

FOCUS: DEBATING OUR FUTURE

**OSCAR D DHLOMO**  
Secretary General, Inkatha

THERE is a striking resemblance in the way the African National Congress has introduced its Constitutional Guidelines and the way the National Party normally introduces so-called constitutional reform.

Both parties apparently subscribe to the "top-down" approach whereby the ruling clique unilaterally decides on the proposed constitutional reforms and then invites the rest of the population to comment on them.

As someone who subscribes to the "bottom-up" approach in constitutional affairs, I feel I must state this reservation from the beginning. The "top-down" approach in constitutional affairs is manifestly undemocratic and can never yield a broadly acceptable constitutional settlement.

The ANC apparently favours a strong centralised state which would not allow for maximum devolution of powers to lower lines of government. Although the principle of devolution is accepted, one gains the impression this would be minimal.

The idea of a rigidly centralised state arises out of the belief that it is such a state that is able to effectively tackle the inequalities in our society and eradicate remaining pockets of apartheid. While this is a noble idea worthy of support it is likely to lead to social conflict. At worst it could lead to less and not more participatory democracy.

I support the principle of universal suffrage based on the principle of one man one vote. This is the universal demand of the black majority. However, I hope the ANC is aware of other possibilities in this regard should it be called upon by concerned minorities to consider alternative options. I have in mind such voting procedures as proportional representation.

In the Bill of Rights section of the Guidelines I have problems with clause (K). It is quite clear that under this clause ANC rulers could conduct a witchhunt against those organisations they disapprove of.

Even today some ANC spokesmen wrongly claim Inkatha promotes tribalism and/or ethnicity. Here is another similarity with the National Party which introduced the Suppression of Communism Act and then went on to describe a communist as anyone who disagreed with National Party policies. Under this clause a racist or



# PIECING TOGETHER A NEW SOUTH AFRICA

**The ANC has issued a set of 'constitutional guidelines for a Democratic South Africa', intended as a starting point for debate about a non-racial South Africa. Since political debate in this country seldom tackles the practicalities of a post-apartheid society, the Weekly Mail used the opportunity to ask a wide range of organisations to comment on the ANC guidelines. Not all responded, but a broad enough spectrum did. Their replies are printed on the following pages.**

tribalist could easily be anyone who disagrees with ANC policies.

If the ANC claims it supports a multi-party democracy then it should allow all parties to operate freely and trust the electorate as ultimate judges. Interestingly nothing is said in clause (K) about the advocacy of revolution

to overthrow a legitimate future ANC state. If there is need to outlaw anything I would have thought the advocacy of revolution would be the principal candidate.

Once again the ANC envisages far reaching and unrestrained state intervention in the regulation of economic

life. There is, however, a welcome change in the ANC's economic thinking in that nationalisation, as a mechanism for the redistribution of wealth, has been dropped. One appreciates this state intervention will be aimed mainly at affirmative action and not at stifling private initiative.

While I appreciate the victims of forced removals need to be considered first in any land reform exercise, I feel it is also important to consider the case of peasant farmers. Land reforms in countries like Zimbabwe have demonstrated how peasant farmers, if given adequate land, resources and know-how, can be a vital factor in the country's economy.

It is clear the ANC does not envisage the creation of a "workers' republic" in its future state. The rights

proposed for workers are not different from those afforded workers in democratic countries. I support clause (V) without any reservation.

The guidelines are too scanty for any detailed and effective evaluation. There are nevertheless, a few vital omissions:

- The geographic boundaries of the ANC state are not defined. Is it assumed the unitary state will include "independent" states of the TBVC axis? If so, how will these states, with their reasonably well-equipped and trained armies, be brought back into the unitary state?

- While recognition is accorded to linguistic rights, nothing is said about the official language(s) the name, the flag or the anthem of the new state.

- It would also have been interesting to observe what titles are envisaged for senior state leaders. Are we talking about a republic with an executive president or a government headed by a prime minister with a ceremonial president?

- With reference to the franchise clauses, no indication of voting age is given.

- It is not clear whether the ANC's version of a "unitary state" actually excludes the federal option. There is a school of thought in politics that would argue a federal state can in fact be regarded as unitary.

Giving evidence before the House of Commons Committee of Foreign Relations about a year or two ago, ANC publicity director Thabo Mbeki is on record as saying the ANC would consider a federal option provided the federal units (or states) were geographically, and not racially designated. Incidentally this has been Inkatha's position for over 10 years.

There is no doubt the ANC's attempt at drafting a future constitution has been a worthwhile one. The draft constitution decidedly tilts the ANC towards centrist politics where the majority of political groupings in South Africa are to be found, and where the constitutional future of this country will be decided.

## WHAT IT SAYS: Full text of the ANC's 'Constitutional Guidelines'

### THE STATE

(A) South Africa shall be an independent, unitary, democratic and non-racial state.

(B) Sovereignty shall belong to the people as a whole and shall be exercised through one central legislature, executive, judiciary and administration. Provision shall be made for the delegation of the powers of the central authority to subordinate administrative units for purposes of more efficient administration and democratic participation.

(C) The institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transformed to serve the interests of the people as a whole in conformity with the democratic principles embodied in the constitution.

(D) All organs of government, including justice, security and armed forces, shall be representative of the people as a whole, democratic in their structure and functioning, and dedicated to defending the principles of the constitution.

### FRANCHISE

(E) In the exercise of their sovereignty, the people shall have the right to vote under a system of universal suffrage based on the principle of one person/one vote.

(F) Every voter shall have the right to stand for election and to be elected to all legislative bodies.

### NATIONAL IDENTITY

(G) It shall be state policy to promote the growth of a single national identity and loyalty binding on all South Africans. At the same time, the state shall recognise the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development.

### BILL OF RIGHTS AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

(H) The Constitution shall include a Bill of Rights based on the Freedom Charter. Such a Bill of Rights shall guarantee the fundamental human rights of all citizens, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, and shall provide appropriate mechanisms for their protection and enforcement.

(I) The state and all social institutions shall be under constitutional duty to eradicate race discrimination in all its forms.

(J) The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to take active steps to eradicate, speedily, the economic and social inequalities produced by racial discrimination.

(K) The advocacy or practice of racism, fascism, nazism or the incitement of ethnic or regional exclusiveness or hatred shall be outlawed.

(L) Subject to clauses (I) and (K) above, the democratic state shall guarantee the basic rights and freedoms, such as freedom of association, thought, worship and the press.

Furthermore, the state shall have the duty to protect the right to

work and guarantee the right to education and social security.

(M) All parties which conform to the provision of (I) to (K) above shall have the legal right to exist and to take part in the political life of the country.

### ECONOMY

(N) The state shall ensure that the entire economy serves the interests and well-being of the entire population.

(O) The state shall have the right to determine the general context in which economic life takes place and define and limit the rights and obligations attaching to the ownership and use of productive capacity.

(P) The private sector of the economy shall be obliged to cooperate with the state in realising the objectives of the Freedom Charter in promoting social well-being.

(Q) The economy shall be a mixed one, with a public sector, a private sector, a co-operative sector and a small-scale family sector.

(R) Co-operative forms of economic enterprise, village industries and small scale family activities shall be supported by the state.

(S) The state shall promote the acquisition of management, technical and scientific skills among all sections of the population, especially the blacks.

(T) Property for personal use and

consumption shall be constitutionally protected.

### LAND

(U) The state shall devise and implement a land reform programme that will include and address the following issues:

Abolition of all racial restrictions on ownership and use of land  
Implementation of land reform in conformity with the principle of affirmative action, taking into account the status of victims of forced removals.

### WORKERS

(V) A charter protecting workers' trade union rights, especially the right to strike and collective bargaining, shall be incorporated into the constitution.

### WOMEN

(W) Women shall have equal rights in all spheres of public and private life and the state shall take affirmative action to eliminate inequalities and discrimination between the sexes.

### THE FAMILY

(X) The family, parenthood and children's rights shall be protected.

### INTERNATIONAL

(Y) South Africa shall be a non-aligned state committed to the principles of the Charter of the OAU and the Charter of the UN and to the achievement of national liberation, world peace and disarmament.

**ZACH DE BEER**  
Progressive Federal Party

THERE is no doubt the African National Congress's 1988 Constitutional Guidelines suggest a meaningful modernisation and improvement of the original Freedom Charter.

The original document certainly contained a good many statements with which any democrat would agree (such as "no one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial").

But it also included the well-known passages about transferring "mineral wealth, banks and monopoly industry" to the "people as a whole", which have always been unacceptable to those who believe in a free economy as part of a free society.

Furthermore, liberals have always been uncomfortable with the section on politics which omitted any reference to a Bill of Rights or to multi-party democracy.

The new document goes a considerable distance towards meeting these problems.

Paragraph (H) specifically provides for a Bill of Rights. Paragraph (M) appears to ensure multi-party democracy, though its interpretation needs clarification. Paragraph (Q) does at least make explicit provision for a private sector, though it requires a great deal of precise formulation.

The statement of principles is accompanied by a preamble, which also makes very interesting reading.

There are phrases and sentences in it which one can welcome warmly: thus: "The constitution must also be such as to promote the habits of non-racial and non-sexist thinking, the practice of anti-racist behaviour and the acquisition of genuinely shared patriotic consciousness."

It is too often forgotten that a constitution is or can be more than a basic law: it can also be a powerful tool for shaping a society and giving it cohesion.

On the other hand, the preamble also contains a reference to "rapid and irreversible redistribution of wealth".

Now it is easy to understand and to sympathise with the feeling behind this proposition; but we would not be able to support a programme which stopped or reversed the process of economic growth, since that would be contrary to the interests of all the people of our country. At the very least, we would need to debate the proposed economic programme very thoroughly before we could consider agreeing with it.

Returning to the guidelines themselves, it is noteworthy that they rigorously specify a unitary state, with one central legislature.

I can find no corresponding provision in the original charter. I imagine, but do not know for sure, that this new formulation is a reaction to the behaviour of some white politicians who have abused the term "federation" to describe various race-based conceptions.

Our party is committed to federation in its normal sense, that is a geographical decentralisation of certain government powers to states or provinces, as in the United States, Canada or Australia. We would need a lot of persuasion to make us drop this in favour of a centralised state.

I have said enough to indicate that,

# LOOKING TOWARDS A NEW SOUTH AFRICA



CONTINUED FROM OVERLEAF ... RESPONSES TO THE ANC'S 'CONSTITUTIONAL GUIDELINES'

*prima facie*, we could not agree to the guidelines. But, happily, the preamble makes it clear that what is sought is "extensive and democratic debate" about them. In that we could certainly participate.

What is more, I think the present South African government should be prepared to participate also.

I conclude by repeating what we have often said: jailed and banned leaders should be set free, peaceful political activity should be permitted, and genuine negotiations on the future constitution of South Africa should take place.

I doubt very much whether our government leaders have the courage to do this; but do it they should.

**CASSIM SALOOJEE & FIROZ CACHALIA**  
Transvaal Indian Congress

THE Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) shares a long history, a programmatic position and an ideology with the ANC, though their legal status differs. Our response to the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines will, therefore, be different in substance and in tenor from others because it comes from "within".

However, our interpretation is not a representative statement of the internal congress movement as a whole. The guidelines have stimulated vigorous debate within our organisations and opinions will differ.

ANC has, for a long time, resisted pressures to formulate "blueprints". However, the old order in South Africa is disintegrating and we have entered a transition period, the outcome of which is uncertain. This has made it vital to visualise the nature of post-apartheid society more concretely and to advance practical proposals.

In this context, we welcome the ANC's intervention. Its guidelines situate the organisation more clearly in the political spectrum, and provide a framework for debate.

The existing apartheid state is widely recognised as illegitimate and a basic source of political crisis and social strife. It is appropriate, therefore, that the guidelines begin with proposals for the radical re-ordering of the state.

The strong element of centralism in the proposals is necessary to encourage the formation of a national identity. The apartheid state and the racial politics of the National Party have perpetuated tribal and ethnic identities and encouraged racial chauvinism and division. A strong, non-racial state will be a creative instrument of national reconciliation.

At the same time, as the proposals

## A view from Pretoria

The GOVERNMENT VIEW, as published in a new booklet by the Bureau for Information

IN direct contrast to its revolutionary and violent nature, the ANC in the recent past has increasingly emphasised political initiatives. It has even shown a willingness to negotiate with the South African government — albeit only to negotiate the government's surrendering of power.

The ANC's Constitutional Guidelines are part of this change in style. They can create the impression that the ANC has now adopted a liberal stance and even altered its course.

The question arises: Are the recent ANC initiatives not merely tactical moves to attain the objective of a total take-over of power more rapidly?

There are three main reasons for the ANC's change of style:

- Pressure from the West. As the ANC's acts of terror in South Africa increased, resistance towards the organisation gradually developed in the West. By modifying its image — but without renouncing violence — it attempted to secure continued Western support.

- Admission of military setbacks. The ANC's commitment to new political initiatives should be evaluated against the admission by its president, Oliver Tambo, that it has suffered military setbacks.

- The application of *glasnost* and *perestroika* in South Africa. The ANC's new initiative may be seen as the local application of the new Soviet policy. One should bear in mind that Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev once again expressed his support for the ANC in May, the SA Communist Party (SACP) is traditionally a servile supporter of the Soviet Union, the SACP accepted the ANC's Freedom Charter as its plan of action in the short term, and the ANC leadership consists mainly of active SACP supporters.

In the same way that Gorbachev achieved success with his new policy strategies, the ANC also hopes to gain advantage by presenting itself as a moderate alternative.

However, just as Gorbachev frankly declared that *glasnost* and *perestroika* do not mean he is departing from his basic ideology but that through these strategies he is actually attempting to pursue it more effectively, so the ANC's new strategy does not mean it is turning away from terrorism and violence.

This is the true significance of the ANC's political initiatives. The real voice of the ANC is not represented by the honeyed words in its new political initiative; it may more accurately be heard in the bomb and limpet mine explosions in South Africa's cities.

This is an edited version of an article in the Bureau's *RSA Policy Review*, October 1988.



Dave Stewart, Info man

churches, mosques, sports organisations, etc, may be constituted on a voluntary basis.

Incidentally, we see no reason why Afrikaans churches, schools and cultural organisations should not continue to exist, provided only that access to them is not limited by racial criteria.

Similarly, we would argue that the strong emphasis on centralism in the guidelines is qualified by Clause D, which aims at enhancing popular participation in all levels of government; Clause B, which recommends a decentralisation of delegated powers to regional and local units; Clause M, which commits the ANC to pluralism in the political sphere; and Clause X, which allows for the emergence of a legally-protected private sphere.

In other words, the guidelines envisage a state which is both national and democratic.

The guidelines contain no detailed recommendations for a reordering of legal institutions, though the contents of the law will necessarily undergo detailed changes in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The proposals do contain a Bill of Rights, and we welcome this. The Bill that has been proposed has a strong emphasis on "second generation rights", or economic and social rights, and on the duty of the state to eliminate race discrimination and social and economic inequalities.

Such a Bill could well serve as an important instrument for guaranteeing effective rights to the majority of the population while ensuring that necessary socio-economic changes take place in an orderly way and within a legal framework.

It is not clear, however, whether the ANC sees the Bill as embodying "fundamental rights" or how such rights would be enforced. There is no mention also of "due-process" rights, which should be included in a Bill of Rights.

The key challenge we are facing is to ensure that change takes place without destroying our productive infrastructure, indeed that it takes place in a way that facilitates further development.

We must ensure, further, that through economic development, society as a whole advances and that we eliminate the crushing poverty and stifling ignorance so many are condemned to today. The current enthusiasm in ruling circles for privatisation and *laissez-faire* (mirrored in their equally strong fascination for the macabre achievements of the Chilean generals) promises only growing gloom for the majority.

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## THE TWO AREAS WHICH REMAIN UNCLEAR ... A LAW EXPERT'S VIEW

IT is good to see recognition being given to the independence of courts in the African National Congress's Constitutional Guidelines, but there are two important things we do not know yet.

One is that we do not know the "exclusions" or the circumstances under which rights can be suspended.

Many states allow for rights but allow for them to be excluded under certain circumstances, for example a State of Emergency. A lot depends on how easily exclusions can be invoked.

The second issue is what jurisdiction the courts will have.

We have independent courts in

South Africa at this time but their jurisdiction has been greatly reduced.

It is not clear whether, in terms of these proposals, the ANC intends the courts to have full jurisdiction over basic rights or not.

The mere existence of courts does not go the whole way — they must have jurisdiction to enforce these rights against officials.

I make the next point with hesitation as it is the tricky issue of "groups" in a new South Africa and the extent to which groups will be recognised.

I know that in the past the ANC has said groups would not be politically relevant.

recognise, the new post-apartheid South Africa can only be built on the basis of recognition of rights to cultural and linguistic expression.

There is some confusion on this in the Left. It is sometimes wrongly assumed that differentiated cultural identities are necessarily divisive, and a manifestation of "false consciousness". It is true that cultural identities have been manipulated by the NP for reactionary ends, but it does not necessarily follow that they are the unique product of separate development.

Indeed, they have a separate existence and have positive elements. The concept of group rights is rejected — implicitly, not explicitly — in the ANC proposals. Cultural

forms do not "belong" to any ascriptively defined group. They are a universal human product. The rights to culture and linguistic expression are therefore an aspect of individual rights and the rights of freely associated individuals.

They cannot and should not form the basis of claims to special privileges and powers.

This raises other important issues. Some may contend that the proposals are not sufficiently sensitive to the dangers that arise from the centralisation of authority. A closer examination of the guidelines shows that this is not so. The recognition of rights to free cultural and linguistic expression implies a separation between the state and civil society, a sphere in which

groups in some way if there is to be full freedom. Exactly how would have to be discussed, but for example in China language groups can choose the language in which their children will be educated and the state pays for it. If that kind of recognition is acceptable in China, I do not see why it could not happen in South Africa. We cannot simply wish away the existence of groups — the chief example of the futility of trying to do so is Northern Ireland, where the Protestant majority has given the Catholics no recognition as such in the constitution or political planning. This is one of the reasons for the

**Tony Matthews**  
Constitutional Law expert, University of Natal

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continuation of conflict there. Allowing everyone the vote does not solve the problem. In a majoritarian situation where the winner takes all, the Catholics come off worst. They must be specifically recognised in the political situation.

Some countries have solved this difficulty by sharing offices or other devices.

While I am stressing the need to accommodate groups in some way, I must stress I am not arguing for the preservation of any undeserved recognition of any group and the argument has nothing to do with the grotesque situation we have constructed in this country.

the guidelines will make it possible for us to harness our national material and human resources effectively to achieve developmental political and ethical goals.

The guidelines envisage a mixed economy combining planning and market mechanisms, with the state having an important role as economic regulator. There remains considerable scope for debate on the precise mix.

We believe, for instance, that market relations should be restricted for social services. Basic food, clothing, shelter and even cultural matter and information are goods and services which should not depend on market/money relations.

On the other hand, in the immediate post-apartheid period, market mechanisms could be expanded in the "small business" sector.

And here, as the proposals indicate, expansion need not occur exclusively on the basis of wage labour: co-operatives could play an important role, complementing state and private sector initiative.

In sum, it is neither feasible nor desirable to attempt to subsume all economic activity under a central plan. On the other hand, the market is no panacea.

This raises another subject of intense debate within the democratic movement: worker rights.

We fully endorse the ANC's express commitment to the concept of a Workers' Charter, protecting trade union rights and the right to strike. However, greater attention needs to be given to ways to expand the involvement of workers in decision-making within the production process.



Firoz Cachalla of the TIC

Pictures: AFRAPIX

The proposals express some conflicting objectives, which may not be simultaneously realisable. We are not certain, for instance, whether it is possible to secure full employment within economies which permit private ownership of productive property and which distribute the social product through the market. The experience of the Nordic countries may provide valuable lessons in this regard.

The development of technology and science makes it possible to build a society free of poverty and class inequalities. We are suspicious of arguments critical of race discrimination, but which consider economic inequalities as rational or inevitable.

There should be no doubt that socialist ideas are pervasive within the democratic movement. But we are committed to working to achieve economic and social goals peacefully and pragmatically within the framework of a democratic constitution which allows all political forces with different

economic programmes to organise and participate in regular elections.

The guidelines are essentially a programme for the establishment of a national democracy. This programme has been criticised within the broad extra-parliamentary movement by those advancing a more exclusivist nationalism (the "Africanists") and by "workerists" who claim to adopt a more purely socialist position.

However, it is not clear to us how their proposals for the political and economic restructuring of our society would differ in detail from those advanced in the guidelines. The PAC, for instance, has never committed itself to a denial of political rights for whites, and the "workerists" have never clarified whether they intend to abolish "commodity production" or private ownership.

South African liberalism is at best a selective appropriation of Western liberal/democratic traditions. While liberals have made a strong case for procedural rights, they have often been more than equivocal on the franchise issue. Attempts are continually being made to popularise constitutional mechanisms (minority vetoes, federation, etc) aimed at limiting the rights of the African majority.

The guidelines directly challenge liberals because they commit the ANC to a liberal/democratic constitution — with multi-party democracy, a Bill of Rights, equality before the law, etc.

The guidelines clarify the ANC position on a number of different issues, and as such must be welcome. They will no doubt appeal to a wide range of different constituencies.

This is a source of strength. To the

It unequivocally stated: "Following the capture of a portion of the African leadership of South Africa by a section of the leadership of the white ruling class, the masses of our people are in extreme danger of being deceived into losing sight of the objectives of our struggle."

"They regard as equals the master and his indigenous slave, the white exploiter and the African exploited ... They are too incredibly naive and too fantastically unrealistic not to see that the interests of the subject people who are criminally oppressed, ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly degraded are in sharp conflict and in pointed contradiction with those of the white ruling class."

The latest reformulation of the charter does not help us reconsider our basic quarrel with the deviation from the 1949 Programme of Action, the 40th anniversary of which we shall celebrate next year.

These "guidelines" continue to amplify the apparition that the charter is.

It is not as if we had expected anything better but, disturbingly, the "guidelines" do not help ameliorate the self-defeating disunity and dangerous bickering among the oppressed and exploited which the Freedom Charter triggered and continues to perpetuate, thus delaying our freedom.

We shall continue to say:

● Settler/colonialism can never be reformed — it must be eradicated. We cannot afford to appease the enemy.

● The vehicle for genuine change in Azania is and shall always be the oppressed and exploited African majority and not the settler regime. We cannot afford to marginalise the workers in this regard.

The current upsurge of this line of thinking inside Azania is a vindication of the correctness and relevance of our basic ideology aimed at achieving self-determination based on the principles of a non-racial and socialist democracy.

Robert Sobukwe said: "Watch our movements keenly, and if you see any signs of 'broad-mindedness' or 'reasonableness' in us, or if you hear us talk of practical experience as a modifier of man's views, denounce us as traitors to Africa."

The so-called constitutional guidelines therefore leave us cold.

### WYNAND MALAN National Democratic Movement

THE African National Congress's Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa represent a significant advance on the Freedom Charter in that they open up a wider debate.

Yet there are elements of prescription which are truly worrying.

To be applauded is the intention to promote a national identity and yet to recognise the cultural and linguistic diversity in the country. What is lacking here is a provision that this diversity will be protected.

Particularly pleasing is the recognition of the rights of women, workers and the family.

It is an advance that there will be a Bill of Rights. Now that the principle has been accepted a meaningful debate on the kind of human rights approach which is needed can be opened. As it stands in the guidelines, it is still very prescriptive.

There is understanding for the desire to eradicate all forms of racism and even to forbid political parties which have even a semblance of this. Yet this may very well prove to be counter-productive and lead to division.

There is no doubt that if we have reached the stage where guidelines such as these proposed by the ANC begin to become part of everyday life the community itself will not allow racism anymore. Better then not to proscribe this from above.

What is worrying about the ANC's guidelines is a certain similarity between them and some aspects of National Party thinking. Both groups think in prescriptive fashion and in concrete terms look to a strong cen-

tral government which will take all or almost all decisions.

Both want to devolve the execution of decisions to lower-ranking administrative bodies or in some cases elected bodies.

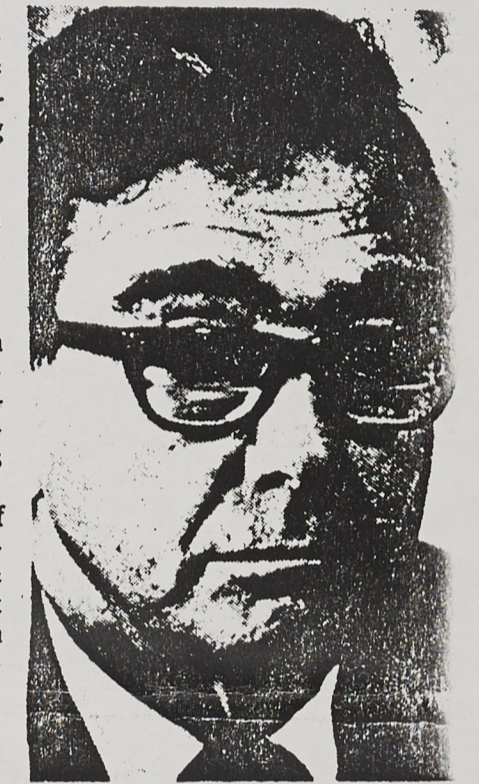
There is an indication under the description of how the franchise will work that the intention is to have more than one legislative body. Yet the impression is that these bodies will simply have to execute what has been decided centrally.

This amounts to a delegation of power and not a true devolution — and is not, particularly in a diverse society, democratic.

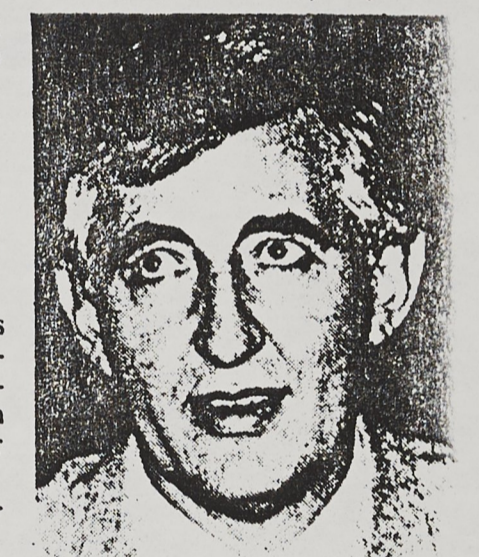
What is meant by the phrase "the institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transformed"?

It sounds ominously like yet another bit of prescription. Are we looking at ideological indoctrination or is there room for a normal shift to democratic principles which will come about with the process of urbanisation and modernisation?

In another area the ANC and the National Party tend to overlap in their approach.



Zach de Beer, PFP



Wynand Malan, NDM

The National Party had written into the present constitution that the economy will be based on capitalist principles. The ANC wants to write in what economic policy shall be, thus the section of the economy provides for central control in a manner which is not suitable for a constitution.

What economic system people desire is the result of voting during which a preference for the policy of this or that political party is expressed — and the winning party will determine the economic course until the next election.

Generally speaking then, the constitutional guidelines are a mixed bag — some good, some bad.

Certainly the fact that the document is available inside South Africa and can be discussed is a contribution to normalising the internal situation, i.e. that a constitutional debate is not conducted without one of the major players, in the form of the ANC, being able to put its case.

Yet it needs to be emphasised that the prescriptive elements, as far as the economy and the centralisation of power are concerned, are major worries.

Both need to be addressed — and the debate needs to be joined by all in the country.

### PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA Information Department

THE Pan Africanist Congress does not have the mandate or the time to debate a document the origin and authenticity of which remains unknown.

Nevertheless, we can point out that the PAC's historic comment on the Freedom Charter — and accordingly the African National Congress's latest version — was made succinctly and effectively when our organisation was launched on April 6, 1959.

The PAC then was and still is averse to clever talk or quibbling.