit to South Africans, they say, should know from their own experience that state interference with manipulation of the market forces can only have disastrous consequences.

Such interference is in point of fact the rework of the racists.

Unfettered laissez faire capitalism, with an absolute minimum of state  
intervention<sup>2</sup> is the ideal. So runs the English liberal argument. (Cf:

Michael O'DOWD; Workshop on Socio-Economic and Constitutional

Alternatives for South Africa, Aug. 1978.; Harry Oppenheimer<sup>7</sup>

I'Prospects for change "in" South Africa? Oct'1977; "Towards  
"Equal opportunity" in South Africa; "Africa" Mar'ch 1979)

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Commentators on the left, within an outside the national liberation movement, generally accept that the Botha regime is embarked upon a programme to change the face of racial domination in South Africa.

The disagreements that there are centre on both the extent and the significance of these changes. There are at the one extreme, those who contend that the changes envisaged are a thinly veiled exercise in mass deception (cosmetic changes). At the opposite extreme there are others who argue that these changes mark actual shifts and realignments within the ruling capitalist class. We would associate ourselves with a view that lies somewhere between these two extremes and takes account of both the elements of deception and the material forces militating for change.

The arguments of the cosmetic change school are a useful corrective of the illusions being sown by the liberals, but we feel they bend the stick too far in the opposite direction. This is particularly the case with Slovo (in his 'Ruth First Memorial Lecture', Maputo, August 1984. Cf: Seehaba February 1985) in which he suggests that little or nothing has changed in terms of the life chances of all Africans,

across the board. His approach takes no account of the growing opportunities (which had either never existed before or had been abolished by the regime) for capital accumulation afforded African businessmen since the 199 year lease hold rights provisions, the lifting of restrictions on partnerships and manufacturing activities in the urban areas. To be sure, these measures affect only a tiny minority of the urban African population. But the political and social weight of this segment must not and cannot be assessed purely on the basis of its numbers.

Their opposite numbers contend that the measures already undertaken by Botha and all the talk about reform reflect the shifting locus of power within the economy. They point to the evident rise and domination of the economy by powerful monopolies and conglomerates; the transition from labour intensive to more capital intensive systems of production; the failure of various aspects of the regime's internal

policies, which have precipitated a crisis that necessitates the  
creation of a new dominant bloc<sup>235</sup>, led by the monopolists.  
6/000...<sup>230</sup>

From 1973 to 1977 Gordon H. Waddell, Oppenheimer's former son-in-law, "had been treasurer of the Progressive Party. He is largely credited with leading the party on a firm financial footing. We may note elsewhere during these years a continuous interchange of personnel between the directorate of AAC and the top layers of the Progressive Party; These include Wendell himself; Dr. Zaph De Beer; Alex Borrairie; Douglas Hoffe, Bobby Goddell and Others. The party had been linked to Oppenheimer since its inception in 1959, during the 1970s it became the party

of English speaking monopoly Capitalism with its base in AAC, but increasingly also in other large corporations. Thus, for example, Waddell could claim by 1977 that 40% of the party's funds come from 'major donors' (read: big business). The changing fortunes of the party are reflected also in the tensions that overtook the UP and the elections from it to the Frelimo.

The explanation of the tensions in the UP can be found in the events of the preceding years. After a decade of almost total quiescence, in 1973 the system of repressive labour control

... began to break down.

In that year 70,000 African workers went on strike; the next year, 1974, 38,961 workers went on strike; in 1975 the figure was 12,451; 1976 saw the Soweto uprising. Monopoly capital, by now emerging as the dominant force in the South African economy, faced a dilemma.

At a time when it stood poised to make a number of structural changes, to go in for a period of massive retooling and extend its tentacles into its 'natural' African market, it was

... faced with a serious challenge

at home and the collapse of the unholy alliance of racist states in Southern Africa. Until then, most elements in the capitalist political parties had been content to support the ruling state, though making the occasional critical noises. Their attitude then was grounded in

... material advantages and it was to change when these seemed to come under

threat. The policies pursued by the state had provided the optimum conditions for the growth of the 'monopoly class. Massive political repression

ssion' had virtually deStroyed the Blaek trade unions and liberation  
movement. Econemic policy had favoured the large egggregatee of Capital  
over the small businessman. DomeStic tranquillty had.....

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in Smith 15555521 155555555. Theâ\200\235 rulingâ\200\230Natidnal â\200\234party claim to be

experimÃ©ni¬\201ï¬\201gâ\200\231with 'aLâ\200\234 '"Ã©brisbcational model with its litri

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parliament, Buthele21â\200\230s Inkatha.has adeptedit through spo5rship 5f

the BUtheleZi' Comm1331on,and the oppesiti5nPFP adVooates

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ralism in preferenee t5 the unitary stete. Ne n5w proceed to examine '

both federaliSm and oenseoiationism as propouhded by its chief adV5-'L

Gates. We Shall net be addressing ourseIVes to the 'triâ\200\224ranialâ\200\230 pavu'

liament execept in drawing comparisons with ether mOdelS. We shall

address the plan being proffered 5utside the reglme by estehsibly

oppositional elements. â\200\230

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The Pregressive Federal Party (FFF).

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Early 5515975,- the 'young Turks" in the United. Party broke with 55â\200\231

and eoï-\202Ã©titu.ted themselves as the Ref5rm Party in February 1975. The?

Split precipitated the collapse 5f the UP, Which dlsintegrated into a

number of smaller parties. Pressure frdm bigbusiness, especially

Oppenheimerfs Angl5\_American Corporation (AAC) resulted in the formation

of a ginger gr5up, led by' Kowie Marais, t5 unite the Opposition parties.

In Jï-\201Ly519FS the Reform Party mergea with the pregressive Party to:  
form the Progreseive Reform Partyâ\200\224 In September 1977 the members of

the United Party RUmp, gathered around Kowie Marais, joined the

[PR3 to become the Progressive Federal Party (PFP)â\200\230

The transition from Pregressive Party to Progressive FedefEl'Partyâ\200\235:

marked more thaanuet a getherihg-in 5f the parliamentary opposition to

theNata. It entailed beth a(shift in the longstanding pdlicies 5f

the White parliamentary opposition and a charige in the political cheâ\200\224

\_ mistry of White politics} '

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ooocWith artotally new conception. Whatever form-it.takes it will explicitly declare apartheid, racism,lfascism and. Nazism l1ng81 and punishable offences.

We shall also have to explicitly

pronounce-ourselves on the

questibn of political plUralism (i.e. a multiplicity of political parties and political space for the loyal opposition). There is a sad misconception which has taken root amongst us, that radical social transformation is only possible under one party rule. This notion must be diSpelled and laid to rest once and for all. It is neither intrinsic to revolutionary change that one party dominate the political process nor is it in fact the case in most socialist countries, In the countries where this is the case, partiCUlar historical circumstances created that situation and not the imperatives of revolution. Subject provisions of the maintainance of democratic values and suppression of, the crime of apartheid, there is no reason, in-principle, why we should oppose a.multi-party system. We would submit that as long as the ANC . and its allies are capable of demonstrating through political argument, debate and.0penâ\200\230contenstation that we have both the correct policies and the practicañ\202ability to address the burning social and political problems facing the people, we have nothing to fear from such aisystem.d

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The immediate political advantages of adepting such a Bill of Rights

will be that it puts the ball in the courts of our opponents amongst the ruling class nxon its right:, centre and left. The Inkatha leadership and other pro-ruling class forces who oppose us will also be compelled bto define their position in relation to it. 'If we adopt publicise the document at the appropriate moment, it will become the focal point of ñ\201olitical'discourse inside the country. No one, even our worst enemies will be able to ignore it, and as such it will be an intervention that puts all other options in the shade. The question of timing will be ..all important (provided.the idea is acceptable) so

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as to project the ARC even more firmly as the only viable alternative to continued racist domination. Such a document would.have the effect of

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The commission also recommended the equalisation of all educational Opportunities while retaining the right of communities or groups to establish and maintain their own schools.

There are once again striking resemblances between these and the proposals of Slabbert and Welsh.

Again they are

attributable

to their sin210 source of inspiration.

The commission justified its recommendations in terms of what its opinions polls and attitudinal surveys revealed. The principal ones it claimed were:

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,that 90% of the whites rejected universal suffrage and the comparable figure amongst Indians and Coloureds was 60%);

a majority of franchise of Coloureds and Indians;

Whites favoured the extension of the

White fears of African majority rule were a constraint on reform which most Whites otherwise favoured.

Adams put forward a number of proposals which he said would be necessary to ensure the implementation of the Commission's recommendations.

These were:

Freedom of political association across colour lines (i.e; abolition of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act 1949);

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Amnesty for all political prisoners and exiles on the-

an condition that they denounce violence and extraparaconstitutional methods;

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proportional revenue sharing, and affirmative action programmes to offset the disparities between groups.

government and Critique.

...We have thus far refrained from commenting on the actual content of the proposals made and proffered by the PFP and the Duthlezi Commission. In this

section we shall dissect these and point up their

counterâ\200\224revolutionary essence. We shall also be making some suggestions about how our movement shoulQ responQ.

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Though the English and Afrikaaner liberals approach the subject of change from differing perspectives, we may note a fundamental area of agreement between them. Both evince a concern to carry over into the future crucial areas of white privilege and control. That they focus on the economic (in the case of the English) and on the political (in the case of the Afrikaners) is probably explained by the relative weight of these two segments of the White community in each of these spheres. Recognition of the convergence of these apparently contradictory perspectives first explains the acceptance of 'verligte' prescriptions by the political representatives of English liberalism and the PFP.

Given the political premises from which they move, the liberals (both English and Afrikaaner) criticise Botha for not moving fast enough for his own good. They explain the tardiness of the regime in terms of strictures placed on Botha, by his unenlightened political, constituency and a certain unwillingness on his part to grasp the nettle of consistent reform for fear of provoking a backlash. This assessment is not purely negative. It is in itself a prescription for action which proposes that on the one hand Botha must allay the fears of potential backlashers by explaining how reform coincides with their self-interest while on the other hand taking more determined action so as to pre-empt revolution from below. Pressures for this latter course, they argue, will be most effective from those quarters who stand to benefit directly from the rationalisation of the capitalist system, the leaders of big business and commerce. Hence the Urban, Labour and related bodies. External pressure can be effective if it has a demonstrative impact through 'constructive engagement' (which, lest we forget, is a concept coined not by Chester Cracker or Reagan, but by the liberal economist Merle Lipton. Cf:

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'African Affairs', January 1979; 'â\200\234south African Labour Bulletin', October 1976. )

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Parenth-etieally, it is ironic that this line ef argument finds a

sympathetic echo in the writings of one commentator on the left, Phineas Malinga, a contributor to the 3African CommuniSt' 1st Quarter 1983. Malinga, essentially agrees with the liberalsâ\200\230 reasoning since he too contends that racism/apartheid has acted as a;fetter on economic growth and was imposed by backward farmers, pursuing some anti~modern pipeâ\200\224 dream. Malinga however parts oompany with the liberals because of his

support of the national-liberation movement. We would argue that his support is grafted onto fundamentally flawed analytical roots. It does not flow logically from his line of reasoning. This is a political trend within our movement which unfortunately has not been subjected to rigorous! criticism and hence continues to survive.

The contribution of the verligte Afrikaaner analysts has not been as sanguine about the supposed virtues of the capitalist system. Rather than seeking a solution solely through the untrammelledeffeet of economic forces, they here devoted most of their effort to the political Sphere. This consists mainly'of political modeLâ\200\224building, derived

from the eXperience of vwrious European states. These models, these academies allege, are best suited to the solution of South Afrieaï-\201s problems because they accomodate both a concern for ihdividual rights and safeguard the rights of ethnic, cultural and.raeiAl communities.

Most, if not all? of these theorists rejeet the unitary state as a-model, because, so they Claim,\_it\_eah only result in the total suborâ\200\224â\200\230 dinationÂ» of the rigjghts e7: "the mihorities to the overwhelming numerical preponderance of the Afrioahsh Some have even argued that it could

result in domination by specific ethnle eommunities amongst the Africans. Gensociationism, eonfederalism\_ahd federalism are the devices being proffered by the liberal wing, of the Afrikaaner academia. Within the : constraints of such a ipluralist'imodel,\_some are quite pnepared to I

accept the principle of one person, one vote.'These views-haVe beent taken up, with differing degrees of enthusiasm, by other political currents outside \*verligte' Afrikaanerdome-the PFP, the leaders of the

Coloured Labour Party, Gatsha Buthelezi and other Bantustan leaders.

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..... a compromise. He thus views Black political struggle as effective only if it assists the process of disintegration of Afâ\200\230rikaaner unity. â\200\231 To his reckoning, the recommendations of the Buthelezi Commission, which he assisted in framing, will beCome relevant at the that moment. What

then are these recOmmendations?

The

Commission confined itself to the Natal region, which was its

original brief, but its recommendations must be read as relating to the country as a whole. It based its findings on empirical research, much of it Opinion polls and attitudinal surveys, which the authors claim give an accurate reflection of the political opinions of a representative sample of South Africans. Its recommendations in the

researchâ\200\224

political Sphere were:

a geographically based federal system which would avail the

(i)

whites of the opportunity to defend their 'minority rights'

and

it

it Specifically

designated a consociational model

-as having this merit.

(ii)

a regional structure of KwaZulu~Natal government under a consociaâ\200\224

tional agreement which would comprise of:

a)

,b)

An Executive - made up of equal numbers of Africans and Whites plus Coloureds and Indians;

A. Legislation -> elected from all the groups on the basis of universal suffrage, with proportional representation, subject to a guaranteed minimum representation for each group;

c) A Bill of Rights to safeguard individual rights;

d) A minority veto ~to

protect the rights of minorities;

9) Review of all laws by the Judiciary ~ to

test the

, validity of laws through court proceedings;

f) The removal of all racial controls of labour, the acquisition of land and other immovable property, entry into commerce or industry



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uuuopre-empting the middle ground and can effectively counter the plans of the ruling class to recruit allies and helpers from amongst

US.

Z. Pallo Jordan

Lusaka: July 1985.



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their fundamental integrity." If the separate

states are regarded as representative of local interests; the US can be

seen as a pluralist model. Historically, the federal structure was

devised to accommodate and reconcile the peculiar features of the fourteen

colonies that revolted against British domination, some being slave-

owning and others not. Federalism sought to place each of the states,

without regard to their size or importance, on an equal footing.

Theoretically, each state has the right to secede from the Union. In

practice however, where there is a conflict between state and federal

law, the federal law is supreme. Despite this, each state enjoys a

large degree of autonomy over a number of areas. The most

conservative

, active and reactionary elements of US society base themselves on the

fiercest advocates of state rights vis-à-vis the federal authorities,

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as a means of preserving backward and reactionary institutions. Thus,

for example, during the 1950s the states of the Deep South invoked the

doctrine of state's rights to preserve overt racism in their legislature,

judiciary, administration and all areas of public life. In the 1970s

and '80s the same arguments have been employed to uphold fundamentalist

Christian teachings in opposition to Darwinian theory, to suppress the rights of women, etc. Because all states are equal, no one state has the

right to impose its views on another. The pockets of backwardness thus

always have a refuge from whence they can wage their struggle

to hold

back the march of history. Federalism can thus be employed to exercise a

veto on necessary reforms and progressive measures.

The proponents of pluralism contend that their models recognise the

inevitability of conflicting

claims on the body politic by the various

elements of power and communities that make up society. If all power

were vested in the central authority, this would tend to emasculate the weaker units and collectivities who cannot muster power at the centre; on the other hand; a large degree of autonomy at local levels will enable these weaker units to make their voices heard. This line of argument is taken a stage further by one particular school that of 'consociationalism', who claim that other models result in minorities being...

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.....created an investment haven for the foreign investor. The mid-seventies marked a dramatic change in all that and it became obvious SIS

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to the more far-sighted amongst the monopolists that things could never '

return to the conditions of the mid-nineties. New policies were needed

and the English-speaking fraction of monopoly capital sought these in the Frogs. H

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The defections from the rump of the UP represented real shifts of.

alignment within the capitalist class. At the same time the Prcâ\200\230cjgszâ\200\235~

were called upon to pay a price for the adherence of these new recruits.

This came in the shape of the Slabbert Commission, to draw up new

constitutional proposals for the PFP's platform. The Commission commenced

work in 1977 and its report was

adopted in November 1978. This was the

first attempt to reformulate the PFP's policy since the Molteno Commi-

ssion

of the 196039 The Slabbert Report departed from the

â\200\235 premises

of the

Molteno Report in a number of crucial areas and spoke unambiguously

of the protection of capitalist interests unadorned by phrases

such as 'western civilization' that appear in the earlier version. It â\200\234'

explicitly dropped the notion of the unitary state and adopted federalism.

lism.

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The changes in the PFP's political programme coincide with other

developments. Since its inception the Progressive Party, the EFF

had sought to mediate between the white establishment and the black

community. During the early 1960s a number of Coloured political figures had affiliated to it. They included Rev. Alan Hendrickse, David Curry and Sonny Leon, all of whom became prominent leaders of the Labour Party after the Prohibition of Political Interference Act was passed.

During the 1970s, the Front under Colin Eglin had made it a practice to consult with Bantustan leaders and invite these to their party congresses. Their most avid interlocutor amongst the Bantustan leaders proved to be Gatsha Buthelezi. In August 1978 Eglin, Swart, Buthelezi and Dr. Bhengu met and issued a joint statement to the effect that enough common ground existed between Inkatha.....

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u...eince, as we can see, some elements in the enemy camp also accept this and we must differentiate ourselves from them. Universal suffrage must be linked to the demand for a unitary state. We would also submit that it is

terms went political to try to evade the implication that this will mean a state and a. WW1 dominated by the African people, At any rate. whether we admit it or not, the enemy and m martmmme m m WM , \_

Mica: dominated state and government) in a. country where the Afmcah people constitute 73/0 of the total population. Any suggestions that there should be parity between this 735-5 and. the : minorities (1573; 8.913;

2.873 respectively) amounts to racial discrimination at the expense of the. Africans. This must be unequivocally stated and understood within mm th. At the same time, we must stress that the first clause is

13311331691313 linked to the second clause which outlaws racial, mama mination and guarantees the right! 3a uherli-201es, not through inequitable and. mat veto rights. but Waugh the observance of democratic

value

W fgr eni-202Effective Counter. â200231

The ruling

class and the regime haveâ200230 not been complacent about the crisis facing the system. They have already set in motion a number ofâ200234 political feelers whose ultimate purpose is as yet unclear. That Sheh coincided with the first major breach of the solidarity exercises of the Frontline States is no accident when read in conjunction with . Huntingdon's theses

(above)

One Can never rule out the possibility that all these are part of an elaborate and wellplanned psychological warfare strategem, designed to identify possible weak pointstineur organisational 8011-?-clarity. Yet the frequency with which they have descended upon us. in the past eighteen months betrays the anxieties within the 'caxnp to find some solution. The veritable orchestrated campaign of editorials in the South African press since March 1984,

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In this respect the 'new dispensation' of 1993, the 1994 Welsh proposals, the 1995 Buthelezi Commission and similar schemes, represent a vital area of ideological convergence amongst disparate elements linked to the

monopoly capitalist class and either directly through

economic interest,

or intellectually by a commitment to the same objectives. The role

that Gatsha and the Inkatha leadership have assumed in recent years is thus the practical political expression of a deeply rooted counter-

revolutionary perspective and not merely the acting out of Gatsha's

individual megalomania.

For it to be viable, the solutions proffered by the 1995 Buthelezi Commission

would require a political vacuum in which the ANC is not an effective

counter-pole to Inkatha.- either having been weakened by repression or

gone into decline as a result of its errors. Because as long as the

possibility of defeating the regime is held out as a realistic objec-

tive to the Blacks, the temptation to seek a halfhearted compromise is

that much reduced. If we take the recommendations of the Buthelezi's

Commission as the goals towards which Gatsha is striving, our respective

courses must inevitably collide. Gatsha has recently repeatedly assumed

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posture of hostility towards the ANC and harps on the theme of

reassuring the Whites of their future; This is, therefore, a means of the minority .

veto.

Neither is he ashamed of stating quite unequivocally; that as a result

far as he is concerned change is a hostage to White racist prejudices -

this is the meaning of the finding that White fears of

inhibit their support for reform. At the end of the day, what Gatsha

proposes (if the recommendations reflect his political options) is a

majority rule

deal at the top, between an African leadership and the White monopolists,

at the

expense of the Black masses. Every constitutional model that

abandons the unitary state, in preference for federal or consociational

models has this as its principal objective.

Where then does this place our movement and its programme? What has

become obvious is that we can no longer afford to mince words about

the real meaning of the first clause of the Freedom Charter. Up to how we

have couched oar referehces to it in terms of universal suffrage a  
i.e. one person, one vote. This is no longer sufficient.....

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....and the PFP to provide the basis for negotiating a new constitutional framework for South Africa. The two parties to the statement agreed to continue their dialogue through a formalised liaison

committee comprising members drawn from each organisation. These developments mark the drawing closer of the Inkatha leadership and the PFP, not only in matters of tactical negotiations, but also in prescriptions to resolve the problems confronting South African

The Buthelegion of 2020 misgives

Federalism was first mooted as a possible means of resolving the problems of South Africa by Gatsha in 1974 on the occasion of an address

to the South African Institute of Race Relations. Amongst other ideas

floated by Gatsha on this occasion was that:

"Change should revolve on allowing each and every group to maintain its identity through new Constitutional and political arrangements."

He goes further along this line of reasoning to posit that there might emerge;

"Three types of states...; in a federal republic or commonwealth:

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i) States in which the interests of an African ethnic group are paramount;

ii ) States in which the interests of White people are paramount;

iii)

Special or

federal areas which are multi-ethnic

in character in which no particular group interests are designated."

(All quotations taken from 'Hoernle Memorial Lecture' January 1974, Delivered at the

University of Cape Town by Mangosuthu

G. Buthelezi.)

The ideas in this address were allowed to lie fallow for the next four to five years, only to be taken up with greater vigour in the late



19708. One of the factors mctivating.....

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Huntingâ\200\234den 8 inability (or

ï-\201nwillingness) to deal seriously with

the real problems and the forces militating for social change is not

merely a funqtipn 9?.his bad faith.(though he has an abundance of this

too). It is rather his prior eommltment t9 the existing social Order

thaw prevents himfrom examining its assumptions and addressing the

criticisms vaieed by its opponents. As he says, he is quite eXplicitly

ferreform9fthe system, and is Opposed to revqlution. It

thus

folll9ws that there are certain core institutions of.the old order he

wiÂšhes to preserve. Theâ\200\230hoIlpwness of\_hiselobjeetlvity' and his Claims

to 'value free scienceâ\200\231 are exposed.at precisely this point. They Conceal

partisanship for partieuar interests and a commitment teâ\200\230certainâ\200\230vali-\201es.

When examiningthQ-Qlaims;cÂf '-:ruling class theorists, therefore, we; must at each point delve beneath the appearance of their objectivity to,

uncover their 1 real mqĩ-\201ivgĩ-\201s

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The Theorists of Pluralism.\*:

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;~Pluralism has cemeâ\200\230into Vogue in bourgeois political philos0phy and

theory as an additional means of explaining the persistence of all

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manngp,of conflictsythat plague capitalist societies. It is in a way a'

departure from classical liberal democratic theory which was centredâ\200\230 '1.

on the individual in thai it seeks to elevate

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to the same or even higher status within its theOry. The argument of

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the pluralists is that classical liberal theory was incomplete in that,

it concentrated on the individual. OVer and abpve the individual, the

pluralists say, individuals CoalesCe into groups in pursuit of their

common interests, and since these groups are the social units that give

sustenance tothe individual and often provide theimmediate

subĩ-\202soilgfor-his eXistence,& they should be given reCOghition,'9n Ã© ' par with or above the indiVidual3fseĩ-\201.

The federal structĩ-\201reief the United Staxee has'dfteh â\200\231

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3' been

quoted as an example of the genius of pluralism at Work; American

political scientists claim that the "Federal structure promotes

both effectiveness and liberty in which separate polities are united

within an overarching framework in such a way.....

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The thrust of Adam and Lijphart's 200/230s

argument may be summarised as:

(a) The exclusion of the Black majority from the body politic deprives the South African regime of legitimacy and is the source of instability which could raise the price of continued racial domination to unacceptable levels;

(b) However, because of the level of White control over the economy, technology, the political apparatus and means of violence, revolutionary overthrow of the regime is an unrealistic project;

(c) A stalemate is the best the liberation movement can achieve, if it won't accept that, the level of White resistance will be such that all it will inherit would be a pile of ashes;

(d) The second best option is therefore the only rational choice, this amounts to power-sharing in a mutually negotiated consociational arrangement.

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We pass over in silence the assumptions underlying this argument for the time being but shall return to them later. Both authors have not shifted their ground since and Adam has repeated his argument in a number of different ways over the past five years.

Consociationalism is one of

\* a number of pluralist models which is.

currently being touted as a , solution or constitutional model for

South Africa. As defined by Lijphart: " the Opposite of consociational

democracy is majoritarian democracy."... "Federalism can be viewed as a consociational device, and consociation can be interpreted as a special form of federalism."

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Lijphart goes on to define consociation in terms of four principles:  
(1)

government by a grand coalition of the political leaders of all significant segments of a plural

'society;

(ii)

mutual or minority veto: designed to protect the vital interests

of minorities;

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(b) Strategy and Tactics:

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The most promising approach is a combination

of Fabian strategy (slow incremental changes) with Blitzkrieg tactics (executed With a lightning Speed).

(0) Timing:

counter elites (like the national liberation movement), he argues,

make their maximum demands when they are at their weakest and when

they

are at their strongest. The optimum moment, therefore, to engage them in

constructive negotiations is during the interim growth phase. Such

engagement will have the effect of offering the inducements of acquiring

power, but at a moment when they too realize they cannot enjoy

it

on their own terms. Reform, therefore, should be introduced from positions

of relative strength, when the incumbent government can still dictate

the terms.

(d) Power:

"it is not inconceivable that narrowing the scope of political

participation

may be indispensable to eventually broadening that

participation. The route from limited racial democracy to a broader

multi-racial democracy could run through some form of autocracy"

(This is why some of us felt the movement's approach with regard to the slogans to place before the White community during the anti-Tri-Racial parliament campaign was misplaced. Read in this context, there is no contradiction between the growing power of the executive at the expense of the White

parliament for Whites if they accept Botha's reform package. In short, for White reform to live White democracy must die!)

Repression and reform proceed hand in hand, because effective repression enhances the appeal of reform to radicals by raising the costs of

engaging in revolutionary activity; at the same time it re-assures the right that the government is in control of the situation. For the government that is too weak to monopolize

counterrevolutionary

repression is also too weak to inaugurate counterrevolutionary reform."



(ii) briefing the members of the NEC about the core ideas

. underpinning these models; and

(iii) proposing strategic options, within the framework of our general strategy, to counter these manoeuvres.

The Theories of Counter-revolutionary Reform

The most explicit exposition of the theory that informs the strategic thinking of the South African ruling class came from a strange quarter: the ivied walls of Harvard University in the USA. The author is the Samuel P. Huntington, a professor of Political Science who achieved

international notoriety at the height of the Vietnam War, when he and a number of his colleagues at Harvard, MIT, Michigan State and other prestigious universities designed the counterinsurgency strategy

of Johnson Administration. This was a period during which the think tank, inspired by Kennedy's vision of the 'new frontier', came into vogue. When US social scientists began to conceive of

themselves as 'social engineers', who could manipulate human beings and entire societies in very much the same manner as their counterparts in the natural sciences manipulated chemicals and other inanimate matter. Huntington himself has an impeccable US ruling class pedigree, dating back to the American Revolution of 1776, and has a long record of service in the cause of that class.

In a lecture to strategists at RAD published as an article in 'Politikon' ~ South African Journal of Political Science, based at the University of Pretoria, Huntington draws an analogy between present day South Africa and a number of Latin American countries. He proceeds to recommend the strategy of Bismarck, the "white revolutionary" as appropriate for South Africa. The role played by Bismarck in the unification of Germany through "the revolution from above" is well known and need not detain us. There is however one seminal point which needs to be made in this connection. The success of Bismarckian strategy owed much to the epoch in which it was employed. During the 1860s capitalism in Germany was a progressive historical force, on



the asoendant. Though confronted-by an emergent working Class,

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(e) Issue Selection and Sequence:

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This is esSentially a matter of tactics.

Selecting those issues which place the reformeh/s in the best position

to throw their opponents on the left and on the'right in disarray,  
Aan&,resolving these issues with a speed and in a sequence that does

not allow them time to marshali effective opposition.

(f) "Divide and Reform":

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To be successful

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reformep/s must enlist

some measure of support from the disadvantaged (in our case, the Blacks)  
therefore fragmentation and-leadership rivalries initially are to its

advantage. Later on, it is equally conceivable that a.reformer goverâ\200\224  
nment will require a strong and legitimate Black leadership to nego-  
tiate with. A leadership that will be able to induce its followers

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'to accept and support meaningful agreements.

This exposition by Huntingdon gives us seme idea of how the long  
range strategists and.ideologists of the ruling class oohoeptualize  
what they are doing, We may agree or disagfee about the extent to which  
it conforms to Botha's strategy, but we can all agree that the tactics  
goutlined here\_have'a familiar ring.

We propose that both the regime's manouvres and the proposals we are  
about to examine should be placed against the backdrop of HUntingdon's  
' ideas. On

one thing we must absolutely agree, and on this Huntingdon is  
quite clear, the purpose of reform is to pre~empt revolutionary ochangeÂ«~  
its essence is eounterâ\200\224revolution!

Samuel P. Huntingdon, like most ideologists of the ruling eiase,

hover actually wishes to examine the merits or demerits of the alteru

natives posed by those who wish to make revolutionary changes. He  
adopts the pose of a disinterested outsider, who views the entire  
pahorama with keen, objective eyes, unclouded by the mists of parti-

sanship; Reactionaries, conservatives, reformers and revolutionaries,  
in the eyes of this 'objective' scholar, all are merely elites, each  
seeking to re~order or order society according to its own design.

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.....Gatsha to revive his federalist notions was the publication of

the Lombard Report, prepared by Dr. J.A. Lombard under the aMSpiCGS of the Natal Sugar Association. Lombard had been commissioned by the

Sugar growers to look into 'Alternatives to the Consolidation of Kwazulu (Natal )"Qy an anxious body of

plantation

owners,

some ef whom feared they may lose their lands to the bantustah. Lombard

published his report in 1980. That same year, in October 1980, Geisha

commissioned his own report by setting up the Buthelezi Commission to

investigate a regional constitutional dispensation for the Natal region, including KwaZulu. He invited representatives of big business (AAC,

SA.Federated Chamber of Industry, the Institute of Bankers, SA.

Canegrowers Association, etc.),

professional bodies, Bantustan insti~

tutions (the KwaZulu.Development Corporation and Inkatha,wete both

prominent), internationally known academics tith eXperience of South

Africa and especially Natal (these included Heribert Adam, Lawrence

Schlemmer, ArendtwLijphart, Herman Giliomee) and political parties

(the PFP, the New Republic Party both participated, the National Party

turned down the invitation. He also invited the ANC.

The academics were the central figures in the conduct of both the

Spade work for the commission and in giving it\_its-ï-\202ï-\201oretioal underpinnâ\200  
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ings. Lawrence Schlemmer of the University of Natal carried out and

supervised the greater part of the empirical research, Heribert

Adam

and Arendt Lijphart provided the political theory. Adam taught in Natal

for a number of years before migrating to Canadae He has authored a

number of influential books on South Africa, including "South Africa:

Sociological-Persgectives" (1970),;"Modernizing Racial Domination" (1973),  
"Ethnic Power Mobilized" (withermen.; Giliomee, 1979). AÃ©endt Lijphert

is a

professor of

Political Seience at the University\_of

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California, (San Diego)

and was formerly at Leiqeh in the Netherlands;

He is amongst the chief theorizers of 'consociationism', a topic on .

which he delivered a paper at

a conference

Sponsored by the South

African Institute of International Affairs held at Rustenberg during 1978.

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As said at the beginning of this paper, the constitutional modelâ\200\224

building must be seen in the context of general crisis of the racist

regime and the system of White domination in South Africa occasioned  
by the ANC-led liberation struggle. As such  
all the exercises of this

nature have a single objective; because the models being proffered come

from different quarters, representing specific interests within the

ruling monopoly capitalist class, they lay emphasis on different aspects

and approach the solutions from differing perspectives. There is noneâ\200\224

theless a unifying theme that

links them all-â\200\224 the preservation of

White privilege and the dilution of the revolutionary programme of the

people. All the schemes that have been placed before our country from

a reformist perspective thus form parts ofâ\200\231a single continuum, which

unites Gatsha on its 'left' with Inkatha on its right.

We noted parenthetically in relation to the PFP that it dropped the

qualified franchise in 1978. By taking up the federal model it could

achieve the same objective, which is to weight the political process

in favour of the White minority. Thus though the appearance is that the

PFP has taken a step forward, the reality is that it is marking time.

This is the pattern right

through this spectrum, except for the

obvious ones like Botha's which excludes the Africans.

Coming specifically to the Buthelezi Commission, it must be seen in  
the context of the association between Gatsha, the Inkatha leadership

and the forces within the monopoly capitalist class represented by the

PFP. It is no coincidence that it comes after the Lombard Report.

Through both these, fractions of monopoly capital who wished to broaden

the constitutional debate initiated by Botha with his 'new dispensationâ\200\230

hoped to make their own.' input. What both Botha's new dispensation

and these others have in common is the attempt to recruit elements of

the Black elite to an essentially counter-revolutionary enterprise.

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ooo.seundings from the EFF. newSpapermeditehs, the Harvey van der MerweÃ© and the approaches by the monopoly capitalists themselves, all are indicative of actual shifts and the degree of uncertainty within the ruling claesjon how tt should respond towthe current situation.

The evident dead end of the TTi-racial parliament and the mass upsurge that has forced Botha.to detlare martial law have done nothing to allay the worst fears of the those ruling claSS elements who are most apprehensive about the fgture. The response from the imperialist countries has done nothing to cmnfort the regime either.

The attempts-to buitd constitutional models and tOy with various schemes of elite accomogation are ali deSigned to paint the liberation movement into a corneq, salvage the essentials of the system of White domination and blunt the thrust ef the revolution. The middle ground~is here the area of eohstestation, with the ruling; class (assisted by its satraps like Gatsha) trying to coopt elements from amongst-the.Oppressed as its allies. :We must plect ourselves in a position to preeempt this strategy..

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The offers that the ruling class has put on the table amount to a number of soft Optic s for the Black elite..Thej are â\200\231h\$ \*the same.

time trying to paint

us

in Colours that will appear threatening.

and dangerous to this self-same elite. We must at all costs werk-towards detaching this elite from the ruling Class, not merely rendering it neutral but committing it to our objectives. We would suggest that the mbest

means of doing this at this juncture would be the auoption ofâ\200\230

a Bill of Rights. The name we give it will not be that important but the constitutional rights and liberties'itâ\200\230will embody coula-mam a tremend-

ous impact on the political scene at home and abroad. We do not suggest

that such a Bill of Rights replace the Freedom. Charter, quite the

Contrary. It should in fact be an extensive and comprehensiveâ\200\230

expoâ\200\224

â\200\230sition of the.rtgths

and liberties South Africans would enjby under\_an

AKC government. Such a document could take many forms. We could model it

on similar documente.from other coUntries - The Declaration of the

. Rights'of Man and.Citizen, comes to mind. Or we mad come UP...-

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These arguments they argue; emblemized. with the impact of the 'liberation'  
struggle, especially the mass upsurge that characterises the late  
1970's and the 1980s, have forced the ruling classes to seek new options;  
The question, these commentators say, is not whether or not the  
reforms being undertaken are deceptive or real, but rather why they  
are being introduced at all. Implicit in the manner thereof is the  
question: is the suggestion that some deeper underlying causes must  
be sought to explain the actions of the regime (For the views summarized

expressed here of: 'Seehaha', May and June 1983. "The Rise  
of the Military in South Africa" by Al W. Parts I and II  
'Marxism Today', January 1983. "Apartheid's Deepening  
Crisis". By Harold Wopo. )

In a recent work, published in Sechaba, May 1983, I argued that there is

a degree of economism in the line of reasoning of these commentators,  
in that they assume a direct causal link between the trends they  
identify in the economic sphere and the developments in the political.  
It was then and continues to be my considered opinion that "reform",  
talk of reform and all the reformist political model building  
we are witnessing, are

'eleventh hour counter-insurgency ploys,  
designed to snatch White domination (as distinct from apartheid )

from the jaws of defeat. ~

This survey is intended as a briefing; in the first instance for  
NEG, on the various political models being proffered by the liberal ..  
and verligte political scientists linked to the regime or other

—  
fractions of the South African ruling class. We shall be examining  
the notions of 'consociationalism', 'confederalism', 'federalism',  
and 'pluralist democracy' as propounded by these ideologists. We  
shall specifically examine the proposals put forward in the Buthelezi  
Commission, because it was the most comprehensive plan of this nature  
to be placed before the South African public. But before we do this .  
we want to locate these ideas within the context of a general theory  
of reform to which the think tanks that have given them birth subscribe.  
Through these means we wish to demonstrate: (1) the essentially  
counter-revolutionary character of the models that have been placed :  
before us; while

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THE NEW FACE OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION:

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A BRIEFING  
PAPER

Since the demise of Vorster's premiership, the air has been thick with rumours and speculations about the possibilities of some dramatic breakthrough in South Africa. Every manner of political pundit, from the savants to the Charlatans, has seen fit to add his/her two cents worth to the endless reams of paper that have been devoted to this enterprise. The South African newspaper-reading public and that of the (western world) have been inundated with learned and half-baked commentaries, singing the praises of Botha, the "courageous reformer", who has dared to tamper with the most sacred taboos of Afrikanerdom, in his search for a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.

What is surprising about these predictions and speculations is the regularity with which they are refurbished and rehashed in different forms. And, on each occasion they are paraded before the public as refreshingly 'new'. In fact this has occurred so frequently over the past eight years that one has continuously to remind oneself that the latest prediction is in fact old hat, only slightly retouched to take account of more recent developments.

One does not intend to give the impression that there are no changes afoot in South Africa, nor do we argue that the balance of political forces, inside the country and in the region, remains static. Indeed, the very outpouring of speculative writings and premature predictions is a sign of the extreme fluidity of the situation. That South Africa and the entire region are in motion is undoubtedly true. Where we differ with the would-be political-clairvoyants is in identifying the source of this motion.

There are, broadly speaking, three schools of political thought that have pronounced on "reform" in South Africa. These could be classed as the liberals (English and Afrikaner 'verligte') on the right and two divergent trends on the left - one of which dismisses these changes as cosmetic while the other traces them to profound structural and ideological pressures within the South African capitalist system.

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.....this class was as yet too weak and politically immature to pose an effective challenge. Bismarek succeeded in making the feudalist/capitalist.empaet-work because he could mobilise the support of the petty bourgeoisie on the platform of Social order and defence of property at a time when the working class was not yet a serious contender for power. We shall return later to examine how well Huntingdon's analogy fits present day South Africa.

HUntingdom's basic argi-\201meht is that revolutionary violence does not have to be successful to yield results. Provided it creates sufficient h tensions to cause divisions among the ruling class, it can seriously compromise the dominant class's capacity to crush it. He continues, ".....fundamental change in South Africa appears to be waiting for its Lenin." He hastens to warn that this statement should not be

read as approbation, but rather as an urging that as 'intense attention' be paid in current South Africa to the strategy and tactics of reform as that 'which Lenin devoted to the strategy and tacties of revolution.â\200\230

The reform process, according to HUntingdon, will be affected'lx~ six factors, which he enumerates as:

Political leadership,  
strategy and tactics,  
timing;

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power and its use,  
issue selection and sequence,  
divide and reform.

(a) Political leadership:

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Huntingdon conceives of reform as a three

cornered fight, in which the reformep/s face both the advocates of the status quo and the revolutionaries. In order to succeed the reformep/s

must divide andâ\200\230eenfuse his opponents. He must assume a "moderateâ\200\235 posture, apparently rejecting both extremes.

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