

TOWARDS A NEW ORDER

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In these times of flux and uncertainty about the future of our country there is only one certainty and that is that the present order is coming to an end.

The recognition by all sides of the political spectrum that "change" is required may range from the purely moral sphere to pragmatic grounds or simply expediency.

For those in the first category, who recognise that the status quo is not consistent with the moral/ethical principles of a democratic/civilised/just society that we profess to be, fundamental change is required for its own sake and not essentially for the benefits that may accrue in the form of stability, security or progress.

For those who recognise that the status quo is untenable, "change" is only required in so far as it can prevent instability, insecurity or decline.

May I say at once that my own involvement in politics stems from the first motive and that I sincerely believe that the origins and continued aims of the P.F.P. are to be found in that sphere.

As politicians who have to compete on a limited market to gain access to the political power structures, the outcome or probable benefits rather than the moral attitudes and action required in terms of a democratic value system, are however sometimes emphasised.

To my mind, the Nationalist Government is incapable of making the necessary structural changes towards a truly democratic order since that will be diametrically opposed to the Afrikaner Nationalist separatist philosophy.

Their recognition that "change" is required is based purely on a reactionary foundation and change will therefore be reluctant, unplanned and superficial; introduced only for reasons of expediency.

A new order that will satisfy the moral/ethical yardstick of the P.F.P. will therefore not come about through purely political/constitutional debate in white politics in the short to medium term (i.e. during the life of this seventh Parliament).

But, essential as it is that the constitutional debate must carry on, there is more to government and parliament, indeed to society as a whole, than constitutional arrangements and arguments.

While the constitutional arrangements place certain constraints on the administrative functions of government, so does the daily running of the affairs of society make its own demands, irrespective of the constitutional arrangements.

It is on this administrative level where a parliamentary opposition can play an important part, firstly by pointing out to Government that the outcome of certain courses of action may be undesirable, and secondly by using the outcome to illustrate to the electorate the (predicted) undesirable effects of ideological or constitutional constraints. For example, the Government's reluctance to allow other than white artisans into the building industry was only overcome by the sheer demands of the situation, while none of the predictions of the plight of the white artisan came true. In fact, white artisans now find themselves in

a supervisory capacity because of their experience and perhaps superior training. (Some obviously also for other reasons!). The same upward mobility will soon be achieved by Coloured and Indian artisans (who now dictate the terms in the "white" building industry) now that the sheer demand has outstripped the supply (from Coloured and Indian ranks) which dictated the abolishment of the Black Building Workers Act. "Normalisation" of the Mining Industry could conceivably follow the same pattern.

Those who see ideological differences inside the National Party and pin their hopes for the demise of the present order on a dramatic split in the ruling party will have to wait a long time. The Great Divide in (white) politics is quite simply whether Blacks will be included as full citizens in a single South African State or not. No faction in the National Party entertains any ideas of direct and equal Black participation in either the whole of South Africa or the fragmented remainder — so called "White South Africa".

I therefore foresee the (initially) slow demise of the National Party coming about as a result of the very changes that are necessary on the administration level, since daily life must continue, it cannot mark time in unison with constitutional stagnation.

I do not believe that the rank and file Afrikaner has ever understood the underlying philosophy of Afrikaner Nationalism. (Is there more to it than white baasskap?) For generations the Nationalist power elite have sold not a value system that required certain actions, but the benefits of Apartheid. That is exclusive access to education, amenities, jobs, power and privilege.

But the demands of technological and economic progress, or even the maintenance of standards, dictate that many of the promised exclusivities must now be shared. The daily lives (and even to a limited scale the night life! e.g. theatre, sporting events etc.) of whites and blacks are becoming ever more inextricably woven together and while this may lead to "white backlash" in certain areas, it also serves to break down barriers of prejudice and ignorance.

At last whites and blacks are getting to know each other on more than just the master/servant level, and it is so that experience and actions, face to face contact in different circumstances leads to modified attitudes and breaking down of prejudice.

I believe that the young generation of professionals and technocrats in Afrikaner ranks will be ever less prepared to sacrifice personal advancement on the altar of ideological jargon and promises.

It is indeed from the ranks of the technocrats that has come the realisation that ideological constraints in housing, education, planning and many other fields have created an inertia to progress. They have not been scared to go against existing ideological dogma as was evidenced by e.g. Wiehahn, Riekert, de Lange, Viljoen et al in commission after commission, to the embarrassment of their political masters.

In short, I believe that young Afrikaners will begin to realise that personal fulfillment can be achieved without the crutch of secular Afrikanerdom and all that it may

have offered their predecessors. As they begin to share the exclusivities (through necessity) they will realise that none of the promises, nor any of the predictions of chaos that will follow on "normalisation" have come true.

The final transition to a new political order may therefore be facilitated by events outside the political/constitutional debate. By this I am not saying that history must run its course but indeed that it is essential that a White Parliamentary opposition must be right there in the midst of events.

It has a major task in keeping the constitutional debate alive in order that the economic and social progress of Blacks does not get too far out of step with political advancement, since that would be a sure-fire way to industrial unrest and instability which can only make the transition more traumatic.

It has a major task in demonstrating to Blacks that not all Whites are only interested in buying off Black political aspirations with middle class trappings in the cities and the kind of compromise independence that is given in the "homelands" for reasons of expediency. (As if that is possible!).

It has a major task in providing information which would otherwise be missing and also correcting information which

has been deliberately distorted. (How can a young Afrikaner from a Nationalist home make rational decisions about "the Black man in the homelands" or the "Black man in the urban areas" if he was brought up on a diet of Christian National Education, Die Burger and S.A.T.V.?) Few Whites have any conception of conditions and aspirations in Black Townships, let alone the rural heartland of Kwazulu or the Ciskei.

In the transition to a new order, I recognise that other forces too are at play; external pressure from "friendly" powers; the East-West conflict; the North-South conflict; events in Namibia and Zimbabwe; Black political and militant action and any of these may put a new dimension to the timescale and the other qualities of the transition.

Important also are the ceaseless efforts of individuals and groups not using the party political platform in its opposition to this Government. Together with the white opposition in Parliament they form an opposing force with a "total strategy".

While there is a bumpy road ahead, I believe that there are enough men and women of courage and conviction in this land not to let the prejudice, power and privilege of one side or the impatience of the other side, get us into a conflict of such a scale that all will be losers. □

THE HOMELAND SCHEME

by Vortex

Come praise the Government's homeland scheme
come praise it all you can:
it's the cleverest bit of subterfuge
ever designed by man.

It allows us whites to keep our power
without the pleasure's going sour.

The aim of the plan is entirely clear,
that cannot be denied:
to split the blacks in land and in mind,
to take them for a ride;
to keep a tight grip on what we've got
while going through the motions of giving a lot.

If that were all our plan entailed
it mightn't amount to much,
but the growth of additional benefits shows
a really professional touch:
it all pans out in such a way
that our righteousness grows by the day.

We choose our homeland leaders well,
and give them petty power:
we give them the impression that
this is their glorious hour.
They're cooked so neatly in our fires
that they think they're pushed by their own desires.

Then once they take their seats of power,
in our well-financed scheme,
they throw their weight about like mad:
it's a National Party dream.

They show their grateful loyalty
by mimicking our tyranny.

Nor is that all they offer us:
it's no mere imitation.
They have a way of pressing their point
to the glory of our nation:
they act with such a bullying glee
that they prove the truth of our policy.

They prove that we were right to say
you can't have an open plan:
how could we share our Christian peace
with such a kind of man?
They ride upon their fellows' backs:
we were **right** in our prejudice against the blacks!

There's a final benefit they bring:
a sore all full of pus.
They torture and bully and fume and shout
to astonish even us.
So at last we've heard the awaited call:
"Pretoria's not so bad after all."

Footnote:

I hope I don't really need to explain,
my sisters and my brothers,
that I aim at certain homeland leaders
rather than at others.