

AFTER THE WHITE ELECTION



WHAT WERE THE VOTES FOR?

"The first conclusion I draw is that the white electorate is not voting to support what the Government has already done. It is voting to support what the Government promises to do, as the promise is heard by the white electorate.

This raises of course the question of whether the Government has been heard correctly and it poses the alternative question of whether the Government has the wisdom to know that the ambiguities within which it wraps its intentions — as far as reform goes — are ambiguities for

the sake of safeguarding strategic intentions; or whether they are ambiguities designed to solicit a following in a direction which the Government does not intend taking.

If the latter is the case, the backlash will be severe. If the former is the case, there will also be a backlash and the ferment in the National Party which was symptomised by the Independents will deepen."

Dr M G Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha.

WHERE FAILURE LIES

"If the State President attempts to negotiate about that which he put before the electorate at the recent election, negotiations will fail. Because I believe in negotiations, I will not enter negotiations which fail. I call yet again on the State President to tell South Africa what package he will be negotiating.

Is he thinking of the kind of future in which whites remain the final decision-makers over all matters which add up to establishing domestic and foreign policy? Is he interested in negotiating only our acceptance of the de facto power of white South Africans to make unilateral decisions about domestic and foreign

policy?

Is the State President thinking of the perpetuation of a tricameral-type parliamentary structure in which all politics rests on the distinction between own and common affairs where the own affairs of whites include the final controlling right over the country's fiscal policy; over the country's civil service; over the country's police and defence forces and which includes the right for the white chamber to pass laws applicable to millions of blacks . . . ?

Is he putting the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act on the negotiating table?" — Dr M G Buthelezi

A message to South Africa

In time to come, the results of the recent white South African election will be seen to have stimulated an even further radicalisation of black politics.

This is the message the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, Dr M G Buthelezi, has given the country.

In statements following the election, Dr Buthelezi said: "I fear for the future. White South Africans have given a substantial mandate to the State President to follow his brand of reform. It is the same brand of reform which black South Africa rejected in 1983.

"The white electorate have given more justification to the arguments of those who say that only escalated violence can bring whites to their senses.

"Black South Africans despair at the evidence that talk about the removal of apartheid takes place as the architects of apartheid continue planning new apartheid structures.

"Even those of us who are committed to non-violence



would rather die than accept the National Party's prescription of a sugar-coated apartheid pill.

"The international community must now hear me when I remind it that the punitive isolation of South Africa is driving white South Africans to put their backs to the wall and stand bloodily-mindedly in support of the State President's political recalcitrance.

"I see white South Africa as having moved substantially to the right.

"I am convinced that one of the factors involved was the efficacy of Government propaganda that it and it alone is capable of bringing about reform in a meaningful way.

"On the face of it, the swing towards the National Party represents a shift to the right — but that shift to the right was a shift towards belief in reform.

"I am totally appalled at what happened (the results of the election) and I see a long, hard, costly political grind ahead.

"The National Party cannot deliver the goods it has promised to the white electorate. There will now be no real negotiations between black and white at the national level and negotiations at regional level will now become of more crucial importance.

"We must negotiate if we are going to avoid violence as the final arbiter of what should and should not be done.

"If the State President persists in obstructing even voluntary regional negotiations because he is bent on

Dr M G Buthelezi's reaction:

ramming his neo-apartheid plans down our throats, then all I can say is we will have to seek mandates for the next step we may need to take from millions of black South Africans.

"Negotiations are going to be tough and it will be extremely difficult to mount these tough negotiations, but I can assure South Africa that solving South Africa's problems by violence will be far tougher — so tough in fact that nobody can triumph through violence.

"The State President will have to maintain his position by employing State violence to oppose revolutionary violence.

"Violent confrontation will continue in South Africa and while it continues, the forces working towards the normalisation of South Africa as a modern, Western-type democratic state will have to do a lot more to gather the momentum that is needed to win the race against time with violence.

"The National Party will yet see a backlash if it does not deliver its promised reforms and if its delivery does not result in the normalisation of South Africa as a country which can be ruled through the normal process of government and law outside national states of emergency.

"We really do not know what the Government's intentions are . . . We do not know whether the Government is a

victim of its own propaganda and whether or not it has deluded itself that it is involved in really meaningful reform just as it has deluded the white electorate that it is so involved.

"The State President really perhaps believes that he is so committed to negotiated reform that he cannot approach Parliament with his own detailed blue-print designed to accommodate the legitimate political aspirations of all South Africa's people.

"I think this is what he believes. It is certainly what he says but I find a very strange anomaly between this statement and the crystal clear political facts.

"If the State President had the boldness to do what is really demanded of him by the historic importance of today's crisis, he would act boldly and test his action against the will of the majority of the people.

"I believe he will negotiate right now only limitations on white domination in the hope that he can get away with keeping white privilege and white political domination relatively intact. That is what he did in the Tricameral Parliament.

"He may be prepared to go a little further than he did in the Tricameral Parliament but he has never given any indication that he is prepared to negotiate the acceptance of a universal adult franchise system in the political circumstances created by the scrapping of the Population Registration Act and rely on presenting a plan of action to the people which they will accept."

A TIME FOR COURAGE

"It is no use the State President hiding behind statements that he is not prepared to prejudge what can be negotiated about and what cannot be negotiated about. Black leaders who are worth negotiating with will not enter into negotiations unless they are persuaded that that which is going to be negotiated is worth

negotiating. If we have not yet reached the stage in which Mr P W Botha has the courage to tell the world what he is going to negotiate about, then there must be negotiations about negotiations before blacks can accept his invitation to negotiate with him."

— Dr M G Buthelezi.