
SOUTH AFRICA

*The Struggle for a
New Order*

Marina Ottaway

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION
Washington, D.C.

Contents

1. The Changing Conflict	1
The First Two Years	2
Conflict Resolution and Conflict Generation	9
Negotiating in the Absence of Crisis	12
Models of Transition	14
The Study	17
Part 1: The Actors	21
2. The Government Establishment	23
The Reformers at the Top	24
The National Party	29
The Bureaucracy	30
The Security Apparatus	32
The Afrikaner Broederbond and the Churches	36
Conclusions	40
3. The Liberation Establishment	42
The African National Congress	43
The Mass Democratic Movement	55
The Antiapartheid Churches	58
Conclusions	61
4. The Second Tier	63
The Would-Be Major Players	63
The Rejectionist Parties	76
The De Jure Participants	81
Conclusions	83

Part 2: The Arenas of Struggle	85
5. Toward a New Constitution	89
The Constitutional Models	90
The Politics of Constitution Making	104
Conclusions	112
6. The Local Arena	114
Local Government in South Africa	115
The National Party and Local Government in the 1990s	117
The ANC and the Civics: State Power and People's Power	121
Negotiating the Postapartheid City	125
Conclusions	130
7. The Economic Arena	132
The South African Economy	133
The Future of the Economy	134
The Congress of South African Trade Unions	135
The African National Congress	140
The Government and Economic Reform	143
The Business Community	147
Part 3: The Transition	153
8. The Failure of CODESA	157
The Assets	159
The Strategy	163
The Climate Surrounding Negotiations	173
Conclusions	175
9. Beyond Constitutional Negotiations	179
Integrating Groups Excluded from Negotiations	180
Converting Political Organizations into Parties	190
Tackling Noninstitutional Issues	192
Conclusions	195

10. Liberation and Reformism	198
The Second Phase	200
The International Context	205
Direct Foreign Influences	209
A Different Transition	212
Notes	215
Index	241