



FAX MESSAGE

DATE: ..2/3/92.....

TO: ..Mr S.S. van der Merwe.....

FAX NUMBER: ..011-397-2211.....

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING FRONT PAGE): ..4.....

SUBJECT AND/OR MESSAGE:

Ingesluit in fax wat via Ministerie vir mr se aandag
ontvang is. Die oorspronklike pos ek vir die aandag
van Die Sekretariaat aan Kodesa.

Ek lei van in faksnr op die brief af dat in kopie
naam Kodesa gesuur is, maar ek het vrees-
likheidshawe die brief erken en deurgestuur aan
Kodesa. Reg so?

SENT BY: ..Ed Düring.....

PLEASE CALL MISS DÜRING AT TELEPHONE (021) 461-0330 IN CASE OF PROBLEMS.

FAX 011-3972211

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27th February 1992

Codessa Working Group No. 2

P.O. Box 307

Isando

Att. Mr S.S van der Merwe

Sir

In response to the State President's request, I herewith submit a copy of my proposal for a new dispensation. It is unfortunate that CODESA has through its 'declaration of intent', closed the doors to so many options and players in the political field. The fact that CODESA has bound itself to a multi-party democracy, an 'administrative democracy' as attached herewith must therefore be construed as severely prejudiced, if not altogether unacceptable. This does not, however, correlate with how a very wide spectrum of the population views this proposal.

I trust, in the interest of South Africa and true democracy, that in order to be truly representative and to give its negotiations credibility, CODESA will reconsider its stand and provide a preamble which affords all players in the country the opportunity to debate all options with an open mind and without any form of prejudice.

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'F. Köhne'.

F.R. Köhne

GENERAL OUTLINE OF A PROPOSED NEW DISPENSATION FOR SOUTH AFRICA

MOTIVATION

Stability is the most vital factor needed for the survival of the sub-continent and its peoples. The aim of this proposal is therefore to achieve both political and economical stability in a just and undiscriminating way so that it may be durable and effective. It is also imperative that a high degree of self-determination exists since parliament must stop governing people; it must govern the country. People must govern themselves.

METHOD:

This is envisaged by self-governing portfolios within a four-house parliament in a democratic non-party system. This system extends the individual's participation in government by giving him a multiple vote. Government will be by consensus in a so-called canton system. Elections will be conducted, using to a high degree qualified voters rolls, based on a representation of group interests, categorized as Regional, Cultural, Vocational and Protocol. These form the four houses in Parliament. The proficiency of elected field specialists in the various portfolios ensures stability.

CONSIDERATION AND OBSERVATION

(I) Self-governing portfolios:

Interests and aspirations are categorised into various portfolios for self-government. Each portfolio will be operated according to the proven example and standard set by the Reserve Bank. Each portfolio will have similar autonomy as the Reserve Bank and will demonstrate the same dedication towards the well-being of the country.

(II) Non-party system:

A non-party system facilitates a no-winner and no-loser situation, vital in reaching a settlement in the present political situation. It defuses inter-party conflict and reduces unnecessary polarisation in the community. It also rules out the detrimental effects which party politics have had in Africa, namely, one-party dictatorships. Even South Africa has not been spared if one considers the effects of the apartheid policy. Party politics in Africa should best be banished to history books. A system of government may define differences in the community in order to accommodate them. A multi-party system, however, demands constitutional division of the community in order to function. This undermines stability and detracts from the motto of this country. UNITY IS STRENGTH.

(III) Multiple vote:

A multiple vote system facilitates a greater democratic involvement in government. Each voter should have at least four votes, one in each house. A person's contribution and involvement determine his number of votes in two of the four houses.

(IV) Government by consensus

In a consensus government, agreement must be established. This rules out power-struggles, power-sharing and domination through numbers. Numbers will be limited to the various election processes only and should play no role when consensus is sought. To facilitate consensus there will always be a strong arbitrary element from those portfolios not directly engaged in the dispute. On the other hand government by consensus would in effect nullify the election of a ruling party in a multi-party system of government. It is therefore not compatible with a multi-party form of government.

(V) Elections:

The appointment of bureaucrats, which is endemic to most political systems, is countered by elections on merit at most levels of government.

(VI) Qualified voters rolls:

These protect the various defined interests represented in government from outside interference and domination in the election process, facilitating therefore true democratic self-determination. The granting of observer status to the electorate in the meetings of his elected representative may be a good tradition to adopt from former tribal Government practices.

(VII) Group interests:

A one-man one-vote multi-party system is democratically ineffective. It allows the voter only a generalised choice on a pro's and con's basis between the various bureaucratic rules on offer. Through group interest representation the aspirations of the individual are better served, since he does not only vote for some faint politician fielded by a political party to serve party strategy + interest; but elects specialists to represent his specific interests in the various facets of government. Frustrating this basic democratic right is without doubt the greatest contribution to political violence.

(viii) Canton System:

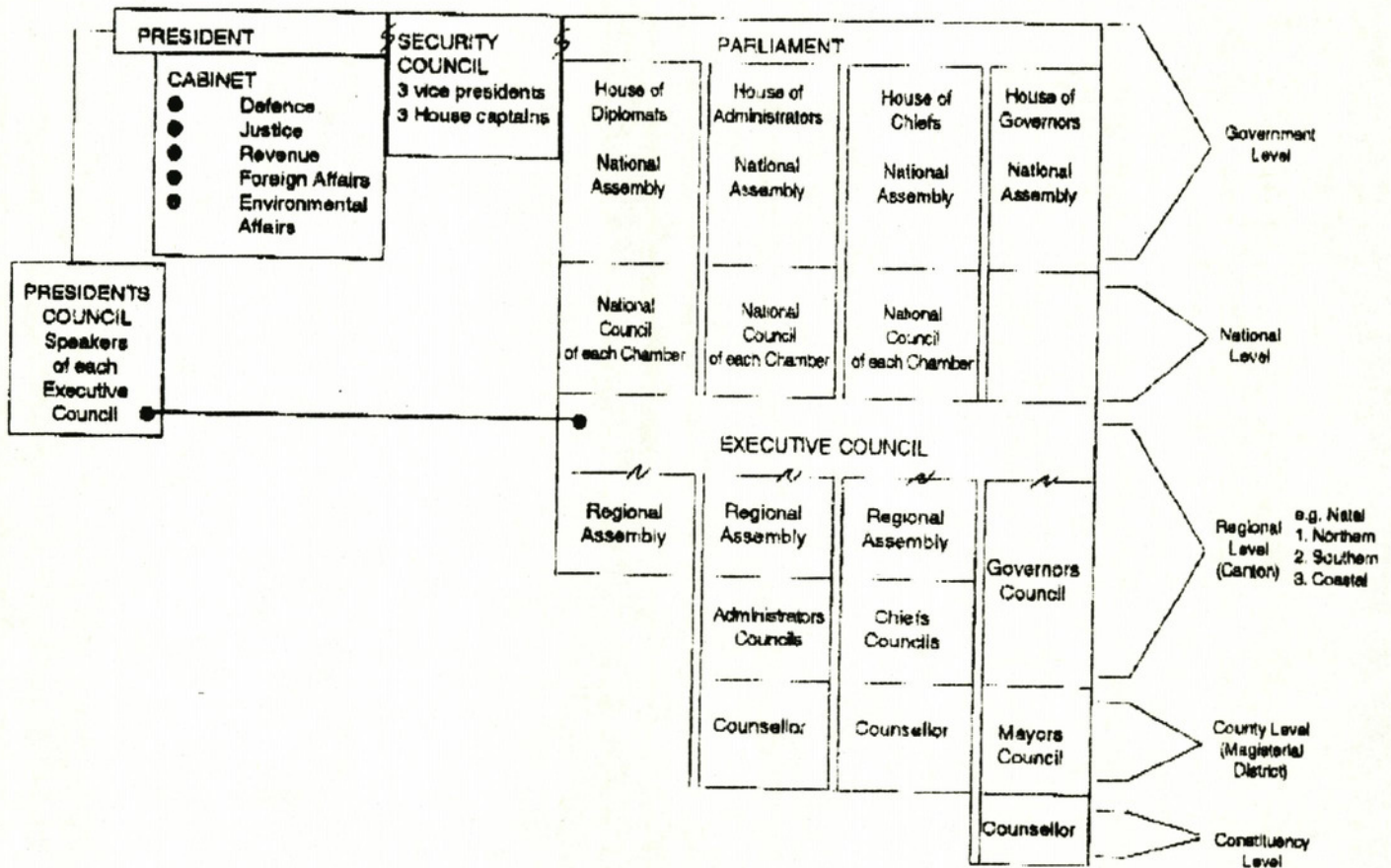
Cantons may be established along geographic boundaries, according to population density and/or common interest factors. Natal would for example consist of only three or four cantons.

(ix) Field specialists:

The articulate and charismatic politicians who have been so successful over the last centuries, will, on these attributes alone, no longer be able to meet the specialized demands expected from future parliamentarians. Our sophisticated technological day and age, especially future, demands a new breed of parliamentarians, who as specialists in their field, may have the much-needed insight and knowledge to administer their specific portfolios. The political arena must also move away from executive level of government to ground floor level, where the election process takes place and where the future political arena is manifesting itself in the form of pressure groups and trade unions which up to now have been standing outside most countries' political arena.

(x) Stability:

The ravages of power-struggles between political parties at executive level of government undermine stability. Field specialists elected on merit cannot be ousted by coup d'etat and are least vulnerable to corruption. Their proficiency ensures continuity of government policy, irrespective of changes of ministers or President or any of their views.

The proposed form of government:**DIAGRAM**

- A. **President:** elected by parliament as guardian of the country and its people.
- B. **Cabinet:** appointed by the President, answerable to Parliament and comprising the following:
- Minister of Defence and Security
 - Minister of Justice
 - Minister of Revenue
 - Minister of Foreign Affairs
 - Minister of Environmental Affairs

Law, Health, Mining, Transport, Education, etc. are Chambers; whereas Road/Education/Communication/etc. Networks, Prisons, Welfare, etc. are Directorates in their corresponding House of Parliament.

C. Parliament: divided into four houses

- Regional:** House of Governors: responsible for the infrastructure and quality of life (job opportunities etc.)
Cultural: House of Chiefs: representing individual cultural/linguistic group aspirations according to a Bill of Rights.
Vocational: House of Administrators: responsible for the economy in a capitalistic and free enterprise system.
Protocol: House of Diplomats: responsible for political strategy: regional, national and international.

- Governors:** Each governor represents his canton in the House of Governors and as such, is a member of Parliament in the House of Governors. He is elected by the various mayors of towns/counties falling within his canton.
- Paramount Chiefs:** These are the national representative of each of the various recognised cultural/linguistic groups in the House of Chiefs. They are elected by the Chiefs within their respective group, who are the group's representatives within the various cantons.
- Administrator Generals:** These are the national representatives of the various portfolios in the economy elected by the administrators within that specific portfolio. These administrators are the regional representatives representing:
 (a) Their canton within this portfolio/chamber in the executive council.
 (b) Their portfolio in the regional council.
- Senior Diplomats:** The two candidates of each canton winning the highest number of votes will be Senior Diplomats. The remaining qualifying candidates will be Junior Diplomats in that canton.
- Chamber** Each portfolio in the House of Administrators, each group in the House of Chiefs and each party in the House of Diplomats, is termed a chamber in that house. In a non-party system, a party is a definition of an opinion which needs to be represented in government.

- D. Security Council:** Each of the four houses in Parliament will
 (a) Elect its speaker/chairman who as such will be a vice-President.
 (b) Appoint a senior member of the house as house captain.
 The President, the four vice-Presidents, together with the four House Captains constitute the security council. The security council is the policy interpreting body of Parliament. The execution of Presidency must at all times correlate with this body.
- E. Executive Council:** (This is a decentralised Parliament.)
 The administrators, the chiefs (and the Senior and Junior Diplomats) of each canton together with the governor and the mayors of the canton, form the Executive Council of that canton. Each Executive Council appoints its chairman/speaker who will be a member of the President's council.
- F. President's Council:** The President's Council is the liaison body between:
 (a) the various cantons' executive councils.
 (b) the executive councils and the president. It is chaired by the speaker of Parliament.
- G. Governors Council:** The mayors of towns/counties falling within the respective canton make up the Governors Council of that canton.
- H. National Assemblies:** Each house in parliament has a national assembly consisting of the national representatives of that house as regulating and co-ordinating body of the various chambers in the house. It governs its ascribed Directorates.

- I. **Regional Assemblies:** The House of Chiefs, the House of Administrators and the House of Diplomats have a regional assembly in each canton, consisting of the regional representatives of that house as a regulating and co-ordinating body on a regional basis.
- J. **National Council:** The House of Chiefs, the House of Administrators and the House of Diplomats have in each chamber a national council consisting of the national representative together with his canton/ regional representatives. This is the developing and governing body of the portfolio/chamber. The chambers in the House of Diplomats will initially have a strong party political character and may constitute the present political groups.
- K. **Councils:** Each mayor, chief and administrator will have a council. He will have been elected by his council. Each council is elected by way of a voters roll in its respective constituency.
- L. **Voters Rolls:**
- House of governors:* Every registered ratepayer is entitled to a vote in each town county/constituency in which he is a ratepayer.
- House of Chiefs:* Each registered cultural/linguistic group has its own voters roll within each constituency by which it elects its chief. These voters rolls are based on a free association, but subject to formal membership application and compliance with the respective group membership rules.
- House of Administrators:* Every taxpayer is categorised into a specific portfolio. This categorization is defined according to the individual's occupational/vocational registration with the Receiver of Revenue, who releases the various voters rolls. Only natural persons will have a vote, (i.e. not companies or partnerships). The vote would also be qualified according to the individual's tax contribution from such vocational engagement in that portfolio.
- House of Diplomats:* The Diplomats are elected by way of a universal vote of equal value within their canton. Each political party/chamber may appoint a candidate. Every candidate who wins more than the required minimum percentage votes becomes a Diplomat and as such will be a member of the executive Council in the House of Diplomats.

General Comment:

Names have been used for want of perhaps other more appropriate names for example the word "Town" should mean Magisterial area or county to include all health committees as well as surrounding rural area. It is also to be noted that Tribal land or Chieftainships which are presently still ruled by hereditary chiefs can easily be accommodated in the system by granting of a special concession by the respective Houses of Government. Similarly the aspirations of white right-wingers could be accommodated by the granting of a similar concession for that group's own residential areas should they wish to make such application.

This proposal is only an outline and does not want to venture into any finer details. It wishes to open an avenue for discussion only. The finer details of the various aspects in this complex and wide-ranging dispensation should best be allowed to be negotiated by individual experts in the various fields, so as not to deviate from the principle and spirit of becoming a meritorious and democratically constituted dispensation, which it in itself seeks to be.

This proposed political process could be known as an "Administrative Democracy". There is no doubt that this country not only can but must adapt to this type of government in order to survive and prosper. The question however remains: Can present-day politicians, scholars of a Party political system, adapt to a system of Administration politics?