

**REMARKS BY REV. FRANK CHIKANE AT PRESS CONFERENCE HELD IN PRETORIA
AFTER HE AND ARCHBISHOP TUTU AND REV. BOESAK MET WITH DE KLERK**

October 11, 1989

"We made it quite clear to the State President that his open door statement is a statement that is not going to make negotiations possible, nor is it going to facilitate the process of negotiations, as long as ... the leaders who represent the majority of the people are under chains. Their hands are tied.

"You cannot talk about negotiations when people are under restrictions and those who are in exile can't participate and their organizations are banned or restricted. They won't be able to consult with anybody after they have had such talks. We made them (the Government) understand that their open door policy excludes the majority of the people unless they meet those first six points that we have stated, and that their policy of negotiations is a non-starter until they have actually met those conditions.

Secondly... we noted that we start from different premises and understand the concepts that are used differently... They raised questions about who the leaders of black people are. We made it quite clear that you can't determine the leadership if you don't allow the people to organize freely, and interact freely and have elections for all the people of South Africa so that you've got a representative constituent type of assembly that will determine the constitution of this country in terms of the negotiation process.

If their negotiation is that of consultations with people it's not going to resolve our problems... They have restated their commitment to negotiations (and) ending... apartheid laws -- that which... the State President has said in his inaugural speech already -- but they have not moved beyond rhetoric. We have said we would like to see movement to meet those (six) conditions, then we can say to our people, 'Now we have arrived.' But until those are met, we have no basis to say you can begin to enter into negotiations.

We are not negotiating. We are going there just to establish the conditions. Our people can't (negotiate), because they cannot go to the negotiations. I told them an example: that Mohammed Valli for instance wanted to talk to me before I came here but he couldn't come with^{me} to the airport (to meet the Archbishop and Dr. Boesak) because he has restrictions on him. You can't consult if you are restricted and you can't be representative if you can't consult with people.

I think the important thing is that we need the Government to move on those six things and if they move on them, then we can begin to talk about how you get about negotiating."

END