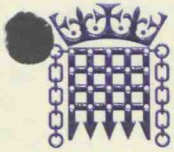


From: JOHN BROWNE, MSc, MBA, MP



HOUSE OF COMMONS

LONDON SW1A 0AA

Rt Hon Margaret Thatcher MP
10 Downing Street
London SW1

20th March 1986

Prime Minister
Mr. Browne is coming to see you
on Thursday. You may like to
glance at the papers which
he has sent you, before then.

Dear Prime Minister,

He has two
main proposals:

I have just returned from a brief visit to South Africa where the situation is worsening by the day.

I fully realise that you are given briefings and advice from all quarters upon South Africa, a situation fraught with complexity and potential violence on a grand scale. I do not pretend in any way to be an expert but I humbly submit my views for your consideration.

(a) that you & President De la Rivecourt should meet & map out a plan for South Africa. You would then

Yours truly
J.B.

JOHN BROWNE

convene a conference to be attended by all South African parties including the ANC. Not very

Enclosure

realistic as it stands, but not dissimilar from the motivation of the Eminent Persons Group.

(b) that the South Africa's future constitutional structure should be based on the Swiss cantonal/federal model. I think most people would agree that it will have to be federal. COP5/4

ARTICLE

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CAULDRON

Is an Anglo-American Initiative Essential to a Peaceful Solution?

Time is fast running out in South Africa. In fact, time has already run out for an internally generated and peaceful solution. South Africa needs help if a blood bath is to be avoided. In the interests of humanity alone, the Western nations have a clear duty to help South Africa in its hour of agony.

Two nations above all have both the knowledge and the power to restore the balance of reason and the peaceful abolition of apartheid in South Africa. These nations are Great Britain and the United States of America, both of whom have a vital interest in ensuring a peaceful evolution in South Africa.

The White South Africans, particularly the Afrikaners, feel that they built South Africa, that it is their country and they have nowhere else to go. They have seen that in most other countries of Africa, the transition to universal franchise has resulted in not just one man one vote but one man one vote ONCE! They have noted that no Black government in Africa has ever been toppled through the ballot box. Their fear of being swamped by the Blacks has been increased by the recent violence. For years the Black South Africans have had to endure degrading and often brutal colour discrimination. For years they have lived in third world ghetto areas and townships within an exclusively White first world nation. Their senses of injustice and frustration are now being exploited by radical Black leaders especially by the young and the Soviet inspired.

Despite this polarisation, the bulk of the population want peace and prosperity and remain moderate in their views. Moderate Blacks want an end to colour discrimination, including property rights and voting power. Moderate Whites accept the end to discrimination by colour and power sharing. They want peace and continued prosperity.

There is little doubt that the Afrikaner government sees clearly the problems before them and wishes to take the path of moderation. They particularly lack any commitment to change fast enough to avoid a blood bath. They fear the erosion of their constituency power bases if they are seen to move too fast. They also see how the initial weakness shown by the Czar of Russia in 1917 and by the Shah of Iran in 1979 encouraged the forces of revolution towards a violent overthrow. Whilst they see the necessity and even desirability of change, they fear it. Furthermore, unlike the Russian Czar or the Iranian Shah, the South African

government enjoys the total loyalty of both the police and the armed forces. They also have the Blacks strategically isolated in the townships and the homelands. They realise that there can be no mistakes and they are reticent to yield any meaningful power. The result is that the South African government has moved towards change but has, so far, done too little too late. Worse still, the small concessions that have been granted have done nothing to boost the credibility of moderate Black leaders who have not been involved in fruitful negotiations. Furthermore, having enjoyed undisputed, almost dictatorial power for some 40 years, the government has become woefully inexperienced in its ability to influence public opinion both at home and abroad.

There is no doubt that State President Botha is a very lonely man, uncertain as to which way to turn and how far to go. He needs the help of Western statesmen and he needs it quickly if a blood bath is to be avoided. Such help could include not only advice and support but also encouragement, including the somewhat forceful encouragement of much feared disinvestment.

If they have not already done so, President Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher should meet to discuss South Africa in detail and formulate a plan of exactly what they wish to see happen.

Using their economic power, including their prestige as brokers, The President and The Prime Minister should convene a conference to be attended by all the main domestic parties including the ANC. This Conference should be chaired by the South African government. It is unlikely, however, that the ANC would agree to attend such a conference without major concessions being made in advance. No such concessions should be made unless the ANC denounces violence. They should be made to see that their absence is not in their long term interests.

At this first conference the South African government should make major and binding concessions on apartheid including school integration but excluding voting rights which should be held over for a second conference.

The concessions granted by the South African government should appear to have been gained by the moderate leaders who attend the conference. These concessions should include the release of Nelson Mandela whose release should be denied until that time. The moderate Black leaders would then be in a position to enhance their influence over Black opinion and to detract from the potentially violent influence of the ANC and other Soviet inspired organisations.

A short time should then be allowed for legislative enactment of at least some of the concessions granted by the White government, including the release of Mandela. This would re-establish credibility.

A second conference should then be called to discuss the future constitution of South Africa, including voting rights. With the trappings of apartheid by then abolished and Nelson Mandela released, it would be hard to imagine that even the ANC would boycott the opportunity to exercise an influence on mapping the future constitution of the country.

At first sight, the possibility of bringing together the complex and sometimes violently opposed interests within South Africa may appear to be impossible. However, it is interesting to note that a similar situation faced the early Swiss at the end of the 13th century. They had three nations and four languages of which German accounted for the vast majority of 65%. In the 700 years that followed the Swiss designed a system of government that allowed for the maximisation of democracy and the protection of minorities. The vast German speaking majority does not control the lives of the Swiss people.

The diversity of Switzerland has been turned to strength. Their system of government is based essentially upon a system of independent cantons and even sub-cantons or communes, under a central government that is largely administrative. It is felt by writers such as Leon Louw and Frances Kendall, in their excellent book, 'The Solution', that such a system of cantonal government could well be applied to South Africa with its population comprising : 72% Blacks; 16% Whites; 9% coloureds; and 3% Asians. Such a cantonal system would be ideally suited to the 360 magisterial districts. With an average population of some 80,000 people, no single magisterial district is as small as the smallest Swiss canton.

Over 7 centuries, the Swiss have designed a system of cantonal government combined with a Bill of Rights and universal franchise, based upon proportional representation which could prove most appropriate for South Africa. Their system reduces the power of extremists and increases the forces of moderation whilst at the same time protecting minorities. Such a system is worthy of deep study by the statesmen of the world, particularly those who wish to help South Africa towards a peaceful solution with a people freed from racial discrimination and that have both a vote and the chance to exercise it often.

South Africa and particularly its President, face a most grave situation which could have world wide repercussions. They need help. It is not only in the interest but also within the ability of The President and The Prime Minister to give that help. They must act before it is too late.

JOHN BROWNE

18th March 1986

18 March 1986

VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA 1 - 14 MARCH 1986

OUTLINE ASSESSMENT

By John Browne MP

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The situation in South Africa is extremely complex and is becoming increasingly violent and polarised. Apartheid is breaking down. Nevertheless, the South African Blacks are still faced with such things as the Pass Laws; Group Areas Act; school segregation and no vote. In their townships and homelands they effectively live in third world countries. However, when they travel to the White areas they see a well developed nation which is basically for Whites. Their natural frustration is being used by opportunist politicians and by Marxist infiltrators to foster hatred and a breeding ground for violence. The bulk of South African Whites, including a majority of the government, realise that apartheid must go. However, they are unsure as to its replacement. They fear the economic and political repercussions of a universal Black franchise. This fear leads to a lack of commitment in the dismantling of the apartheid laws and consequently to cynical distrust of the government by Blacks.

The strategic importance of South Africa in terms of strategic raw materials source; military position; stabilising influence; and as a media smokescreen for Soviet activities in, for example, the Libyan-Sudanese-Ethiopian noose around Egypt, must be apparent to most Western leaders. The British also have most important investment interests to consider. With the exception of President Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who executed an adroit and valuable time saving manoeuvre at the Nassau Commonwealth Conference, the Western leaders appear to be led by the grass roots opinion of the international community towards a blind anti White South African policy with little or no idea of how or with what to replace apartheid. Whilst apartheid itself, especially with regard to voting rights, is somewhat complex the international community's view is simplistic. Unlike the Soviets, most Western leaders other than those of the United Kingdom and United States, appear to fail utterly in the defence of their pro rata Western interests in South Africa. They also fail totally in enunciating to the world at large what alternative they would like to see.

Any visitor to South Africa, who has been subjected to the Western news media, will be disgusted by the living conditions of Blacks in townships such as Crossroads but, equally will be astounded by the degree to which apartheid has effectively been eroded, albeit unofficially, and the high level of law and order.

The plain fact is that the South African government has started to dismantle apartheid, both legislatively (vide the Mixed Marriages Act, which itself has major implications for education, citizenship and residence) and tacitly by not enforcing strictly the pass law or Group Areas Act etc. The tacit non enforcement of apartheid laws rather than their legal repeal, leads to the law falling into disrepute. This sets a dangerous precedent in dealing with future violence by Blacks and also Whites.

Furthermore, the government has indicated a programme of legislative reform such as the abolition of the pass law by 1st July. In doing so, the South African government has risked the serious erosion of its domestic White power base, particularly amongst the Afrikaners. It also risked demoralisation and a birth of White terrorism. The South African government also see that their first tentative moves to abolish apartheid are greeted with continued and often intensified talks about sanctions and financial disinvestment by the international community. The West appears to make no attempt to reward or congratulate the South African government on its anti apartheid initiatives. This is partly because the South African government has made promises in the past which it has failed to keep. It is also due to the confusing way in which anti apartheid sentiments are expressed by the State President and immediately countermanded by Ministers who fear the erosion of their constituencies. The South African government now has to restore credibility to its statements.

The concessions of the South African government appear to have been begrudgingly squeezed out of them by the international community. The moderate Black leaders are not publically involved in any serious negotiations with the government. They are therefore unable to claim any credit for the concessions from amongst their own supporters who are turning increasingly to militant young black leaders.

It is likely that the government will try to achieve some legislative moves towards the abolition of apartheid during the current six month session. It then plans to hold a party conference in August 1986 at which it will probably attempt to agree to major constitution reforms

which will then be put to voters in the form of a referendum in October 1986. Again, it is unlikely that any moderate Black leaders will be involved. Their constituencies will be further polarised.

It is unlikely that a unitary voting system with universal Black suffrage would be acceptable to the White community who would see it as threatening their lives both economically and politically. It is quite possible however that a federal or cantonal system of government could be devised, based upon the present magistrates districts. I believe that Black majority voting would be acceptable to the majority of Whites on this basis so long as Whites retained minority protection and the key influence over national affairs such as defence, foreign relations and the basic economy.

In my opinion, the South African government needs help and they need it fast. In the interest of world peace in general and the self interest of the United States and Great Britain I believe that the President and the Prime Minister should offer State President P. W. Botha encouragement, advice and support. If such help were given I believe that the South African government may well be able to manage the transition from apartheid to universal suffrage, on a cantonal basis, in a relatively peaceful manner.

It should always be remembered that many White South Africans look to Great Britain both with nostalgia and with respect. Furthermore, the economic and diplomatic power of the United States and the United Kingdom should not be underestimated, particularly in the field of disinvestment.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. If they have not already done so, President Reagan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher should meet to discuss South Africa in detail and formulate a plan of exactly what they wish to see happen.
2. Using their economic power, including their prestige as brokers, The President and The Prime Minister should convene a conference to be attended by all the main domestic parties including the ANC. This Conference should be chaired by the South African government. It is unlikely, however, that the ANC would agree to attend such a conference without major concessions being made in advance. In my opinion, no such concessions should be made unless the ANC denounces violence. They should be made to see that their absence is not in their long term interests.

3. At this first conference the South African government should make major and binding concessions on apartheid including school integration but excluding voting rights which should be held over for a second conference.

The concessions granted by South African government should appear to have been gained by the moderate leaders who attend the conference. These concessions should include the release of Nelson Mandela. His release should be denied until that time. The moderate Black leaders would then be in a position to enhance their influence over Black opinion and to detract from the potentially violent influence of the ANC and other Soviet inspired organisations.

4. A short time should then be allowed for legislative enactment of at least some of the concessions granted by the White government, including the release of Mandela. This would establish credibility.
5. A second conference should then be called to discuss the future constitution of South Africa, including voting rights. With the trappings of apartheid by then abolished and Nelson Mandela released, it would be hard to imagine that even the ANC would boycott the opportunity to exercise an influence on mapping the future constitution of the country.
6. The British and American leaders should analyse the Swiss Cantonal constitution, together with its Bill of Rights; its universal franchise; and its electoral system based on proportional representation. They should seek a way of applying this to the situation in South Africa and of persuading the South African government of its merits, which are described in outline below, and in more detail in the attached paper on General Observations.

At first sight, these recommendations may seem overdramatic and untenable. However, I believe that the situation in South Africa is now becoming so obviously grave that the minds of moderate men and of all colours are being focused to an extent that will enable negotiations to take place. I believe that The President and The Prime Minister can offer great enticements to the South African government to co-operate by means of: advising President Botha privately on courses of action; helping him to handle his public relations; and encouraging and rewarding (by lessening sanctions and halting disinvestment) Botha's moves towards the abolition of apartheid. Should the South African government prove obstinate, the use of specifically

targetted sanctions (mail and South African Airways landing rights etc) together with the threat of major disinvestment would, I feel, yield immediate and beneficial results.

At first sight, the possibility of bringing together the complex and sometimes violently opposed interests within South Africa may appear to be impossible. However, it is interesting to note that a similar situation faced the early Swiss at the end of the 13th Century. They had three nations and four languages of which German accounted for the vast majority of 65%. In the 700 years that followed, the Swiss designed a system of government that allowed for the maximisation of democracy and the protection of minorities. The vast German speaking majority does not control the lives of the Swiss people. The diversity of Switzerland has been turned to strength. Their system of government is based essentially upon a system of independent cantons and even sub-cantons or communes, under a central government that is largely administrative. It is felt by writers such as Leon Louw and Frances Kendall in their excellent book "The Solution", that such a system of cantonal government could well be applied to South Africa with its population comprising: 72% Blacks; 16% Whites; 9% Coloureds; and 3% Asians. Such a cantonal system would be ideally suited to the 360 magisterial districts. With an average population of some 80,000 people, no single magistrates district is as small as the smallest Swiss canton. Over 7 centuries, the Swiss have designed a system of cantonal government combined with a Bill of Rights and universal franchise, based upon proportional representation, which could prove most appropriate for South Africa. Their system reduces the power of extremists and increases the forces of moderation whilst at the same time protecting minorities. Such a system is worthy of deep study by the statesmen of the world, particularly those who wish to help South Africa towards a peaceful solution, where a people freed from racial discrimination each have both a vote and the chance to exercise it often.

South Africa and particularly its President, face a most grave situation which could have world wide repercussions. They need help. It is not only in the interest but also within the ability of the President and the Prime Minister to give that help. They must act before it is too late.

The stakes are very high. The situation is tense. Time is short. There is a desperate need for co-ordinated, clever and courageous action by leaders of integrity.

JOHN BROWNE

18 March 1986

18 March 1986

VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA, 1 - 14 MARCH 1986

OUTLINE ASSESSMENT

By John Browne MP

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

BACKGROUND

The situation in South Africa is extremely complex as is reflected by some 15 political parties or groupings. The situation is also becoming increasingly tense and polarised. Despite some seriously distorted Western media reporting and that many of the reported killings are of Blacks by Blacks, the fact remains that time is critically short if a peaceful solution is to be found.

Following the second Boer War, the British enacted legislation that was grossly discriminatory towards black South Africans. Whilst such racial discrimination was not considered strange or immoral at the turn of the century, it is true to say that the seeds of apartheid were sown in that early British legislation. The main problem is that as South Africa slipped under Afrikaner control no change was made in the apartheid laws which reflected major changes in the views and ethics of the international community.

It is easy to over simplify both apartheid and the political situation in South Africa. Having visited the country for only two weeks one realises the enormous complexities of this rapidly changing scene. It is therefore with humility that I submit my assessment and recommendations.

In writing this paper I have assumed that the reader has a knowledge of the general situation in South Africa.

MAJOR GROUPS

As I see it, there are basically 4 major interest groups: the Whites; the Blacks; the Soviets and the West. However, each of these groups can be split further. For instance, the Whites alone can be split into 5 sub groups in addition to the 10 main parties which represent them.

THE WHITES

This group comprises five distinct interest groups: the Afrikaner community; the English speaking community; the Cape Coloured community; the business executive community; and the Nationalist Government.

- The Afrikaners The Afrikaners are descended from the first settlers and the voortrekkers who settled the interior. They fought the elements, the Zulus and the British. They fled from their homeland in order to find free expression. They are extremely proud of their achievements which in part are reflected in their new and distinctly separate language. They are also very religious, stubborn and tough. The farming community within the Afrikaners comprises the backbone of the Nationalist Party and those to the right of it such as the Conservatives and the HNP. They also comprise the backbone of the AWP, or the right wing potential terrorist group. Also, the bulk of the civil service is staffed by Afrikaners.

The Afrikaners are proud of South Africa, a country they feel they have built and are very aware of the effort that has been put into it. They have watched closely the events in the rest of Africa and they fear that power sharing with the Blacks could sweep them into the position of an unprotected minority. They have noted that no government in black Africa has ever been displaced through the ballot box. They realise that in handing any form of power to the Blacks there is no turning back and that they can afford no mistakes. They are intensely suspicious, fearful and conservative. They are also aware that despite the clamour of international opinion and Black unrest within South Africa, they, through their Nationalist Party government, hold complete control of the police and the army. Furthermore, they are aware that the Black townships place the Blacks at a major strategic disadvantage. They have power and they are fearful of releasing any of it.

- English Speaking Community The English speaking communities include Germans, Jews and Portugese etc., but are predominantly British. Following the second Boer War they began to opt out of politics preferring to concentrate on making money. They are owners of major wealth-creating activities within South Africa. By nature they are more amenable to change and believe that apartheid must go and that some power should be

given to the Blacks. However, they are split as to whether such power sharing should be absolute or on a federal or cantonal basis with built in protections for minorities. They see the justification for almost all the demands of the moderate Blacks. They fear that the intransigency of the Afrikaner government will lead to a rise of militant Black leaders and thus to a blood bath.

- Cape Coloureds In the present circumstances, this group has been included with the Whites as a minority. They also fear a Black takeover and are therefore closely allied to White interests.
- Business Executives This group of Whites is potentially very influential in its influence upon events in South Africa. The activities of big business men are widely reported in the South African press. (E.g. Raymond Ackerman of Pick 'n Pay in his fight with the Government over discount coupons given at his petrol outlets.) Furthermore, many of these executives play a key role in influencing their multi-national corporate decision makers concerning possible disinvestment in South Africa.
- Nationalist Government The Nationalist Party was swept into Government in 1948 and has enjoyed some 40 years of almost dictatorial power in a police state with an economy dominated by state owned monopolies. It could be said that whilst Capitalism exists for the Whites, Socialism certainly exists for the Blacks. This period of unquestioned power has led them to become arrogant. It has also resulted in them having had to pay virtually no attention to public relations. They now possess woefully inadequate skills in public relations both domestically and internationally.

The original Afrikaner leaders were men possessed of considerable style and imaginative leadership qualities. A near half century of stability and unchallenged power has led to a new breed of leader epitomised by State President P W Botha. President Botha is above all an organisation man. He is intelligent and capable but he is not gifted with public charisma.

The Afrikaner government has already seen one erosion in its overwhelming political power base in Parliament when the Conservatives split off to form

their own party. In a country where information is still relatively controlled, the government is in a position to see the true problems facing South Africa. They realise that change is necessary but they are wary of losing their constituents by moving too fast leftwards towards the centre ground. The statement by President Botha on the possibility of a Black President and integrated schools and their immediate countermands are classic examples.

THE BLACKS

Whereas the Black community in South Africa is broadly united in its wish to see an end to apartheid, there are major differences of opinion as to how the abolition of apartheid should be negotiated and exactly what type of country and economy is right for South Africa. It is a common misconception amongst the international community to see the Blacks as one cohesive group. The reality is that the Blacks are deeply divided between co-operation (homelands) with the Nationalist government and violent overthrow of the System (ANC). Furthermore, the Black community is divided by strong tribal jealousies. Chief Buthelezi could be expected to have a much larger moderate power base than he now enjoys. His problem is that he is seen by many as a collaborator with the White System. He is also a Zulu chief and this discourages much of the potential support of non Zulus.

Religion plays a relatively strong role amongst both White and Black South Africans. Indeed, it is interesting to note how many leaders of the White and Black communities are men of the Church. The Church can sometimes transcend some of the tribal differences that exist amongst the Black Community. The power basis of leaders such as Bishop Tutu are therefore sometimes larger than would appear at first sight on a strictly tribal basis.

South African Blacks have a tribal heritage in which property rights and the enlarged family play a key role. By instinct they are very status conscious and good small traders.

APARTHEID

Apartheid in South Africa means total discrimination on the basis of colour. The Blacks coming bottom of the pile. Not only have they had their property rights taken

from them but also their ability to conduct viable business outside the homelands. They have no vote and they are herded into townships next to the big cities and in the rural areas into the homelands. They are deeply suspicious of government intentions and have an intense hatred for the often unnecessarily brutal South African police.

In more specific terms apartheid included amongst other measures the ban of mixed marriages; pass laws; influx controls; Group Areas Act; separate education; and separate amenities e.g. transportation etc.

Apartheid was officially sanctioned by the Dutch Reform Church in South Africa. The church have now decided to remove these sanctions.

Despite the existence of many of the above restrictions and laws, it is quite possible to travel in the White cities oblivious of the existence of apartheid. Blacks now dine in smart white restaurants and there are few outward signs of apartheid. This is due to the abolition of the Mixed Marriages Act and to the tacit approval by the government of the breaking of many of the apartheid laws. For example, senior managers in White businesses are now effectively being allowed to stay, if not live in White areas. Nonetheless, apartheid still exists on the trains, in the schools and in access to the ballot box. Whatever the end to apartheid means in the West, to the South African Black it means the complete abolition of discrimination on the basis of race or colour including equal voting rights.

TOWNSHIPS

Black townships are effectively holding areas for Black labour outside the major White cities. On an international scale the townships, like Soweto, offer reasonable accommodation and amenities, whereas Crossroads is appalling. The most important aspect of the townships is that many of the Blacks living in them work in a developed nation i.e. White South African cities. On the other hand, the Blacks live in a third nation - the townships. Their sense of degradation together with utter frustration and growing hatred has therefore increased.

The frustration of the township Blacks would have increased of its own accord. It has been intensified by statements within the international community and by Soviet infiltration. The problem is that the moderate

Black leaders are being challenged by the youth, who now form a very large proportion of the Black population. The new young Black leaders are energetic, militant and brave. They are filled with hatred for apartheid and see their elders as collaborators with the System. Much of the conflict in the Black townships is between Blacks. It is based sometimes on tribal differences but more often on the growing friction between the moderate Black leadership and that of the young Black militants. Collaboration with the Whites is considered by the young militant Black leaders to be a capital offence. Indeed, only last night a Black Councillor had to shoot to kill in order to defend himself in his township. The same problem is felt by Blacks who become executives in White companies and even by consumers who are seen to shop in White shops.

THE BLACK HOMELANDS

The Bophuthatswana homeland is a shining example of what can be achieved. It is multi racial with no reverse discrimination. Only recently it proved it could exploit its natural mining and tourist assets to an extent that made the state financially viable and a model of its type. Unfortunately, I believe that the Chief has been involved in 'washing' South African money to buy arms for radical Black movements. He has also allowed himself to benefit financially from his dictatorial position in allocating contracts. Corruption is now rife. In addition, the leaders of the homelands are widely seen elsewhere within the Black community as collaborators with the System.

Notwithstanding the above, Bophuthatswana does show that, given the right conditions, a cantonal system of government could be made viable in South Africa.

THE TRADES UNIONS

The Trades Unions in South Africa are politically naive. They are also relatively weak because Black unemployment is high and there is effectively no form of social security.

Some of the Trades Union leaders, such as Elijah Barayi, in order to maintain the co-operation of White business men and administrators who they realise are vital to the future development of the country, are relatively moderate in their views i.e. whilst they want a total end to apartheid, they would be prepared to negotiate over power sharing. Unfortunately, the Trades Unions are being heavily infiltrated by Marxists whose interests are in fermenting

economic chaos. These Marxist commissar/advisers, such as Marcel Golding of NUM, are often Personal Assistants or even drivers for the Trades Union leaders. They are having an increasingly harmful influence.

THE SOVIETS

The Soviets appear to be quite clear in their aims of causing the maximum turmoil and blood shed in South Africa.

Sensing an opportunity to corner the world market in key strategic raw materials, including gold, and of causing serious destabilisation in Southern and Central Africa, the Soviets have followed a subtle policy of infiltration and disruption, feeding on the understandable frustrations of the Blacks. As time passes the Blacks are becoming increasingly resentful and politicised. The increasing influence of young Blacks is the cause for serious concern. Young Blacks are less content to accept the lot that was begrudgingly accepted by their elders. They are more susceptible to Soviet propoganda and they are more prepared to suffer personal injury in the fight against the established system.

THE WEST

The West appears to be disunited and unclear of its aims. No Western leader has yet come out with a clear picture as to what they wish to see exist in South Africa after apartheid has been abolished.

THE APPARENT LACK OF WESTERN INITIATIVE IN SOUTH AFRICA IS CAUSING A POWER VACUUM WHICH IS BEING FILLED BY THE SOVIETS. IN MY OPINION THERE IS AN URGENT NEED FOR ACTION BY WESTERN LEADERS. THE URGENCY MAY BE FELT IN PRIVATE BUT IT IS NOT APPARENT TO THE PUBLIC!

MISCELLANEOUS

SANCTIONS

Western sanctions have undoubtedly had an effect in South Africa. Indeed, in the military field, they appear to be hurting, particularly in the field of sophisticated aircraft and missile systems. It will take many years for sanctions to bite more effectively. Also, it should be remembered that as they bite, they will hurt the Black community disproportionately. Sanctions will also have a dramatic effect upon South Africa's neighbours who depend heavily upon transit through trade with South Africa.

Obviously, the West could become more selective in its sanctions i.e. employing sanctions that would particularly hurt Whites. These may include the denial of landing rights to South African Airways and the non-processing of South African mail. On the other hand, if they are over played they could force serious White emigration from South Africa and a worsening of the present situation by fomenting a White backlash involving White terrorism.

DISINVESTMENT

Large scale disinvestment would seriously damage the South African economy causing not only economic deprivation but also increased unemployment. Interestingly, the unemployment would probably hit Whites almost equally as hard as Blacks. This would result in disproportionately high internal political damage to the present government and could also result in a White backlash and even the growth of White terrorism.

The recent actions by the banks, including Barclays, has had a dramatic effect on Afrikaner thinking. There is no doubt that disinvestment represents a powerful weapon in the hands of the West in forcing the Afrikaner government to come more rapidly to terms with the present situation.

WHITE TERRORISM

The White Afrikaners are not only proud and tough but they are fearful of a Black takeover, similar to that which has occurred in other countries in Africa. Unlike other Western colonists (e.g. Southern Rhodesia) in Africa, the Afrikaners have nowhere to which to flee. They feel that South Africa is their country and just beneath the surface they have a strong lager mentality. They know they have power and they are prepared to defend it and

their livelihoods. As violence increases in the Black areas, so does the pressure towards radical action by the Whites including terrorism. This is a most dangerous aspect as it would polarise the situation still further. White African leaders need to be encouraged to treat White terrorism severely.

NELSON MANDELA

Nelson Mandela is a folklore hero. It is possible that he is of more use to the ANC in jail than if he were free. There is great danger to the South African government of him dying in captivity. However, there is also danger that he may be assassinated if he were freed, not to mention the possibility of his organising a mass rally to march on a major city such as Pretoria. The South African government is in an acute dilemma over his release and to some extent President Botha is Mandela's prisoner. Two rapid visits by Dr Denis Warrall (Ambassador to the United Kingdom) led to the feeling that Mandela's release may be imminent. I personally believe that he should not yet be released.

THE CANTONAL SOLUTION

In the late 13th Century the states that eventually joined to form Switzerland, faced the problems that are in some important ways similar to those faced by the peoples of South Africa.

The early Swiss were faced with the problem of uniting into one country the peoples from three nations who spoke four separate languages. There was an overwhelming majority of German speaking people. Means had to be found of unifying these disparate peoples into a country which was essentially democratic, and where the rights of minorities were not only protected, but where the lives of citizens were not overwhelmingly influenced by the wishes of the German speaking minority. The Swiss developed a system of government whose mainstay was the canton which had independent legislative rights. These cantons were small and to this date some have populations of less than 80,000. The cantons were subject also to the wishes of the smaller communes within them. The cantons were free to form alliances and agreements with other cantons. They were largely independent states as far as domestic affairs were concerned.

The national government of Switzerland was effectively restricted to an administrative agency representing the cantons, for things such as infrastructure (roads; railways; etc.) and home affairs (police; administration of courts;

etc.). The central government was responsible for: foreign affairs; finance (central budget; reserve bank; foreign exchange; and national currency; etc.); defence; infrastructure; and home affairs.

The cantons of Switzerland were designed to be extremely independent. They could carry out services for themselves or contract, by treaty, to have them performed by the central government.

Further, the adult male in Switzerland was given the vote (with the exception of two cantons, this has now been extended to females). The voting system was one of proportional representation which tended to act against extremists from either side. Furthermore, much use was made of referenda and the right by small communities to call for a referendum. There are two national houses in the national legislature, and a cabinet, which is elected by the legislatures, as is the national President.

Over the past 700 years, the Swiss have evolved a constitution which is arguably the most democratic and the most devolved in the world. The Swiss have succeeded in coping with diversity of race and interests and combining them in a way that makes them one of the strongest and most respected nations in the world. It is worthy of note that a country with 65% German speaking; 18% French; 10% Italian; 1% Romansh; and 6% migration languages, combine to form one of the most unitarian countries on earth. The essential ingredient is that the cantons allow central government only one absolute power, and that is the right to make peace or war on behalf of their nation.

When one looks at South Africa with 72% Blacks; 16% Whites; 9% Coloureds; and 3% Asians; of varying nations and now split by apartheid and polarised by extremists, one is tempted to think of a Swiss cantonal solution. The excellent research done by Leon Louw and Frances Kendall in their book "The Solution", shows that South Africa has 306 magisterial districts, each with an average population of 80,000. None of the South African magisterial districts is as small as the smallest Swiss canton.

Merely bringing peace to South Africa is unlikely to provide a solution to South Africa's growing economy. Some constitutional way must be found of offering one man and one vote and a continuing chance of exercising that vote which will both protect the minorities and mitigate against extremists. It would appear that a peaceful solution to South Africa's problem could be found by the institution of a Swiss cantonal system combined with the universal franchise based on proportional representation.

Each canton would have its own legislature and would effectively be an independent state within a South African federation. Two national legislative houses could be elected by universal franchise using proportional representation. The cabinet or central government would obviously fill a largely administrative role and would be elected by the two national legislative assemblies.

Before such a solution could be effectively introduced into South Africa, peace must be restored together with the credibility of the South African Government. It is most unlikely that the South African Government alone would be able to bring this about without the help of well meaning outside foreign powers such as Great Britain and the United States.

PRESIDENT BOTHA

Top leadership is always a lonely role. For P W Botha the presidential role must be extremely lonely. He is assailed by criticism from all sides within his own country and from the international community. If he makes a speech even hinting at moves towards concessions, he is assailed by his own constituents who fear a sell out to the Blacks. The arrogance of his closest supporters is almost terrifying as is the increased rise in the militancy of the Blacks. However, it is clear that some of his Ministers, most notably Dr G van N Viljoen, (Minister of Education), see the need for changes. Other Ministers lack the conviction that major changes are necessary. Their lack of conviction leads to an impression of insincerity resulting in cynicism and suspicion amongst both Blacks and Whites.

Unfortunately, whilst the groundswell of White South African opinion could be said to be moving left towards the abolition of apartheid and some form of power sharing, Black opinion is not moving right towards the centre. It also is moving left, away from the moderate leaders of both sides towards the violence of the new young Black radicals. President Botha must know that time is extremely short if South Africa is to avoid a blood bath which would polarise feelings to such an extent that there would be little chance of turning back. His attempts to appease opinion in the international community are often ruined by his totally inept handling of public relations. In my opinion President Botha needs help - help that I believe Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and President Reagan can give in terms of encouragement, advice and co-operation.

JOHN BROWNE