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i. The Basic Propositions of-the Botha Regime's Regional Strategy  
Following P.W. Botha's assumption of office as Premier in  
September '1978 the apartheid state's regional policy was  
restructured in a number of important respects in accordance with  
the basic propositions of the Total Strategy.

Firstly, the processes of decision-making on both domestic and  
foreign policy were reorganised. A three-phase "rationalisation"  
programme was begun in March 1979. In the first phase, a  
cabinet secretariat was set up in the Office of the Prime  
Minister. The twenty cabinet committees which had existed on an  
ad hoc basis under the Vorster regime gave way first to six, then  
five and finally four permanent Cabinet Committees - for National  
Security, Constitutional, Economic and Social affairs. These  
revamped cabinet committees were not the advisory bodies to the  
cabinet they had been. under Vorster but became integral  
components of the highest level of the decision making machinery.  
They were given the right to make decisions, and Ministers could  
now refer matters directly to a cabinet committee without first  
going through the cabinet.

By far the most important of the cabinet committees, and the one  
which deals with foreign policy issues, is the Committee for  
National Security, known as the State Security Council (SSC).  
Set up by an Act of Parliament in 1972, it functioned under  
Vorster as a purely advisory body and met only sporadically.  
However, according to General Magnus Maia, the debacle of the  
first South African invasion of Angola in 1975-6 "focused  
attention on the urgent necessity for the State Security Council  
to play a much fuller role in the national security of the  
republic than hitherto" (13). An interdepartmental committee on  
which the SADF was strongly represented met to devise the  
organisational structure for "the formulation of strategy at a  
national level". Out of this emerged the components of what is  
now termed the "national security management system" at whose  
pinnacle stands the revamped SSC.

In effect the SSC became the primary decision making body in the  
South African state. It is presided over by the Executive  
President (the Prime Minister prior to the coming into effect of  
the "new constitutional dispensation" in September 1984). Its  
other statutory members include five ministers - Defence, Foreign  
Affairs, Justice, Law and Order, "Home Affairs plus the Senior  
Cabinet Minister, if not already included in the above portfolios  
- and the following senior state officials - the head of the  
National Intelligence Service (NIS), the Chief of the SADF, the  
Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Justice and Home Affairs,  
and the Commissioner of Police. The SSC has its own secretariat,  
currently headed by Lt. Gen. P.J. van der Westhuizen, the former  
head of Military Intelligence. This secretariat is directly  
responsible to the President and its staff is drawn from  
various government departments, with a high military component  
including a number of important officials from Military  
Intelligence.

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Secondly, the objectives' of regional policy were somewhat reformulated. The vague notion of a constellation of states first put forward by Verster in 1974 was substantially developed and 'defined as the ultimate objective of regional strategy (14). There were a number of aspects to this. The need to bring about such a constellation was seen as being partly derived from the worsening situation for the apartheid regime in Southern Africa, and partly from South Africa's then deteriorating relations with the major Western powers. In this new regional situation, the "moderate states of Southern Africa" were seen as facing a common "Marxist onslaught" but could not depend on support from the Western powers. This led to a need to construct a "regional alliance" in which South Africa would play the pivotal role. However it was recognised that aspects of apartheid policies were a barrier to formalised alliances with surrounding states. Therefore -it was seen to be necessary to generate a "counter ideology" to "Marxism" in the region. This could be partly consolidated by the promotion of a number of Joint economic projects between South Africa and other regional states. These were to demonstrate the superiority of South African capitalism over "socialist" alternatives, and would thus depend on a high level of involvement by the "private sector".

The other crucial element in the consolidation of such a "counter ideology" was seen from the outset as the luring of regional states into "Non aggression Pacts" with Pretoria as a first step towards promoting "the concept of mutual defence against a common enemy" (15). Such action on both the economic and security fronts would significantly deepen the ties between South Africa and its neighbours and slowly bring into being the objective basis for what Foreign Minister Pik Botha described as "a common approach in the security field, the economic field and even the political field" (16).

From the outset of its adoption by the Botha regime, the promotion of the constellation was seen as an attempt to seek "regional solutions to regional problems". This would lead to South Africa becoming internationally recognised as the de facto "regional power" with whom the major powers would have to deal, and Southern Africa would now effectively be acknowledged to be a sphere of South African influence.

Finally, the constellation was to be linked to domestic apartheid policies. Its component states would include the so-called "independent" bantustans. This would perform two functions for Pretoria. Firstly it would finally create the institutional mechanism to regulate relations between the now fragmented parts of South Africa and the central apartheid state - for which the regime had long been searching. Secondly by drawing the bantustans into an association with independent black states, it was seen to be the means of finally providing them with a measure of international recognition.

In addition to the ultimate objective of the bringing into being