

]

South Africa

R

e)

AN OLD friend wandered into my office last week clutching a batch of secret Broederbond documents dealing with impending constitutional changes and with proposals for a bill of rights. Among them is one which suggests that _ when President de Klerk decided to order his expert study of possible constitutional models for South Africa, he already knew very well what answers he wanted. : :

As it happens, I am something of an amateur authority on Broederbond papers, having worked closely with Ivor Wilkins and Hans Strydom on the massive leak of documents which led to the publication of their bestselling book, *The SuperAfrikaners*. I still have a box of fading membership lists under the bed. |

Woefully ignored

The Wilkins-Strydom papers, woefully ignored by academic writers and historians (presumably because they were first published in the successful *Sunday Times*), gave advance notice of the constitutional and political changes that were to follow in the Eight-

ties. The tricameral system, for example, was essentially a Broederbond idea thrashed out during the chairmanships of Wimpie de Klerk (the man who gave such a celebrated outline of policy to the DP founding congress), and Gerrit Viljoen, who now presides over constitutional reform. The latest documents I have no doubt they are genuine show that the

Tuesday, September 26, 1989

Nesaw WiTess |

val s

Broederbond has conducted a similar pathfinding operation for the planned constitutional changes of the Nineties.

My friend is incensed because he believes that the Broederbonders who have assumed prominence in the DP â\200\224 co-leader Wynand Malan, and his economics adviser Sampie Terreblanche â\200\224 must have known what the Broeders of the National Party were planning before the election.

Only cultural?

He says the documents make non-sense of their claims shortly before the election that the Broederbond was â\200\224 wait for it! â\200\224 nothing but a cultural organisation. In fact, the documents show that as late as last June the Broe-

.| derbond was most certainly a political planning organisation, deeply immersed in the problems ing out a bill of rights and a new constitution. .

An early version of the constitutional guidelines in my collection strugglesâ\200\231

with unfamiliar concepts of freedom, using rather quaint terminology to demand protection for at least the following rights: freedom of religion and worship, freedom of speech, freedom of privacy (sic), freedom of association,

freedom of political participation, :

freedom to form political parties, freedom of movement, free access to the courts (vrye toegang tot regbank), freedom of language and cultural behaviour, including the right to mother-lan-

guage education, and freedom of

chools o

property ownership. A later version, distributed to Broeders less than three months before the election and leaked at the time by the right wing, follows the more sophisticated proposals for a bill of rights which had in the meantime been published by the Law Commission.

Personally, I am happy to leave it to Broederbonders in the DP to reconcile, as best they can, their support for one political party while bound by solemn oaths to a secret organisation which pursues different aims. What interests me is how the Broederbond ideas fit â\200\224 or donâ\200\231t fit â\200\224 the thinking displayed in the Law Commissionâ\200\231s list of basic rights, in particular â\200\234the right of every

person or group to disassociateâ\200\235 from other groups or individuals.

While the Law Commission recognises the right to â\200\234disassociateâ\200\235, and backs it up with the right to privacy, protection against arbitrary arrest or invasion of oneâ\200\231s property, and so forth, it does add an essential qualification:

No public funds

â\200\234Provided that if such disassociation constitutes discrimination on the

ground of race, colour, religion, language or culture, no public or state |

funds shall be granted directly or indirectly to promote the interests of the person who or group which so discrimi-

â\200\230nates.â\200\235 In other words, you can have

your own school provided you pay for it. Perhaps you can even have your own, exclusive town, provided you donâ\200\231t col-

lect any rates or taxes. Itâ\200\231s an interesting idea.

The Broederbond plan gives the matter quite a different twist (which may explain why President de Klerk shows such an alarming reluctance to endorse the work of the Law Commission, and why he wants more studies done). I am reluctant to cite clause numbers from the documents because the Broederbond uses numbering codes to trace leaks, and I have been

- caught out before, but I translate:

Group context !

â\200\234The association of individuals within the groups for which constitutional provision is made must be voluntary. The right of individuals to associate within a group context (my italics) is therefore recognised and protected, Just like the rights of individuals who do not wish to associate within particular groups.

â\200\234The right of a group to determine whether an individual is a member

| must also be taken into account. It is important for the Afrikaner that he, alone or in combination with other groups with whom he wishes to associate, is entitled to protection.â\200\235

The Broederbond sets the goal of

- establishing a unique constitutional
- model which will provide for the creation of units (deeleenhede), which may

be either groups or geographical areas.

1 Every individual will, besides enjoying constitutional protection of his own
Jâ\200\234 rights, have their right to participate
/ s

by Ken Owen

thought

effectively, but within the context of

- his unit, in all government decisions

that affect him.

This constitutional model incorporates certain assumptions: firstly, each unit will have maximum recognition and autonomy; matters of common interest will be decided on the basis of consensus.

Secondly, the division between authority over the autonomous interests of the unit, and authority over common

-interests must be firmly entrenched.

Constitutional court

Thirdly, where conflict arises between the unit and the common interest, the issue must be decided by a constitutional court (or similar body).

Fourthly, each unit will be entitled to decide for itself the character and nature of its own internal government institutions.

Fifthly, group participation in both legislative and executive functions of the central (common affairs) government must be protected. There must be provision for consensus in common affairs, and autonomy in the â\200\234own affairsâ\200\235 of each unit.

That, in short, is the hidden agenda. It will be interesting in the coming months to see which school of thought prevails: the Law Commissionâ\200\231s universality of rights, or the Broederbondâ\200\231s sectional obsessions. The decision lies with Broeders De Klerk, Viljoen, and the rest of the Cabinet.

Â® Ken Owen is the editor of Business Day.

rebels

of celebrations of

guese rule.

the Mozambican
ties would know

fi ag
| children of our

ictory over the
:rmyrywas _due
â\200\234around Frelimo.

exercise
Â«It is through

achieve a stron;
ine democracy,

tured grou
missiles.

Chissang

repeats,
2 GEP

offer fg,

S A4

bican
MAPUTO â\200\224 Mozam .
President Joaquim Cmtesd
sano yesterday repea -
his offer to integrate In

society repentant Renamo

rebels. J A

He was speaking at
start of a military garqde,
that marked the hig

iversary of the start of
:::zmbigeâ\200\231s war forrtm-
dependence from Portu-

0 si¬\20lessed that

i-
nsform all Mozamb
-tc:m}includh}g those now

He said Mozambiqueâ\200\231s

i t
Â«]t is due to Frelimo tha
| we won the battles and cre-

o b a mâ\200\231.

: ::ï¬\201 ican family, so_that

â\200\230| the Mozambican gredp e
uld i wer.

lâ\200\231otl'ne Fre-

limo Party that we will

â\200\234We, the armed ces
are here to say no to divi-
sion, no to foreign domina-

jon,â\200\235 he added.
m:â\200\231fter the s h, he re;
viewed a military parade o

t 1000 troops led by
::?,u companies of veterans
from the liberation war.

A selection of military
equipment was driven past,
including Soviet-manufac-

=

int
thepgfwth

authori-
how â\200\234to

us, into
mother-

coloni
to unity

and genu-
he said.
forces,

nd-to-air

Wreath

Also on display were the
first armoured vehicles as-
sembled in Mozambique.

Earlier, Chissano laid a
wreath at the Monument to
Mozambican Heroes while
Fernando Ganhao, of the
standing commission of the
Mozambican parliament,
the Peopleâ\200\231s Assembly,

read a decree from the
committee attributing hon-
ours and awards to Mozam-
~ bican and foreign citizens.

The committee awarded

the late President Samora
Machel the Order of

Friendship and Peace, first class. :

The posthumous award of the Order of Friendship and Peace, second class, was granted to all 34 people who died with Machel on October 19 1986.

The nine survivors also received this award, as did a number of foreign citizens, including the executive secretary of the OAU Liberation Committee, Tanzanian Brig Hashim Mbita, and member of the British House of Lords Tony Gifford, who has been | prominent in solidarity work for Mozambique in

Saboteurs hit

Maputo lines

MAPUTO - Sabotage knocked out the electrical power supply to the Mozambican capital during the weekend and the city was being supplied by a back-up coal and oil-fueled station yesterday, the state electric company announced.

The sabotage occurred at about 7.15pm on Saturday on transmission lines carrying electricity from SA to Maputo, said a statement to the national news agency, AIM. It said the saboteurs attacked the lines about 25kms west of Maputo. AIM said electricity transmission lines from SA were last sabotaged on the

night of August 22. - Sapa-
e i apa

Britain for over 20 years. -
ANO. -

RESIDENT Truman is re-

puted to have instructed
his Secretary of State,
George Marshall (he of the
" plan): "You tell me about the

world; I'll tell you about Ameri--

can politics and what will fly. James Baker, the current secretary, could use a little of the same advice from George Bush.

Last Tuesday, before he left town

to spend the weekend with Soviet |

Foreign Minister Eduard Schevardnadze in Wyoming's cowboy country, Baker was asked to respond to criticisms by Senate majority leader - George Mitchell that the administration seemed a little tentative in figuring out what to do now that the old East-West calculus no longer provided any simple answers. Let me address it this way, the secretary shot back. When the

president of the US is rocking along

with a 70% approval rating on his handling of foreign policy, and I were the leader of the opposition party, I might have something similar to say.

The Washington hive has swarmed on this remark as proof that Baker is more concerned with his administration's immediate political fortunes than with thinking through what is happening in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, much less with developing strategies to meet the opportunities and dangers thereby presented. The hive, for once, is right.

In stark contrast to most of his recent predecessors Gerald Ford's Henry Kissinger, Jimmy | Carter's Cyrus Vance, Ronald Reagan's Alexander Haig and George Shultz, Baker, at heart, is a politician a fixer, as Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher declared when she first met him in his new role earlier this year. Managing political campaigns is what he excels at and what he apparently continues to be doing for Bush even as he is supposed to be acting as the latter's chief diplomat. He may even be doing a little managing on his own account. His presidential ambitions are widely

known.

The art of the modern American

s

either in the belief that it may yet

Itâ\200\231s image-building
Touvmnge

first

,sSi¬\201Baker

s SRt 1qÂ¢9

1s avoiding trouble

SIMON BARBER in Washington

i

| political campaign is principally the
art of identifying and avoiding prob-
lems while manipulating imagery
and circumstance in such a way as to
instantly gratify the voter. Expedi-
ence and the short term are all that
matter. The skills and aptitudes re-
quired are very different from those
â\200\230needed, say, to mediate a settlement
that gets the Cubans out of Angola
and brings independence to Namibia
or, much more importantly, to con-
front creatively the ideological melt-
â\200\230down of the Soviet empire. Such
things are beyond the scope of a
mere political mechanic, however
deft he may be. :
If you were to play word associ-
ations with Baker, the first thing he
would say if you mentioned SA would
be â\200\234troubleâ\200\235. One can be quite cer-
tain of this because it is almost pre-
cisely what he did say when the sub-
ject came up at a Press conference
last week. Virtually the first words
out of his mouth were â\200\234We caught a
little flakâ\200\235 for â\200\234congratulatingâ\200\235
President F W de Klerk on his eleva-

tion. We did? Not to my knowledge,

unless you count the slightly queru-

lous manner of the journalists who

asked State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler to enlarge upon the post-election statement.

This says a lot about how Baker thinks. His habit of mind is primarily

defensive and narrowly tactical. When obliged to consider SA, the question he asks himself is not what

is happening down there, how do we see it playing out over the next

. decade or what opportunities pre-

sent themselves for our becoming usefully engaged. His instinct, as he suggested at the Press conference in a different context, is simply to avoid doing anything dumb, in other words, anything that might risk the president's chances of continuing to rock along with a 70% approval rating.

This applies to the broad spectrum of foreign policy issues the administration faces. For example, in dealing with the Soviets, Baker places his highest priority on arms control. Arms control agreements play well politically. The fate of post-communist eastern Europe, a question on whose resolution the need for the arms that are to be controlled in very large measure depends, is secondary.

With regards to SA, the Baker style means appeasing the congressional sanctions lobby because its screams flood out more moderate voices on Capitol Hill and therefore

tend to set the tone of the broader

national debate, especially since they have the evident support of Archbishop Desmond Tutu. ;

So De Klerk is not seen. Fatuous statements are issued aping the ANC line that real dialogue cannot begin until the emergency is lifted, all parties unbanned and all political prisoners released (as though such things were not a matter for dialogue themselves). And dark official

hints find their way into the Press

warning that the administration might try to prevent US banks from rescheduling their SA debt (a piece of uninformed foolishness, since most US banks already have).

All of which may just be a sort of political body language designed to

. keep the sanctioneers happy and the

administration's options open. But that is of little consolation if no strategic thinking or evaluation of consequences underlies it. And, Baker being Baker, none does.

Likewise on Angola. Here the loudest voices are those of the Unita lobby and its impressive array of congressional converts.

By any standard, it would seem in everybody's interest, including Jonas Savimbi's, to get the parties back to the negotiating table. Unita and the MPLA have both lost the war and it serves no purpose to encourage

Py

gain some advantage by fighting on. Accordingly, the MPLA should not be encouraged to believe US aid to Unita will be cut off, nor should Unita be permitted to conclude that it has carte blanche from Washington to prevaricate indefinitely. j Self-evident, surely, but Baker prefers to listen to Unita's local fan club, even to the extent of granting an audience recently to Savimbi's top lobbyist, Chris Lehman, whose pleasant lifestyle now quite literally depends of the war continuing. The result? Last week, spokesman Tutwiler (incidentally, one of Ba-

- ker's inner circle) issued a statement

firmly opposing 'integration' as the means of achieving a settlement and demanding instead 'free and fair elections'.

This is the equivalent of the US having publicly stated at the start of last year that the only acceptable basis for an agreement on Cuban troop withdrawal and Namibian independence would have been a 12-month Cuban departure schedule. Such details were up to the parties to decide, and ultimately they reached their own compromise, as it happens one the US was not entirely happy with. Chester Crocker would have preferred a withdrawal timetable a few months shorter than the 27 months finally agreed upon. However, as he was a mediator, it was not his call.

Baker, by contrast, seems to believe that the critical details of a settlement between Unita and the MPLA are his call if that is what those he has identified as the key political constituency on the issue so demand. In making that call â\200\224 free elections, no integration â\200\224 he apparently has no notion, or even interest,

- in what a real settlement might look

like. The truth of the matter is that there will almost certainly be integration. How else to describe a division between the parties of the stateâ\200\231s spoils? Nor will this division take place via the polling booth. To think otherwise is a tasteless joke.

But then the fact that US foreign policy is being run as if it were a permanent presidential campaign is a tasteless joke, too.

â\200\230We mean businessâ\200\231
â\200\224 State President Mr
F W de Klerk.

By Garner Thomson, The Star Bureau
LONDON â\200\224 The State President, Mr F W
| de Klerk, has played down reports that he
is ready to release Mr Nelson Mandela
within the next few months.

But he pledged that public protest
would continue to be allowed in South
Africa â\200\224 as long as it took place â\200\234with-
in the lawâ\200\235.

. NOTANISSUE

â\200\230In a wide-ranging interview with the

BBC's southern Africa correspondent,

James Robbins, Mr de Klerk said Mr

Mandela himself had said his release was

De Klerk -

LSTVAR

plays down

b TR Q35

Mandela
release stories

â\200\234not an issueâ\200\235 at the moment.

Mr de Klerk added that statements
by his Ministers on Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s fu-
ture had been misunderstood.

â\200\234The question of Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s role
is a very delicate one which needs con-
stant attention and which is receiving
constant attention,â\200\235 he said.

The timing of the release would â\200\234de-
finitely notâ\200\235 be decided at the meeting
of his Cabinet tomorrow.

The interview, broadcast here on both
the BBCâ\200\231s evening newscast and more
fully on Newsnight, did, however, suggest
that Mr de Klerk accepted both Mr Man-
delaâ\200\231s release, in principle at least, and the

4 need for accelerated change in South Afri-
Vel

â\200\234Time is of the essence and therefore
we are not playing games when we raise
xpectations,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234We mean business.

We mean to live up to the reasonable expectations which we have created.â\200\235 Newsnightâ\200\231s later analysis of the interview reported the growing suspicion among opponents of the Government that Mr de Klerk's much-publicised liberal ap-

proach was already toughening up â\200\224 and that he was offering not negotiations but only consultations.

But in the interview, given yesterday afternoon, the President said: â\200\234Our vision of the future is that in the new South Africa no one group should dominate another.

â\200\234We should not have simple majority rule where minorities can be dominated, t!end w%gnould definitely discontinue the situation where a minority actually finds itself in a domm& position.â\200\235

to an â\200\234improvedâ\200\235 climate for negotiation, a smiling and o!l:timis-tic-sounding President claimed: â\200\234It is as if thereâ\200\231s a realisation among thinking South Africans, i of race or colour, thatreallytheiï-\201ï-\201me for strife and conflict

o s o
e

lace jps law,
was not much-SÂç'ise in protest-
i point being made had alred. v

P

â\200\230that all South Africans must get the vote, all South Africans must become part of the decision-making process, all South Africans must have a fair share in the economy and a fair share in the power of this country. What we must do is to start talking as to how.â\200\235 @ See Page 13.

The Sunday

s

- SUNDAY

Sept. 24, 1989

('lapitul-

By ZACHARY DORSEY

Staff Writer :

â\200\234answer to the -
, frustration of

- find a publisher. . = .

Leo Raditsa, 53, recently
started his own Annapolis
publishing house: Prince George
Street Press.

Raditsa sent his book,
*â\200\234â\200\230Prisoners of a Dream: The
South African Mirage," to 40 or

â\200\234â\200\230Some of them returned the
book within 24 hours," he said.

He believes it was his
conservative viewpoint that
caused publishers to reject the
book.

â\200\234It's a kind of a defacto
censorship,â\200\235 he said.

After three years of research
that became the 467-page book,
Raditsa formed views that do not

St. John's College _

writing a book and -
not being able to -

50 publishers, and all rejected it. ,

St. John's College tutor Leo Raditsa started his own publishing ! !
house because he felt the message in his book â\200\234Prisoners of a publishers who reject
ed it.

Dream: The South African Mirage,â\200\235

Prince George Street Press founded:
to fight â\200\230defacto censorshipâ\200\231 of book =

follow the mainstream thinking
on the country.

â\200\230Raditsaâ\200\231s historical essay
started as an article about 1982
Senate hearings: â\200\234â\200\234The Role of
the Soviet Union, Cuba and East
Germany in Fomenting
Terrorism in Southern Africa.â\200\235

The hearings were held by
former Sen. Jeremiah Denton, R-
Ala., then the conservative
chairman of the subcommittee on
Security and Terrorism. The
hearings came to the attention of
Raditsa at a conference
sponsored by Accuracy in Media,
a Washington, D.C.-based
ultraconservative media
watchdog.

*â\200\230(The hearings) showed that
what a lot of people think is
progress in South Africa is

helping the communist party,â\200\231 he
said.

Raditsa says in the introduction ~

that he learned a book about
South Africa needed to â\200\230â\200\230heap
abuse on the South African
government.â\200\235â\200\231 He doesn't think
that's just.

New York Tribune reviewer
Herbert London called the book
â\200\230â\200\230a valiant attempt at balance in
a scholarly sea tormented by
waves of disillusion.â\200\235

The Intelligence Report, a

newsletter published by the American Bar Association and the Standing Committee on Law, also gave a favorable review.

If the reader of this book wants to learn about the social and political complexities that face South Africa, he has picked

By George N. Lundskow The Capital was being censored by

1

Publishing company with a purpose

the right volume," said

— newsletter editor retired Adm. WG Moth — o e

+Raditsa is no stranger to writing and publishing, so he had

.some understanding of what it would take to publish his book.

He is the founder of i.e., The Cambridge Review and The St. — John's Review. Raditsa also is the author of a previous book,

. 'Some Sense About Wilhelm Reich,' which was published by Philosophical Library in New York.

Why should everything be centered around New York? I think towns like Annapolis should

have a voice and make a mark," he said.

With the help of Carole Cunningham, a former student and now a fellow St. John's employee, Raditsa formed his publishing house in his own home.

He used about \$16,000 of his own money to have 3,000 copies of

(See PUBLISH, Page B2)

(Continued from Page B1)
the book printed by a small printer in Virginia.

Since the book's release in June, Raditsa said he has already sold 1,500 copies, 1,000 to Accuracy in Media and 500 to the Conservative Book Group.

.And he has approached four or five writers who have important books to publish that other publishers would not touch," he said. .

Whether or not Prince George Street Press continues to publish bookg depends on how much money the first book makes. The book has already come close to breaking even, Raditsa said.

Raditsa sees a real need for small

. publishing companies that publish books different from those coming out of New York.

- "You need to be able to make your own opinion," he said. "Why not hear the other side?"