

**"WE DARE
NOT FAIL ..."**

to go a little further than he had with the tricameral Parliament but there are no indications that he is prepared to negotiate the acceptance of a universal franchise system in the circumstances which would be created by the scrapping of the Population Registration Act.

"Mr Botha will either be eclipsed by history or he will catch up with me and do the things that simply have to be done and do the things which will gather massive black support."

Dr Buthelezi notes that he is "under pressure" to negotiate with the State President by those who think that Mr Botha "really is earnest in his reform intentions."

He adds: "To them I say I am willing to negotiate with an agreed agenda. I would negotiate with him today if negotiations were about the implementation of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba-type proposals.

"I would negotiate for the direction which the Indaba proposals indicate and I would do so because however they are finally formulated, they are an idiom of what we should be looking for.

"I am therefore not unwilling to negotiate but, as I have said, I will not negotiate in circumstances in which it is patently clear to me that negotiations will fail.

"There is no need for me to enter into desperate negotiations which will fail when I believe so strongly that there are courses of action open to us which can succeed."

Dr Nels

Dr M G Buthelezi's position regarding Dr Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the banned African National Congress, has never changed.

For more than 20 years he has consistently attempted to apply pressure on successive South African Governments to unconditionally release Dr Mandela, PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng, and other political prisoners. He has also called for the unbanning of political parties.

A the same time Dr Buthelezi's political platform has always been one of advocating peaceful change, national negotiation and reconciliation. He has made it quite clear that black South Africa will settle for nothing less than a multi-party democracy in a free and united South Africa in which power is shared by all.

Dr Buthelezi, the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha have therefore blocked all efforts by the South African Government to foist so-called "independence" on KwaZulu which would strip seven million Zulus of their South African citizenship.

They do not believe that the majority of black South Africa desires the violent overthrow of the Government but are, in

fact, committed to the politics of non-violence and reconciliation through negotiation.

As far as any future constitutional negotiations within the framework of the country's parliamentary system are concerned, Dr Buthelezi is adamant that his participation would be conditional on Dr Mandela's release along with other imprisoned leaders. (See boxes)

"Dr Mandela would not have expected black politics to have come to a standstill during his period of incarceration. That is why I am prepared to be involved in negotiations following the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba. That is why I was involved in negotiations with the Natal Provincial Council to establish a multiracial executive authority in the KwaZulu/Natal region of South Africa. I did not demand Dr Mandela's release before I did so. I make the demand for his release at the level of national negotiations for a new constitution for the country . . ." —

Dr M G Buthelezi

In the meantime, Dr Buthelezi has asked the State President, Mr P W Botha, to spell out what his intentions about negotiations are.

In a recent Press statement Dr Buthelezi said: "When one

**"WE DARE
NOT FAIL ..."**

to go a little further than he had with the tricameral Parliament but there are no indications that he is prepared to negotiate the acceptance of a universal franchise system in the circumstances which would be created by the scrapping of the Population Registration Act.

"Mr Botha will either be eclipsed by history or he will catch up with me and do the things that simply have to be done and do the things which will gather massive black support."

Dr Buthelezi notes that he is "under pressure" to negotiate with the State President by those who think that Mr Botha "really is earnest in his reform intentions."

He adds: "To them I say I am willing to negotiate with an agreed agenda. I would negotiate with him today if negotiations were about the implementation of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba-type proposals.

"I would negotiate for the direction which the Indaba proposals indicate and I would do so because however they are finally formulated, they are an idiom of what we should be looking for.

"I am therefore not unwilling to negotiate but, as I have said, I will not negotiate in circumstances in which it is patently clear to me that negotiations will fail.

"There is no need for me to enter into desperate negotiations which will fail when I believe so strongly that there are courses of action open to us which can succeed."

Dr Nels

Dr M G Buthelezi's position regarding Dr Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the banned African National Congress, has never changed.

For more than 20 years he has consistently attempted to apply pressure on successive South African Governments to unconditionally release Dr Mandela, PAC leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng, and other political prisoners. He has also called for the unbanning of political parties.

At the same time Dr Buthelezi's political platform has always been one of advocating peaceful change, national negotiation and reconciliation. He has made it quite clear that black South Africa will settle for nothing less than a multi-party democracy in a free and united South Africa in which power is shared by all.

Dr Buthelezi, the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha have therefore blocked all efforts by the South African Government to foist so-called "independence" on KwaZulu which would strip seven million Zulus of their South African citizenship.

They do not believe that the majority of black South Africa desires the violent overthrow of the Government but are, in

fact, committed to the politics of non-violence and reconciliation through negotiation.

As far as any future constitutional negotiations within the framework of the country's parliamentary system are concerned, Dr Buthelezi is adamant that his participation would be conditional on Dr Mandela's release along with other imprisoned leaders. (See boxes)

"Dr Mandela would not have expected black politics to have come to a standstill during his period of incarceration. That is why I am prepared to be involved in negotiations following the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba. That is why I was involved in negotiations with the Natal Provincial Council to establish a multiracial executive authority in the KwaZulu/Natal region of South Africa. I did not demand Dr Mandela's release before I did so. I make the demand for his release at the level of national negotiations for a new constitution for the country . . ."

Dr M G Buthelezi

In the meantime, Dr Buthelezi has asked the State President, Mr P W Botha, to spell out what his intentions about negotiations are.

In a recent Press statement Dr Buthelezi said: "When one

on Mandela

talks about negotiation it is all too easy to confuse negotiations about negotiations with the final kind of negotiations which would have statutory status. It is in the latter kind of negotiations that I am adamant about the need for Dr Mandela's release."

In this respect he adds that it is essential that national negotiations be between leaders mandated by the people and as long as leaders like Dr Nelson Mandela remain in jail, no blacks are free to choose their own destiny.

"I reiterate that when it comes to talking about the constitutional future of the country in a formal statutory body, I will continue to demand the unshackling of black democracy and demand the release of Dr Mandela and others as an essential step in that direction.

"South Africa will never be free until black democracy is unshackled and it cannot be unshackled while important leaders remain in jail for political reasons. My position about Dr Mandela has not changed. It is because it has not changed that I continue working for the prospects of negotiation."

Dr Buthelezi will have nothing whatsoever to do with any future dispensation which does not include blacks in the central government of the country. This is undoubtedly the position of the vast majority of black South Africans.

"This is our country and we will never ever relinquish our

"When one talks about negotiation it is all too easy to confuse negotiations about negotiations with the final kind of negotiations which would have statutory status. It is in the latter kind of negotiations that I am adamant about the need for Dr Mandela's release. We can negotiate about negotiations to get to that point with or without him. I do not speak for Dr Mandela. I speak for the millions of black South Africans who support me and that is what I understand their position to be . . ."

Dr M G Buthelezi

demand for our full participation in it," he says.

Dr Buthelezi recently told the internationally renowned author and philosopher, Sir Laurens van der Post, that "all and sundry" were now speaking in the name of imprisoned black leaders.

Consequently, millions throughout the world believed that Black South Africans en masse supported the pro-violence external mission of the ANC.

They actually believed that blacks overwhelmingly supported the need to overthrow the Government by violence as well as action to bring about South Africa's punitive isolation by sanctions and disinvestment.

Black South Africans, he said, were unable to correct this false impression because they

were unable to choose their own leaders or to choose whichever strategies and tactics they preferred.

In such circumstances it was not possible for any leader who went to negotiate with the State President to demonstrate that he or she had support.

Dr Buthelezi said that he would serve under Dr Nelson Mandela if the masses were really free and told him to do so.

Likewise, he would expect Dr Mandela to serve under him if that was what the masses were able to tell him to do.

In other words, he would serve under anyone else who was democratically elected in a free election by all the people of South Africa.

Alternatively, he would expect the same acceptance were he the people's choice.

"Dr Mandela has been in jail now for more than a quarter of a century. He must be released and he must be released unconditionally. I have lobbied for his release right from the outset. I have applied pressure on the South African Government consistently for many years. South Africa will never be free until black democracy is unshackled and it cannot be unshackled while important leaders remain in jail . . ."

Dr M G Buthelezi