

Mr. 'Democratizer' Samuel Huntington primes South Africa for fascism

by an EIR Investigative Team

The key to the African National Congress's drive to power was the De Klerk government's February 1990 decision to embark upon the transition to "majority rule." The mastermind behind this strategy was Prof. Samuel Huntington of Harvard University's Center for International Affairs.

Huntington has been a senior American strategist for decades. He was coordinator of security planning at the National Security Council under President Jimmy Carter, and is a frequent consultant to the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the National Security Council, the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, the U.S. Air Force and Navy, and the Agency for International Development.

He is also a leading figure in the U.S. government's National Endowment for Democracy, the notorious "Project Democracy" under which the Iran-Contra arms for hostages deals which were run. The NED, in the words of one of its senior officials, "does the kinds of things the CIA used to do, but no longer can."

In 1992, Huntington published a new book, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. In it, he draws the lessons from the overthrow of 30 "non-democratic governments" from 1974 to 1990, "for new targets such as South Africa," which he references prominently. "Consequently," he says, "at five places in the book I have abandoned the role of social scientist, assumed that of political consultant, and set forth some 'Guidelines for Democratizers.' If that makes me seem like an aspiring democratic Machiavelli, so be it."

One recently retired South African government official summed up Huntington's influence in Johannesburg: "He has enormous influence among politicians in the government, and has played a *very, very important part* in influencing politicians like [Foreign Minister] Pik Botha and [Minister for Constitutional Development] Roelf Meyer. Huntington has visited South Africa at the last count I had, 15 times, as a guest of the Department of Foreign Affairs. There were also quite a number of South African government officials and young ministers who spent time in the U.S., studying with him. He was particularly close to Roelf Meyer"—the government's minister with responsibility for negotiations with the ANC.

But it was not only government officials whom Huntington tutored. A former ANC leader reported that Huntington was "very instrumental in training some of the top people within the ANC." One of his ANC students, whom he hosted at Harvard for one year, is Murpherson Morobe, now the official coordinator of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), the Communist-dominated negotiating forum for black majority rule. Said the former ANC leader about Morobe, "He is the one who did the everyday running of Codesa affairs. He is the one who made the recommendations as to which organizations could be admitted into Codesa, and which organizations could not be, and that type of thing. This was a pretty powerful position."

Pik Botha and Huntington met often when Botha was South Africa's ambassador to the United States. After becoming foreign minister, in 1981 Botha invited Huntington to South Africa to give the keynote to the biennial conference of the Political Science Association of South Africa, held at the Rand Afrikaans University on Sept. 17 of that year. According to a well-informed South African source, "This lecture became compulsory reading for Prime Minister P.W. Botha's entire inner circle."

The following month, at a closed conference attended by key government ministers, Huntington spoke candidly. "I am suggesting the need, in the current South African context," he said, "for intense attention to the strategy and tactics comparable with that which Lenin devoted to the strategy and tactics of revolution. . . . In a sense, fundamental change in South Africa appears to be waiting for its Lenin. The politics of reform is basically a tripartite process with the reform leader fighting a two-front war against both standpatters and revolutionaries while at the same time attempting to divide and confuse his enemies. . . ."

"The reform leader . . . must be able to inspire confidence and provide some measure of charismatic leadership, while at the same time having the political ability and adaptability to engage in log-rolling and back-scratching, to shift allies and enemies from one issue to the next, to convey different messages to different audiences, to . . . hide his ultimate purposes behind his immediate rhetoric.

"The proposed reform should be drafted in relative secre-

cy—it is revealed to a small group of political leaders whose support is essential.” Then, for implementation of this secret plan, “The most promising approach” would be a “combination of Fabian strategy and *Blitzkrieg* tactics. . . . This Fabian, step-by-step approach enables the reformer to pacify conservatives by minimizing the significance of any one change and by implying that each proposed change, like Hitler’s territorial demands in Europe, will be his last.”

According to one insider, Huntington was adopted as the “intellectual oracle of the Afrikaner political establishment.” Editor-in-chief Tertius Myburgh of the *Johannesburg Sunday Times* in 1985 concluded that political developments in the years following Huntington’s first visit were “in many respects, as if his script was being followed to the letter.”

Tyranny with a democratic face

Huntington’s espousal of “democracy” has nothing to do with the republican principles of the American Constitution, whose ideas can be traced back to Plato’s *Republic*. For him “democracy” is the latest slogan for operations to destroy any nationalist forces who might threaten the financial and geopolitical world order of London and Washington.

For the United States itself, Huntington’s prescription is exactly the opposite: radical revision of the American Constitution to do away with representative government.

Huntington was the chief author of the Trilateral Commission’s 1974 Task Force on the Governability of Democracies’ report, *The Crisis in Democracy*. In 1974, Trilateral circles put forward the slogan of “fascism with a democratic face,” which Huntington elaborated in that report. There he bemoaned that “an excess of democracy” makes governing difficult in a period of economic collapse, when extreme austerity is required from the population. Huntington asserted that just as “there are potentially desirable limits to economic growth, there are also potentially desirable limits to the indefinite extension of political democracy. . . . Democracy is only one way of constituting authority, and it is not necessarily a universally applicable one.”

In the chapter on the United States, he argued that “the effective operation of a democratic political system usually requires some measure of apathy and non-involvement of some individuals and groups,” adding that while “this marginality on the part of some groups is inherently undemocratic . . . it has been one of the factors which has enabled democracy to function effectively.” But now, he complained, the once-marginalized black citizens have been incorporated as “full participants in the political system,” which threatens to “overload” democracy.

Huntington’s role as a shameless apologist for totalitarianism is most evident in his intervention into communist China. His 1968 book, *Political Order in Changing Societies*, became the bible for the butchers around Deng Xiaoping in the Chinese Communist Party. One of the students of Deng’s longtime heir-apparent, Zhao Ziyang, went to study

with Huntington at Harvard and brought back *Political Order* and *No Easy Choice: Political Participation in Developing Countries*, which were translated into Chinese and spread all over the country.

These books provided the theoretical basis for the “New Authoritarianism” movement of Deng and Zhao beginning 1986, whose fruits were the slaughter at Tiananmen Square and the opening up of China for slave-labor exploitation by the West. In *Political Order*, Huntington argued that dictatorship may be required in order to impose upon developing sector countries the painful economic reforms required by “free trade” liberalism, just as he had argued in his 1974 work that the global economic collapse evident already then, required eliminating democracy.

In his 1992 book, *The Third Wave*, Huntington put forward guidelines for “reformers,” among which he includes South Africa’s present National Party government. Among his recommendations are:

- “Secure your political base. As quickly as possible place supporters of democratization in key power positions in the government, the party, and the military.

- “Gradually shift your own constituency so as to reduce your dependence on government groups opposing change and to broaden your constituency in the direction of opposition groups supporting democracy.

- “Be prepared for the standpatters to take some extreme action to stop change (e.g., a coup attempt)—possibly even stimulate them to do so—and then crack down on them ruthlessly, isolating and discrediting the more extreme opponents of change.

- “Seize the initiative and surprise both opposition and standpatters with the concessions you are willing to make.

- “Secure endorsement of the concept of negotiations from leading generals or other top officials in the security establishment.

- “Do what you can to enhance the stature, authority, and moderation of your principal negotiating partner.

- “If the opposition succeeds, you very probably will be in the opposition. Your prime concern, consequently, should be securing guarantees and safeguards for the rights of the opposition and of groups that have been associated with your government. Everything else is negotiable.”

Huntington makes some pointed recommendations as to how the “democrats” should handle the military, once they have taken power, under the subhead, “Curbing Military Power, Promoting Military Professionalism”:

- “Promptly purge or retire all potentially disloyal officers, including both leading supporters of the authoritarian and military reformers who may have helped you to bring about the democratic regime. The latter are more likely to lose their taste for democracy than their taste for intervening in politics.

- “Make major reductions in the size of your military forces.

- “Drastically reduce the number of troops stationed in or around your capital. Move them to the frontiers or other relatively distant unpopulated places.

- “Give them toys. That is, provide them with new and fancy tanks, planes, armored cars, artillery, and sophisticated electronic equipment (ships are less important; navies do not make coups). New equipment will make them happy and keep them busy trying to learn how to operate it.”

The Institute for Defense Politics

The task to “secure endorsement of the concept of negotiations from leading generals or other top officials in the security establishment” has been handed over, by Huntington’s allies in South Africa, to the newly established Institute for Defense Politics.

Set up in 1991 with funding from the Anglo American and DeBeers Chairmen’s Funds (the same corporations which finance the ANC) and an Anglo-allied firm Gencor, with help from the Hanns Seidel and Friedrich Naumann foundations of Germany, the IDP’s mandate, according to its own literature, “is to assist with and to facilitate the transition to a democratically accountable and legitimate national defense force in a post-settlement South Africa as a necessary condition for a successful transition to a prosperous future.”

The IDP is a major player in the Codesa transition talks.

According to institute co-director Dr. J.K. Cilliers, “There is agreement that a multi-party subcommittee on defense will be established, consisting of six full-time members of the various political parties who will take control over the defense force. And there’s also agreement that the post of a military ombudsman will be created and there is talk of the establishment of an expert body, what we would call a Council of Defense.”

Cilliers is well acquainted with his MK negotiating partner. “About two years ago,” he reports, “I was one of a few South Africans who went to Lusaka and talked to MK on the future of the military and security in southern Africa. I came away from it very much convinced that we need to get our act together.”

The IDP sponsors conferences and publishes a bimonthly journal replete with references to Huntington’s writings. Cilliers remarked about the influence of Huntington on himself, “I have had occasion to study his works and he has been very influential in South Africa as a whole and I think also on my thinking.”

Cilliers spends much of his time trying to pull key figures from South Africa’s military into “dialogue.” He reports his key collaborators in the military to be Chief of Staff of the SADF, Pierre Steyn, “very much on the enlightened side;” head of the Navy, Admiral Simpson-Anderson; and chief of the Air Force, Lieutenant General Kriel.

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