

Volume 1 1989

Clarion Call

SOUTH AFRICA'S
POLITICAL LOGJAM

**Obstacles to
Negotiations**

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EDITORIAL

On January 9 this year Mr J C Heunis, SA Government Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, met in Durban.

After discussions they agreed to issue a joint statement (printed in full on Page 4) which acknowledged that there were obstacles impeding negotiations between the two Governments.

Furthermore, that a joint committee would be appointed by the SA Government and the KwaZulu Government to identify and address these obstacles as well as to formulate principles on which there was common ground. The committee would report back to the respective Governments and a further meeting would be held.

Various media reports were quick to hail the meeting as the beginning of a so-called "breakthrough" for the Government's "reform process" and attempts to negotiate with black leaders — especially Dr Buthelezi whom the Press note is a "key player" and an "essential component" in any proposed constitutional talks which "would not get off the ground" without him.

The Weekly Mail (January 20-26) said of Dr Buthelezi's meeting with Mr Heunis that (in their view) the "thaw in relations with Buthelezi must be heartening for the government . . ."

Describing Minister Heunis and Dr Buthelezi as "team-mates", the Weekly Mail added that Government officials were "upbeat" about the prospects of drawing increasing numbers of "moderate" black leaders into talks in 1989.

The commentary continued that ". . . the Inkatha leader is seen as prime bait to lure wavering 'moderate' black leaders into formal discussions . . ."

Just how accurate is this alleged Government euphoria and media speculation?

In a letter to the Weekly Mail (February 1) Dr Buthelezi described much of its story as "untruthful hyperbole taken to a somewhat mischievous extreme"

Was the real significance of the January meeting merely that for the first time the SA Government openly admitted that there were indeed obstacles to negotiation — certainly in so far as Dr Buthelezi and the KwaZulu Government are concerned?

It should be noted, for instance, that as recently as last October, the State President, Mr P W Botha, launched what the media termed a "scathing attack" on Dr Buthelezi for allegedly "blocking negotiations on constitutional reform."

As far as Mr Botha was concerned at that stage, Dr Buthelezi was the obstacle.

The State President said Dr Buthelezi had "now gone too far . . ." and was being "misused and misled."

Dr Buthelezi replied that it was "tragic" that the State President could not tolerate a black man expressing mass opinion about the South African political situation.

"The truth is, of course, that the State President is stomping his foot in irritation because I have not been obligingly docile and obedient in doing what he wanted me to do as he made political blunder after political blunder," Dr Buthelezi added.

To date Dr Buthelezi, representing the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha, has refused to have anything to do with various SA Government "reform" initiatives, including the National Council.

The reasons for this have been enumerated time and again. Basically, they will have nothing to do with any talks that may be undertaken *within* the parameters of apartheid ideology.

They will accept nothing less than talks about talks which are clearly aimed at removing obstacles towards the establishment of a non-racial and democratic South Africa which accepts that South Africa is *one* country with *one* people and *not* an amalgam of minorities.

The KwaZulu Government and the Zulu nation, numbering seven million, has made it clear that KwaZulu will not, under any circumstances, accept so-called "independence" along the lines taken by the TBVC states and has therefore firmly protected the South African citizenship of the Zulu people.

It has also, for many years, called on successive SA Governments to issue a Statement of Intent spelling out their aims and objectives concerning their version of power-sharing and to articulate agendas regarding proposed black/white negotiating forums.

Inkatha, the 1,5 million member black liberation movement led by Dr Buthelezi, has also lent its considerable weight to these sentiments.

In view of the intense national and international interest and concern regarding South Africa's constitutional future, this issue of Clarion Call will therefore reiterate, for clarity, Dr Buthelezi's statements and those of the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha regarding peaceful change and negotiation so there can be no misunderstanding of their fundamental viewpoints.

**JOINT STATEMENT BY
DR MANGOSUTHU G BUTHELEZI,
CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU AND
MR J C HEUNIS, MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL
DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING**



Mr J C Heunis



Dr M G Buthelezi

Chief Minister Buthelezi and Minister Heunis met in Durban today, 9 January 1989. After discussions they agreed to issue the following joint statement:

IN RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE AN URGENT NECESSITY IN SOLVING THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICA AND IN THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE FACT THAT THERE ARE OBSTACLES IMPEDING THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS WE HAVE AGREED THAT A JOINT COMMITTEE WILL BE APPOINTED BY OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS TO IDENTIFY AND ADDRESS THESE OBSTACLES AS WELL AS TO FORMULATE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THERE IS COMMON GROUND.

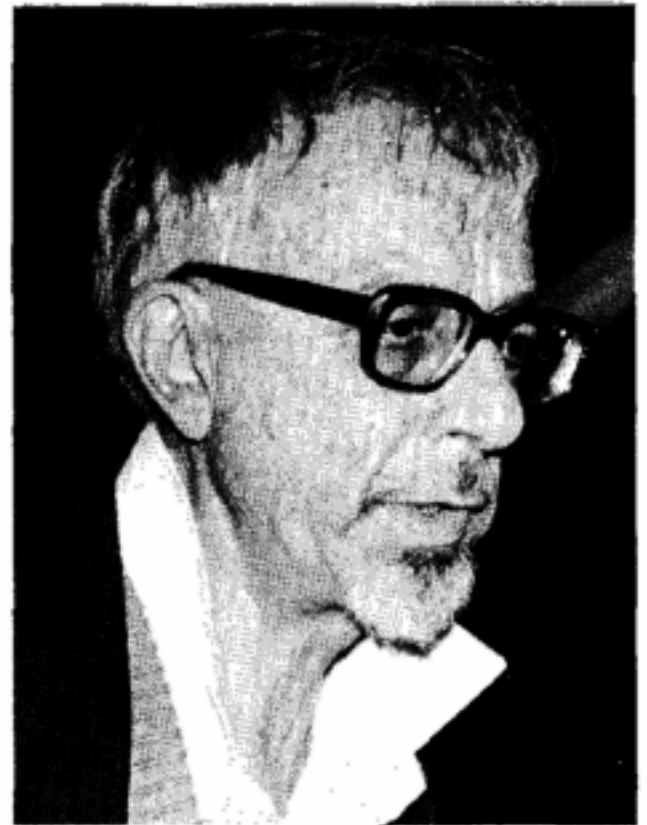
THE COMMITTEE WILL REPORT BACK TO THE RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS AND UPON THE RECEIPT OF SUCH A REPORT A FURTHER MEETING WILL BE HELD BETWEEN US.

**KwaZulu
representatives**

I have nominated the following people as our representatives on the committee that we agreed with the Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Heunis must be set up in order to identify obstacles to negotiations in South Africa.

- (1) Dr O D Dhlomo — Minister of Education and Culture and Secretary General of Inkatha.
- (2) Dr F T Mdlalose — Minister of Health and the National Chairman of Inkatha.
- (3) Mr S J Maphalala — Lecturer — University of Zululand and Member of the Central Committee of Inkatha.
- (4) Mr Rowley I Arenstein — ex Attorney: Durban.

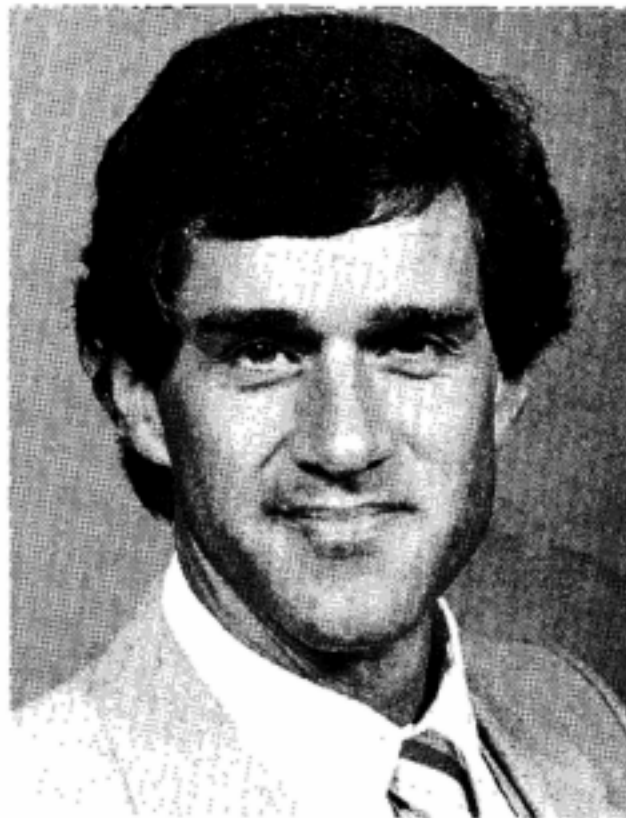
**MANGOSUTHU G BUTHELEZI
CHIEF MINISTER
AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA**



SA/KwaZulu committee

CAPE TOWN. — The Minister of Home Affairs and former Administrator of Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, is to head the South African representation on the proposed joint South African/KwaZulu committee.

The Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, said in a statement yesterday that the other South African representatives in the committee would be the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, the Professor of Public Law at the Rand Afrikaans University, Dr I M Rautenbach and Mr S S van der Merwe, whom he described as a constitutional advisor.



Clockwise from top left: Dr O D Dhlomo; Dr F T Mdlalose; Mr S J Maphalala; Mr Rowley I Arenstein; Mr Stoffel Botha; Mr Roelf Meyer; Dr I M Rautenbach; Mr S S van der Merwe

Black demands in the struggle for liberation

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, has listed the following "time-honoured demands" as the basic and "irrevocable" commitments he would require from the Government before he would be able to become involved in any talks about talks regarding South Africa's constitutional future.


He has made his position clear on this issue in numerous statements during the past two decades — more particularly so in recent years during which time the Government has attempted to co-opt black leaders into its so-called "reform" initiative.

Dr Buthelezi has been unable to consider participating in any of the various

forums put forward by the Government. Some of the reasons will be enumerated elsewhere in this issue. It has been impossible for him to become involved in any talks held *within* the framework of present-day apartheid legislation.

Dr Buthelezi, in a memorandum presented on his behalf to the Interaction Council in Harare, Zimbabwe, in March last year, said: "Abandoning any one of these demands would involve me in forfeiting the mass support I now have in South Africa."

He said these demands were "immutably fixed in the black struggle for liberation" and this was why he had articulated them so repeatedly and campaigned so vigorously for their acceptance.

- 
- (1) DR NELSON MANDELA AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS MUST BE RELEASED UNCONDITIONALLY.**
 - (2) BLACK DEMOCRACY MUST BE UNSHACKLED AND ORGANISATIONS BE FREE TO SEEK MASS SUPPORT FOR THEIR AIMS AND OBJECTIVES.**
 - (3) THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA MUST BE SCRAPPED IN ITS ENTIRETY.**
 - (4) THE POPULATION REGISTRATION ACT, AS THE FUNDAMENTAL ENABLING ACT WHICH MAKES POSSIBLE THE POLITICAL SEPARATION OF RACE GROUPS, MUST BE SCRAPPED.**
 - (5) THE GROUP AREAS ACT MUST BE SCRAPPED.**
 - (6) IT MUST BE RECOGNISED THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS ONE COUNTRY IN WHICH THERE CAN ONLY BE ONE SOVEREIGN PARLIAMENT AND IN WHICH UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE DETERMINES WHO SERVES IN THAT PARLIAMENT.**
 - (7) THE NATIONAL PARTY'S CONTENTION THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS A COUNTRY OF MINORITIES IS ABANDONED.**

Obstacles to negotiations

THE BOTTOM LINE FOR BLACK DEMOCRATS

"I am committed to the politics of negotiation because it is only through negotiation that we can arrive at a non-violent internal settlement of issues which would otherwise divide us. I am indeed grateful that despite the hideousness of racism and the generations of oppression, the vast majority of black South Africans still put the achievement of reconciliation through negotiation as the country's highest priority."

— DR MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, Speech, February 1988.

Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government have consistently articulated their view of obstacles impeding negotiations in South Africa.

The following main points have been drawn from the Policy speeches of KwaZulu Government Cabinet Ministers, Inkatha and KwaZulu Government Press statements, Inkatha resolutions and conference debates, numerous memoranda and speeches prepared and delivered nationally and internationally by Dr Buthelezi and his colleagues, KwaZulu Legislative Assembly debates and other relevant sources including representations made by the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha to the Buthelezi

Commission and to the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba.

It is clear from the views expressed that negotiation politics cannot succeed if these major issues are not addressed and resolved.



INKATHA AND KWAZULU BELIEVE IN:

● The creation of a united South Africa with one sovereign Parliament and, hopefully, the reunification of South Africa with the so-called "independent" States rejoining and taking their place in the post-apartheid development of the country. This is paramount and based on a

"There is one South Africa. Democracy is ultimately about majority government and in South Africa that majority government in a future democracy will have to be a majority that cuts across all ethnic barriers. This means that there is in actual fact a black majority in South Africa. It has to be dealt with; it has to be negotiated with." — DR MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, Speech, Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of South Africa. October, 1988.

— POLITICAL PRISONERS — STATUTORY DISCRIMINATION —
BANNED ORGANISATIONS — THE TRICAMERAL PARLIAMENT . . .

WHITE CREATIONS — BLACK IMPERATIVES

“The time-honoured values in the Black South African struggle for liberation outlaw racism, demand the equality of all before the Law and the Constitution and demand total equality of opportunity. The Black struggle in this country has never been anything other than a struggle to gain full inclusion as equals in the best there is in this country. The Black struggle never opposed a multi-party democracy; It never opposed the free enterprise system; It always upheld the rightness for us of the Rule of Law; It wanted freedom of political association and in general terms, these values have deepened among the Black masses.” —

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, interview with Macleans Magazine, Canada, February 1988.

belief in a democratic, non-racial and multi-party political system affording freedom and justice for all.

- The protection of individual and minority rights.
- The free enterprise system and a vibrant economy with disadvantaged sections being given maximum opportunity to fully participate.
- Freedom of association for all, regardless of race or creed.



THE FOLLOWING OBSTACLES IMPEDE THESE GOALS:

- (1) The South African Government's attitude of unilaterally prescribing negotiations and forums within its own parameters and *including* and *excluding* individuals and groups on Government terms without considering the wishes of the majority in the country.
- (2) The continued incarceration of Dr Nelson Mandela and other

political prisoners.

- (3) The existence abroad of individuals and organisations unable to return to South Africa and lawfully consider participation in negotiations.
- (4) The legal restrictions placed on these individuals and organisations which prohibit them from openly consulting with their supporters in South Africa.
- (5) The banning and restriction of these and other individuals and organisations *within* South Africa.
- (6) The State of Emergency and ongoing detention of numerous South African citizens held without trial.
- (7) Discriminatory laws including:
 - The Population Registration Act
 - The Group Areas Act
 - The Separate Amenities Act
 - The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936
- (8) The continued rigidity of the Government in attempting to prescribe that negotiations should be race-based.
- (9) The Tricameral Parliamentary system and the present constitution which entrenches apartheid and racism.

“We in this country are balanced precariously on the edges of disaster and opportunity. We now simply have to do the right thing. If we do the wrong thing, subsequent governments for as far as one can see will suffer the consequences . . .”

— DR MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, Memorandum, February 1988.

What KwaZulu and Inkatha have been saying for years

“WE WANT AN AGENDA FOR NEGOTIATIONS”

In referring to Government attempts to get him to participate in the National Council (and various forerunners to it), Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi often uses the following analogy:

“What they are doing is like asking me to board a train. The trouble is, I don’t know its destination, what the fare will cost, where it is going to stop along the way, how long it is going to take, who it is going to pick up, or whether the conductor is going to kick me or any other passengers off at any time.”

In an address discussing the National Council Bill, Dr Buthelezi said: “I and a wide range of other black, white, Indian and Coloured political leaders who are implacably opposed to apartheid and any form of racism in our constitution, would be willing participants in the workings of the Council if we were convinced that there were real prospects of succeeding in establishing a new constitutional dispensation in which there would be “. . . the granting to black South African citizens a voice in the process of

government . . .”

He added: “I and a great many other black leaders will find it impossible to join the National Council if we have to extract ourselves from the black South African body politic in order to do so. I do what I now do politically with a massive black backing. I have gathered that backing. I know how to do it and I know what cannot be done . . .”

“I cannot tell my black constituencies that the National Council will negotiate a new constitution radically different from the present constitution . . .”

“The new constitutional dispensation which the Bill talks

about will be a myth unless categorical statements are now made about the scope of the South African Government’s willingness to reconstitute South Africa.

“We endorse (the Chief Minister’s) insistence that compromises we were prepared to support be met with compromises by the South African Government which we can accept. We endorse the Chief Minister’s view that these balancing compromises have not been forthcoming and state in the strongest possible terms that the achievement of a political solution through the politics of negotiation depends upon the Government being willing to accept that in all reality there is a black majority in South Africa.” —

RESOLUTION, SIXTH SESSION OF THE FOURTH KWAZULU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, 1988

"I do not lay down preconditions when I say that negotiations will only get off the ground when the present tricameral parliament is scrapped. When I demand the scrapping of the present constitution I am doing no more than demanding the minimum conditions under which real negotiations can take place. Blacks cannot and will not negotiate within the framework of the present constitution . . . The State President must now attend to locating the National Council outside the tricameral parliament and giving it an agenda which includes finding an alternative constitution." —

DR MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, speech to the University of Pretoria SRC, February 1988.

"It is altogether insufficient for the South African Government to say that these kind of questions are the kind of questions that the Council will have to consider. (Speech, October 29, 1987)

Dr Buthelezi has stressed time and again that it is crucial that *all* black leaders must be free to choose to participate in constitutional developments.

"While Dr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners remain incarcerated in jail they do not have this freedom. Their lack of freedom curtails my freedom and the freedom of every black leader."

The era of "political prescription" in which whites could dictate to blacks had passed. (Press statement, April 1988)

As far as Dr Buthelezi, Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government are concerned, the Government must issue a Statement of Intent — or an agenda — spelling out its intentions.

The fact that the Government has refused to do so has, in effect, excluded Dr Buthelezi from participating in any negotiations.

"I am excluded from negotiation because the State President and his Cabinet colleagues still persist in regarding South Africa as a country of minorities," says Dr Buthelezi.

"They refuse to entertain any constitutional concepts, whether they belong to the constitution of a unitary state, a federal state or a state with one or another form of canton system. They only want to discuss group representation.

"I cannot discuss group representation where groups are racial groups. Racism can form no part of future constitutional-building in South Africa.

"I cannot discuss group representation in circumstances in which South Africa's white minority continues to dominate over 87 percent of the surface area of the country and have a rigged minority group interest which gives them total control over the army, the police, the civil service, the economy and in fact everything that makes for domestic and foreign policy?"

Reform, adds Dr Buthelezi, must simply mean bold steps in negotiation towards a parliamentary democracy and the enfranchisement of blacks. Anything other than this would not amount to negotiation.

He says he has "lost hope" that the National Council will become a meaningful forum for negotiation and the South African Government has "no reason" to believe that he can be drawn into the kind of negotiations they envisage for the National Council. (Press Statement, November 1988.)

"I find it so terribly tragic that I have to say that real negotiations seem to be quite out of sight. The National Party is still rushing ahead with the prescriptive approach as far as black leaders are concerned.

"Democracy is not about amorphous electorates. Democracy is about the formation of groups which are identifiable and about the election of leaders who can act as legitimate spokesmen for groups.

"The National Council . . . will operate outside the broader process of democratic development which the black struggle for liberation is committed to uphold . . ."

(Dr M G Buthelezi, Press statement, June, 1988)

BODY BLOWS TO BLACK DEMOCRACY



MR P.W. BOTHA

“I have only formally met Mr P W Botha three times in his near decade in office as head of the South African State. I have nothing at all to say to the man now which I have not already said before.

“The Government of South Africa is now being governed by the National party. It is a de facto government and whatever the world thinks of it, it can continue to govern as a de facto government for a very long time indeed . . .

“We have witnessed the employment of Draconian powers to keep South Africa governable under the National Party.

“The steps taken to neutralise black political groups, and to isolate a number of black leaders, will be effective from the Government’s point of view in the short term but, at the same time, devastatingly destructive to the politics of negotiation in the longer term.

“Non-violent democratic leaders like myself have suffered terrible setbacks by the same action which is seen only as action against some groups.

“The national state of emergency, under which the action was taken, is restrictive of the politics of negotiation.

“Body blows to black democracy anywhere in South Africa are body blows to black democracy everywhere. The shackling of some black organisations is a shackling of all black organisations . . .”

— DR MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI.



DR M.G. BUTHELEZI

STATEMENT OF INTENT

In 1985 Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi put forward an example of the kind of declaration of intent needed from the Government before meaningful talks about "power-sharing" and reconciliation could commence.

At that time he said that the "crucial question of black/white power-sharing" needed to be tabled and the State President had

avoided doing so.

Dr Buthelezi wrote a letter to 5 000 influential South Africans asking them to respond to his initiatives and thoughts regarding the role of KwaZulu and the need for the South African Government to make the kind of declaration of intent which would have the effect of joining blacks and whites together in a determined effort to "move purposefully into a new future . . ." He was inundated with thousands of positive replies.

At that time Dr Buthelezi noted that he was in a position in which he had to reject the State President's invitation to discuss matters of mutual concern in an

informal non-statutory forum — one of the bodies set up before the present National Council.

He added that the State President needed to go beyond a forum in which blacks had to undertake to talk about the future in terms which were totally unacceptable to the vast majority of ordinary Africans.

Mr P W Botha later informed Dr Buthelezi that he was not prepared to issue such a declaration.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE
DECLARATION PUT
FORWARD BY DR
BUTHELEZI.

Declaration of Intent

' . . . I emphasise that I am only giving an example of the kind of Declaration of Intent about which I am talking . . . there are Whites who are misled about what Black South Africa demands. We do not demand to dominate as Blacks over Whites. We seek only to share in a way in which Whites can join in. If we cannot do this, then what is there to do?' — Dr M G Buthelezi, 1985.

We the undersigned hereby declare our commitment to serve God in obedience to His divine will for our country and together:

Recognise that:

- The history of mankind shows the need for adaptive change among all peoples and all nations.
- Nations which have managed to avoid the use of violence in the achievement

of national objectives are the nations which have grown in wisdom.

- Both mistakes and lessons not yet learned led to errors of judgement in the mainstream politics in both the Black and White sections of our society
- The South African people are a family of mankind, seeking to live in harmony in the African community of nations and seeking to do so by expressing

civilised ideals in the practical social, economic and political affairs of our country.

- The South African constitution as it is now written is by force of history and reality a first step in constitutional reform which urgently needs the second step to be taken of enriching the constitution to make it as acceptable to the broad mass of African opinion as it has been made acceptable to the broad mass of White opinion.
- The Westminster model of government was not ordained by God to be the only form of good government.
We therefore accept:
 - The need to make the preamble to the South African constitution of equal value to all the groups and peoples of the country by enriching the clause: "To respect, to further and to protect the self-determination of population groups and peoples" to include the notion that this can best be done by sharing power. We need to share power in such a way that no one can dictate to any other group how to express its own self-determination, and we also need to share power in a formula within which the hallowed values of good government are not compromised.
 - The need to preserve the constitutionality of the adaptive democratic process on which we will jointly rely in being subservient to the divine will for our country. We will therefore together seek:
 - To negotiate as leaders to amend the South African constitution to make it more acceptable to all groups.
 - To find an alternative political system to that which the world at large understands by the word 'apartheid' and also to seek an alternative political system in which universal adult suffrage is expressed in constitutional terms acceptable to all the peoples of South Africa.

- To give expression to the common citizenship of all South Africa's peoples without qualifying the meaning of citizenship for any group.
- To use the opportunities presented in practical politics at first, second and third tier levels of government to fashion national unity by deepening the democratic process, and to use the democratic process in exploration of what needs to be done to get the people to legitimise the instruments of government.

We therefore pledge ourselves:

- To express national pride and patriotism by insisting that South Africans will decide South Africa's future in the acceptance of each other as individuals and groups and the acceptance of each other's cultural rights to be who they are.
- To start where we find ourselves in history and to move from there to build on all that is positive and valuable and to change that which is negative and undesirable.
- Each to work in our own constituencies to develop a South African pride in managing our own South African affairs in harmony with internationally accepted standards of civilised decency without being dictated to from without.

Having thus declared we stand together to defend our right even with our lives to take the steps and the time needed to establish consensus between groups and to win support for our joint efforts in the South African family of nations.

And furthermore to stand together to defend South Africa from external onslaughts and to stand together to resist any use of violence which threatens the politics of negotiation aimed at national reconciliation.

I make only one thing totally non-negotiable. South Africa is one country, and there must be one citizenship for one nation.

P W Botha attacks Buthelezi for "blocking negotiations"

"He can't tolerate a black man expressing mass opinion," says Buthelezi.

"I am brow-beaten by nobody and the State President knows this. That is why he is stomping up and down now. The shaking of his finger in front of my nose and the maximum pressure he could possibly put on me, will not make me falter. That is why he sounded off as he did in Benoni. He sounded off precisely because I take my marching orders from nobody, least of all from him. I say least of all from him because I am opposed to him politically." — Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi — statement, October 1988.

At a public meeting in Benoni last October, the State President, Mr P W Botha, launched what the Press termed a "scathing attack" on Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi for having, he said, "gone too far" in accusing him of failing to fulfill black expectations.

Mr Botha was responding to a speech made by Dr Buthelezi to the annual ASSOCOM congress in Durban, also in October.

The State President said of Dr Buthelezi: "I have up to now been very patient

with him, because I believe he is often being misled and misused by people who do not have South Africa's best interests at heart . . .

"Over the years he (Dr Buthelezi) has on numerous occasions been invited to negotiations together with black leaders, but usually he refused to attend such meetings . . ."

In his ASSOCOM speech, Dr Buthelezi said he charged the State President with not having "delivered the goods that he promised he would deliver" by way of reform.

The State President had taken South Africa and had "turned it upside down and

inside out constitutionally" and now he had to govern under an ongoing national state of emergency.

He accused Mr Botha of "terrible political blindness" and added that black South Africans "loathe apartheid, they loathe the Group Areas Act, they loathe the Population Registration Act, they loathe the present tricameral parliamentary system . . .

"They loathe these things and they hold the State President responsible for them," he said.

Dr Buthelezi added that he found it "impossible" to meet the State President along with other black leaders because there was nothing to negotiate about.

"Negotiations only become negotiations when there is a defined objective ahead!"

The State President had not tabled a decent agenda and hid behind "vague platitudes" when he said that agendas must be open.

National Party governments had repeatedly put the good of the party before the good of the State.

Mr Botha, in his speech

speech, further criticised Dr Buthelezi and said: "It is high time the Chief Minister of KwaZulu decides whether he thinks he is the only leader in South Africa, or whether he is one of the many leaders of many groups who are searching for peace and progress in our country . . ."

To this Dr Buthelezi responded in a statement to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly:

"For the State President to speak as though I think I am the only black leader worth negotiating with is altogether grossly unfair.

"This kind of statement is presumably made to draw attention away from the fact that there are many black leaders who, like me, are waiting for the right circumstances to emerge before they become involved in negotiation.

"Black leaders with real political constituencies are noticeably absent from all the forums the State President creates for negotiations."

At no time had he ever claimed to be "the only black leader worth talking to" and had fought for the democratic right of black leaders to be involved in the decision-making process of South Africa and for democracy in black politics which would enable the black people to choose the black leaders they wanted.

Dr Buthelezi added: "Mr P W Botha presents me as being awkward. It really is about time that he

appreciated the extent to which I am a committed democrat, a committed campaigner for non-violence in politics and am committed to the politics of negotiation.

"I want to bring about the reconciliation of race groups. I want to do so so that we can develop the national will to replace apartheid with something better and make it work. This is what the State President and I and others should be working for."

Buthelezi has gone too far, says 'patient' PW

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

has now gone too far." Mr Botha was reacting to Chief Buthelezi's remarks at Assenem's

see conflict and chaos in the country. Something, therefore, had to be done to

NEWS

P W told: Don't get personal



ULUNDI—President Botha's shaking of his finger at Dr Mangosuthu

By Sipho Khumalo

political situation



Swart slams PW's attack on Buthelezi

Political Reporter

THE chairman of the national caucus of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Ray Swart, last night criticised the State President's attack on Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi for refusing to enter into talks with the government.

Mr Swart said Mr Botha had not put the interests of the people at a

The Isakhe president rejected an 'nasty' remark by Mr Botha that the South African Government had to bear the burden of relief work in the townships.

seen and in Africa while he could not speak to some black political leaders in South Africa. Mr Botha had members working for reconciliation between black and white would be appalled that Mr Botha showed the racial face he did show in

The Isakhe president rejected an 'nasty' remark by Mr Botha that the South African Government had to bear the burden of relief work in the townships.

Friday 21 October 1986

Buthelezi misled, misused says PW

By Cathy Winter

in the scrapping of the structures to deal with national disaster did not keep the Conservative Party out of government

South Africa's sombre alternatives

"We face some very sombre scenarios in this country . . .

"If we paint a picture of the future based on the assumption that the South African Government will remain recalcitrant in the eyes of the international community and tenacious in following its apartheid policies in the eyes of South Africans, we must necessarily paint pictures in which violence is on the ascendancy and will remain spiralling upwards until scorched earth policy meets scorched earth policy.

"If we paint pictures of a future based on the assumption that the South African Government will in the end put deed to word in bringing about the kind of reform that the majority of the people in this country will regard as truly meaningful reforms, then we must paint a picture of a period of turbulence through which we must walk.

"The South African Government wants to skirmish politically but it does not want to face whatever uncertainties there are in doing the right thing.

". . . the Government now knows that Dr Nelson Mandela should have been released by now and will have to be released sooner or later . . ." — Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu Legislative Assembly 1989.

The ANC must abandon violence

HEUNIS SPEAKS FOR THE GOVERNMENT



Mr Chris Heunis with the Speaker of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Mr S. T. Mthimkulu.

In his speech opening this year's session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Mr Chris Heunis outlined his Government's approach to "political reform" which he said he preferred to call "political progress."

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning said his Government was committed to negotiated political progress and called upon political leaders to become involved in the process.

There was a world-wide growing spirit for reconciliation which opposed confrontation and called for compromise.

There were signs that this spirit was growing in South Africa and people were reaching out to each other on all levels and in all spheres of society.

"We, the political leaders, will forsake our responsibility if we do not use the moment and join the process," he said.

The leaders of the Zulu nation had declared themselves in favour of negotiation and against violence but

had "encountered impediments" on the way to the negotiation table.

"They have reformulated the items found to be obstacles into preconditions to be fulfilled before negotiations can start," he added.

"We, the Government, have acknowledged the existence of important obstacles and recognised the circumstances creating these obstacles.

"Jointly we have appointed a committee to identify and address the obstacles and also to identify common ground . . .

"I am not going to prejudge the work of the committee, but there is a certain matter that will certainly land on its agenda and that is in any event of such importance for the process of political progress, that I nevertheless want to deal with it.

"There are many political groups and leaders that will have to be accommodated in the process.

"Some are more important than others, some are in numbers much larger than others, some are more

powerful than others.

"The African National Congress is perceived as such an organisation.

"Where its place is in the hierarchy of relevant political groupings or organisations, is a question on which there will be widely divergent opinions; so also is its legitimacy.

"Be that as it may, it has become clear that the ANC's absence from the list of participants in the political negotiation process is seen by other essential participants as an obstacle to progress.

"On the other hand there are those whose participation is equally essential, who in turn do not see their way open to participate in the process if the ANC were to be present in new prevailing circumstances.

"There is only one single factor that keeps the ANC itself from coming out in favour of joining others in the negotiation process.

"That factor is the ANC's continuing commitment to violent confrontation and terrorising the population in an effort to seize power.

"I am inclined to think that this continued commitment is linked to the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party which in turn has trans-national commitments . . .

"If the ANC now wants to act in South Africa's national interest it can best do so by abandoning violence and declaring itself in favour of the peaceful process of political negotiations together with other political leaders in South Africa.

"All South Africans have so much in common, that there is no reason why we cannot together repeatedly find and agree on the next step to be taken on the road of constitutional progress . . ."

Mr Heunis said the Government was working for a negotiated, democratic, political dispensation, acceptable to all, in which everyone would participate in decision-making from local to national level, and in which minorities would share power in national affairs but would have maximum control over matters affecting their own groups most intimately.

"What we work for, is a negotiated, democratic, political dispensation, acceptable to all, in which everyone will participate in decision-making from local to national level, and in which minorities will share power in national affairs but will have maximum control over matters affecting their own groups most intimately . . ." —

Mr J C Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

TIME FOR A NEW MANDATE

"Go back to the electorate," Buthelezi tells National Party

"We invite you, Mr Minister, to wade into the problems we face with us. Let us now begin to deal with them. Let us stop pussy-footing around. Let us stop posturing. Let us set ourselves real agendas. Black democracy must be unshackled and South Africa must move towards real negotiation between black and white about the constitutional future of this country . . ."

— Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, addressing Mr Chris Heunis at the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

In his reply to Minister Chris Heunis at the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in March, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he believed it was "vitally important" that the National party approached the white electorate for a "new and far-reaching mandate" which shed past ambiguities.

He hoped that when the time came for Mr P W Botha to retire, Afrikanerdom would produce leaders who would carry Afrikanerdom across new horizons of dynamic politics.

At this juncture of South African history the South African Government should be re-examining itself very critically.

"I am one of those who agree that Government action is pivotal for success in the politics of negotiation," the Chief Minister said.

"We cannot negotiate a new South Africa into existence without the South African Government and the National Party being party to the negotiations."

Dr Buthelezi added that South Africa's future must be "governed" into existence.

"All or nothing demands of total capitulation and the handing over of power by the South African Government is a declaration of devastating war in which there will be no winners.

"The South African Government is a de facto and de jure government. It is childish to jump up and down and call it an illegitimate government. I have not heard one person describe military juntas, which we have in such abundance in Africa, as "illegitimate" once they become de facto and de jure governments of their particular



The opening — KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

countries.

"The government is wrong; it is not representative; it is not democratic, but it is the government of the day and it is a government of the day which must be salvaged from the consequences of its own actions."

Democracy alone could ensure the survival of democratic ideals.

"Democratic ideals cannot be preserved by dictators or fascist governments," he said.

"They cannot be preserved if they are kept in some kind of political suspension while the South African Government rules by power vested in it in states of national emergencies.

"Political ideals can only ultimately be preserved in exercising them."

At the start of his annual Policy Speech Dr Buthelezi said the National Party was being "driven by history" and that economic imperatives had "taken it by the neck and shaken it."

Apartheid as Dr Verwoerd dreamed of was quite out of reach.

"Perhaps the National Party does

not yet know how to deal with these new realities which are now unavoidable for it. Perhaps the National Party will even continue blundering in attempting to buy time as it tries to re-examine its position.

"Whatever it does in harmony with the forces of history or in opposition to the forces of history, apartheid is doomed and the National Party knows that this is the case."

Dr Buthelezi said the country was entering a "dangerous phase" in the politics of transition. Nothing could stop the onward march of events and the final eradication of apartheid.

"But there is ample room to make very costly blunders even if the victory of apartheid is now inevitable."

The only way to achieve a multi-racial democracy in South Africa was through the politics of negotiation.

Some revolutionaries claimed that democratic opposition to apartheid had failed.

"Democracy cannot fail," stressed Dr Buthelezi. "Only those who abandon democracy fail."

WHITE FEAR — BLACK FEAR

How it affects negotiations

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi acknowledges that fear is a prime factor in the South African political equation — fear in white society and fear in black society.

His views on the subject were outlined in a document he prepared in November last year at the request of an international news agency.

Dr Buthelezi said he knew how difficult it was to banish fear and how “terribly damaging” it was to the process of negotiation in South Africa.

“Whites are afraid of any kind of majority rule. This is not surprising because racism produces fear of other race groups. It is based on that fear.

“Fear is not something that is confined to white society. There is fear in black society that as long as

whites are given any kind of special treatment, they will use their position to perpetuate apartheid.

“There is fear that whites cannot in fact abandon their racism.

“In the whole of South Africa, revolutionaries in fact represent only a minority of all the people. It is, however, a minority that has been growing and in this minority the fear of the future is so dominant that only the complete destruction of apartheid, together with the destruction of multi-party democracy and the capitalist free enterprise system is regarded as sufficient to ensure that white racism is broken forever.

“We face the realities in South Africa that if the degeneration of the political situation continues apace, we will end up with fear producing a situation in which scorched earth policy meets scorched earth policy to

leave none the victors.

“We must move away from this eventuality and we must therefore deal with fear.

Blacks will continue to fear any moves whites make while the South Africa government continues to do what it has been doing to cripple black democracy.

“Dr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners need to be released from jail.

“With the total leadership of black South Africa free and working for the future, we as a country will be able to develop the democratic process in which democratic activity is welcomed and encouraged.

“It is white fear of black democracy that leads to the curtailment of black democracy. In turn, it is the curtailment of black democracy that leads to fear of perpetual white domination.”

HOW THIS FEAR CAN BE DEALT WITH: PUT SOUTH AFRICA FIRST

Dr Buthelezi said this fear on both sides must be taken seriously.

“We must be prepared to compromise,” he stressed.

“We must cut down on the preconditions we insist be met before we negotiate the future of South Africa. Black South Africans must recognise that prospects of a one-man-one-vote system of government is a unitary state which rests on universal adult franchise really does strike fear into white hearts.

“White South Africans must recognise that prospects of any kind of apartheid or neo-apartheid or any kind of constitutional dispensation resting on racist cornerstones, strikes fear into black hearts.

“I personally cherish the ideals of a one-man-one-vote system of government in a unitary state. All my adult life I have hoped for a Westminster-type parliamentary system in South Africa.

“The vast majority of black South Africans cherish such a system of government.

“We must, however, put South Africa first and be prepared to look at a federal system, a canton

system or any other kind of system in which the fundamental principles of democracy as expressed in the constitutions of the free world are preserved

“I express the view that South Africa cannot rediscover the wheels of democracy. We need to recognise that there is a free world and that a democracy which serves the free world could serve South Africa.

There is in South Africa a rising groundswell demand for the normalisation of the country as a modern, Western-type industrial democracy.

“To speed up the repeal of apartheid is synonymous with calming racial fears and gaining acceptance for the ideals of Western industrial-type democracies resting on the free enterprise system.”

“We must deal with fear by taking it seriously . . . we must be prepared to compromise . . . we must be prepared to look at a federal system, a canton system or any other kind of system in which the fundamental principles of democracy as expressed in the constitutions of free world countries are preserved . . .”

STOP PRESS

Statement by Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, March 3, 1989.

On the 9th of January this year I met Mr C J Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning in Durban where we made the decision to establish a committee to identify and address obstacles which impede progress towards solving the country's political problems through negotiation.

This committee has now been constituted and is faced — as I see it — with the historically important task of identifying reasons why the politics of negotiation have not got off the ground in South Africa and to do so in such a way that names can be given to problems in order to deal with them.

On Thursday the 2nd of March I met Mr Heunis and members of the joint committee.

From my point of view it was clearly necessary for me to address this group to ensure that it did not proceed with its work under any misapprehensions about my motivation in agreeing to it and to go about its work fully aware of what I as a black leader expected of it.

I stressed that my involve-

Buthelezi, Heunis in Tuynhuys talks today

By Brian Stuart
CAPE TOWN. — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, is due in Cape Town today for talks with Mr Heunis, acting State

moved.
The two leaders met in Durban on January 9 in an attempt to find common ground on future constitutional talks.

During the

tory within South Africa.

Earlier this week Mr Heunis met Dr Oscar Dhomo, one of the senior Ministers in Chief Buthelezi's Cabinet and chairman of the Nat-

inter-dependence of KwaZulu and Natal by creating a joint legislative authority.

While members of government originally raised to these

ment in the committee was an involvement as a black South African and that I was not approaching the work of the committee simply as the Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

I also stressed that I have never deviated, and will never deviate, from my insistence on the total unity of South Africa as it was brought into being by the Act of Union in 1910.

I emphasised that I was not at all interested in negotiating in order to make the present tricameral parliamentary system work. I pointed out that it was the South African Government's insistence of talking within the framework of apartheid that precluded me from the politics of negotiation up to now.

I demanded that the committee work within the acceptance of the need to break out of the limitations which produced past failures by being prepared to have an agenda from which it becomes possible to write on a slate which has been cleaned.

I pointed out that the committee would work under national and international spotlights and the National Party in this international spotlight had to convince the outside world that it is going to depart from its previous approaches and that it must convince South Africans in this country that it really does want to negotiate an entirely new constitutional dispensation.

I also pointed out that if the Government was serious about its commitment to negotiation it would have to cease with the politics of prescription through which it foisted the present constitution on us as well as Regional Services Councils.

I made the point that insistence on going ahead with Regional Service Councils was confrontational and was incompatible with the politics of negotiation.

In my whole approach to the committee I stressed the importance of the task that the committee had been set and demanded recognition that we dare not fail to deliver the goods when we tackle something in such a way that all the world sees what we are doing.

“ . . . my involvement in the committee was an involvement as a black South African and that I was not approaching the work of the committee simply as the Chief Minister of KwaZulu . . . I emphasised that I was not at all interested in negotiating in order to make the present tricameral parliamentary system work. I pointed out that that it was the South African Government's insistence of talking within the framework of apartheid that precluded me from the politics of negotiation up to now . . . I stressed that I have never deviated, and will never deviate, from my insistence on the total unity of South Africa as it was brought into being by the Act of Union in 1910.”

INHLABAMKHOSI

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