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Sa urday 19th October, 1985.

My dear, dear OR,

I sent with Zuma the questionnaire

cum Counsels advice

by Prof Reg Austin. Just in case youve not seen i-\201t I am enclosing a ccpy

cfor you.

;My boss is concerned from their own lancaster experienceâ\200\230that we are not

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; caught napping.

g The enclosure (T.G. was briefed)

emanates from a "Conflict Group" university

based (Windsor)

at the request of the%oreign Office (think tank) This

group baSes their "advice" on SA writers of the calibre of Schlemmer &

'all the verligte professors +Progs.

â\200\230 He suggests that we should have a Group who are making a constant studyuy

of current events, Lancaster & how they were out mannuvred despite

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assistance by sovigtï-\202advisers.

Â« He suggests that Xsmal, Albie be requested to give their assistance full

â\200\230 time. I would suggest Raymond Suttner. I dont know the lawyers in the movement that have both political & legal training. The west is still talking about the â\200\235 reforms" and bases its strategy on this. We must

deal with this again & again and not be dismissive only.

Reg has been sent reading matter that I shall let you have titlleor and this is the 45bit of their study (conflict group) He has taken my

stuff on the freedom charter

his response contains much of our material. The SA Law Journal has dealt with the constitutional process 1985 etc by JuriSts at home. I could phot000py and forward. Also the Acts Juridica. I need your advice as well

- Have you any recomendations here - so that

as to how to deal with this whole process my end.

The PAC dominates at the university here and I am sure some overtures have been made to them and their reports too will find its way to the

foreign office. I need help here to deal with all this.

My legal knowledge is nil: 5 articled clerks left me with sessions to colleagues for the reason thatï-\201learnt no law but made up parcels for detainees - only Mdu murdered in Matola and ano is any credit to me ~not legally though. The students here complain that my teaching skills are

wanting but that I care about them and this is why they tollerate me.

Also I need to be close to urgent medical care for the shrapnel in my
backside & my kidney..Or else I would offer myself to work fulltime here.
But if you decide otherwise I shall:amore than happy to oblige, as from

the end of March 1986.

Maduna here is a brilliant comrade in more ways than one but his ego
needs serious sublimation. In a team he would shine.

OR pass this onto someone else. You have enough on your much burdened plate
We need you to take us home. So take care for we love you more than yen,
will ever know.

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PHYLLIS

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MEMORANDUM

Re:

SOUTH AFRICA

Recent developments suggest that commercial interests in South Africa and western States with significant investments in

South Africa have reached the conclusion that the time is now at hand to commence a new level of diplomatic and other activity designed to achieve a "settlement".

This will have as its aim the removal of apartheid and the retention of the essential economic structure of South Africa. It is a process which has been experienced in Zimbabwe culminating in the Lancaster House Constitution and is to be observed in the onâ\200\224going process of the "search" for independence in Namibia.

Struggle for both Zimbabwe and Namibia have elements in Common with South Africa, the latter is a very different problem.

It is obvious that though the

This memo is intended:

(i)

to urge the Liberation Movement at this stage, to review its Capacity to analyse, predict and respond diplomatically

to this new level of operations by its opponents.

It

is suggested that the problem be treated with great seriousness, urgency and effort, if the pitâ\200\224falls which chara-

cterised the road of the liberation movements in

Zimbabwe and Namibia are to be avoided or at least

prepared for.

(ii)

more immediately to indicate what seem to be the presumption and premises from which the Western powers (which are intent upon shaping Dostâ\200\224apartheid South Africa) are

starting, which may also indicate the "solutions" they consider most appropriate.

Some Basic Western Assumptions as to the South Africa Problem:

(a)

South Africa is a thoroughly divided and "plural" society. Further they want to be clear:

What are the basic/important plural elements?
is so, they ask:

if this

What are the appropriate forms to provide for this diverse society?

Partition? '

Majority Rule or the Union?

Federalism?

Cohesion?

What constitution would discourage or overcome ethnic divisions?

What institutions are needed?

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What procedures must be adopted to achieve ethnic peace?

They are asking 2004 can a Developing State with such ethnic division survive with such pluralism?

How can ethnic groups be given security?

Should ethnic "group equality" be provided?

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Security through retested institutional rights.

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Security through the Regional Government (Botha) idea?

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Security through the Regional Government (Botha) idea?

To be viable, mks: a post apartheid South Africa persuade
Bantustans to be a part? If so ~ must they be given a plebiscite?
or,

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Should Bantustans stay "independent"?
Can territoriallyâ\200\224based, identifiable groups be integrated2...

How to deal with them?
How should Whites be dealt with?
Are they eligible for REINTEGRATION?

What are the Afrikaaners?

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How can Afrikaaners be "PERSUADED" to surrender power?

Is the Botha Government's division into "General Affairs? vs "Own
Affairs" workable/Useful?

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2'

What Governmental structure is best for South Africa?

What sort of Legislative?

What sort of Electoral process?

What sort of Executive?

Should Legislative and Executive relate to one another?

Should there be Centralisation or Decentralisation?

What sort of Judiciary?

Would a Public service Commission be needed?

How to recruit?

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'To achieve the IDEALSOLUTION e'what steps

are needed?

Should it be in

stages?

fWhat are the experiences in other Situations/Stages which are relevant?

Are there certain essential Processes to be used?

tweet other basic questions must be asked?

Answered?