

## REFORM TRAINS AND THE TALE OF FOUR CITIES

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Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development seems to be not unduly concerned about the possible derailment of the negotiation train on May 9. He is optimistic that the alleged special chemistry between Pres. de Klerk and Mr Mandela will put the train neatly back on its tracks to negotiate a new parliamentary system for Cape Town.

Dr Viljoen can look back on a notorious history of pronouncements concerning constitutional trains and their destinations. On April 6 1971 he advised a youth congress of SABRA at Robertson that, if necessary, we should build a track through the mountains to its destination Homeland for Coloureds .... somewhere between Garies and Put-sonder-Water.

It is a pity that this time around Dr Viljoen is a little bit less specific about the final destination of the De Klerk-Mandela negotiation train ... if it can be put back on track. Is the purpose of negotiations only to arrive in Cape Town with a differently composed Parliament and Cabinet or is the purpose also to transform the bureaucracy in Pretoria and the capitalist system in Johannesburg and the social system of Sandton and Alexandra? If the term "New" South Africa is supposed to be a transformed South Africa, reform must be all-inclusive.

The purpose of the present phase of reform is apparently only to change Cape Town into Ikapa but in such a way that the NP will keep its grip on the bureaucratic levers in Pretoria, while Johannesburg and Sandton will remain as intact as possible. But will that not be dangerous?

Pres. de Klerk is promising a future democracy with universal sufferance of equal weight for all adults. But at the same time he reassured his own constituency that all sorts of weights and counterweights - all sorts of checks and balances - will be built



into the new constitution to ensure that one (i.e. a white) form of domination will not be replaced with another (i.e. a black) form of domination.

Pres. de Klerk also promised his supporters that in the new parliament in Cape Town a situation will definitely not arise where the winne can take all. And - this is the beauty of it all - he also promised that if there turned out to be a winner, the NP wants to be part of the winning "consortium"! As always the Nats wants the best of all possible worlds.

The bottom line of De Klerk's and Viljoen's double talk on constitutional matters is that the NP is NOT prepared to become the opposition in the new parliamentary system, is NOT prepared to relinquish its control of the state machinery in Pretoria.

The political name of Cape Town may be changed to Ikapa (if negotiations are successful) but it is quite possible that when the passengers of the negotiation train arrives in the Mother City after "settlement", it will be hard to notice the difference between the Old Cape and the New Ikapa!

It took Gerrit Viljoen exactly 20 years to reroute the destination of his constitutional train from a place somewhere between Garies and Put-sonder-water towards Cape Town. I dearly hope it will take less than 10 years for the Nats to realise that proper reform will also necessitate rather important transformations of Pretoria into Epitoli (to become our new bureaucratic capital), or Johannesburg into Egoli (to become our new economic capital), or Sandton-Alexandria into Alexsandia (to become a truly integrated neighbourhood).

It is rather disturbing that many people are of the opinion that reform is only concerned with changing the political and constitutional system and that the bureaucratic, economic and social systems can remain unchanged. But what is even more alarming is all the subtle arguments spokesmen in the White Establishment are putting forward lately as to why the bureaucratic, the economic and the



social systems should NOT be reformed. All the arguments in favour of keeping the symbolic Pretoria, Johannesburg and Sandton-Alexandria intact, can be summarised in one word: EFFICIENCY!

Those who put forward arguments connected with "Growth and Efficiency" to protect their vested interests in the public and private sectors - symbolised by Pretoria and Johannesburg - must be commended for their clever move. But they have clearly overstated their case.

Nobody doubts the importance of economic growth and the need to achieve and to maintain high levels of efficiency. But when efficiency becomes a fetish and is used as an excuse NOT to abolish apartheid or NOT to do the painful things necessary to get rid of the ugly remnants of apartheid, then efficiency is no longer a virtue but becomes a vice. If one listens carefully to the manner in which bureaucrats and capitalists are now-a-days hammering the efficiency drum - while they are keeping as quiet as a mouse about greater equity - the new pattern of maintaining apartheid in a disguised form becomes as clear as daylight. If the fetishism with efficiency prevents a proper shortterm trade-off between economic growth and equity to create greater justice and social stability in the black Townships as a precondition for sustainable growth over the long run, then South Africa's future will be black.

In the ugly days of apartheid racial arguments were used blatantly to justify white power, and white privileges. It will be rather sad if "efficiency" arguments are going to be used in the future - as has become the pattern lately - to perpetuate the power, the wealth and the privileges of the white elite for yet another 20 years.

Those of us who are really interested in genuine reform must be beware of the dangers involved in the privatisation of apartheid. The way the Land Act is going to be abolished is a blatant (and highly dangerous) example of the privatisation of apartheid. The fetish about "growth and efficiency" has the potential of becoming method to privatise apartheid --- with devastating longterm results.

Lets get the reform train back on track. But let there be no doubt that the destination CANNOT only be Ikapa. It should also be Epitoli, Egoli and Alexsandia!