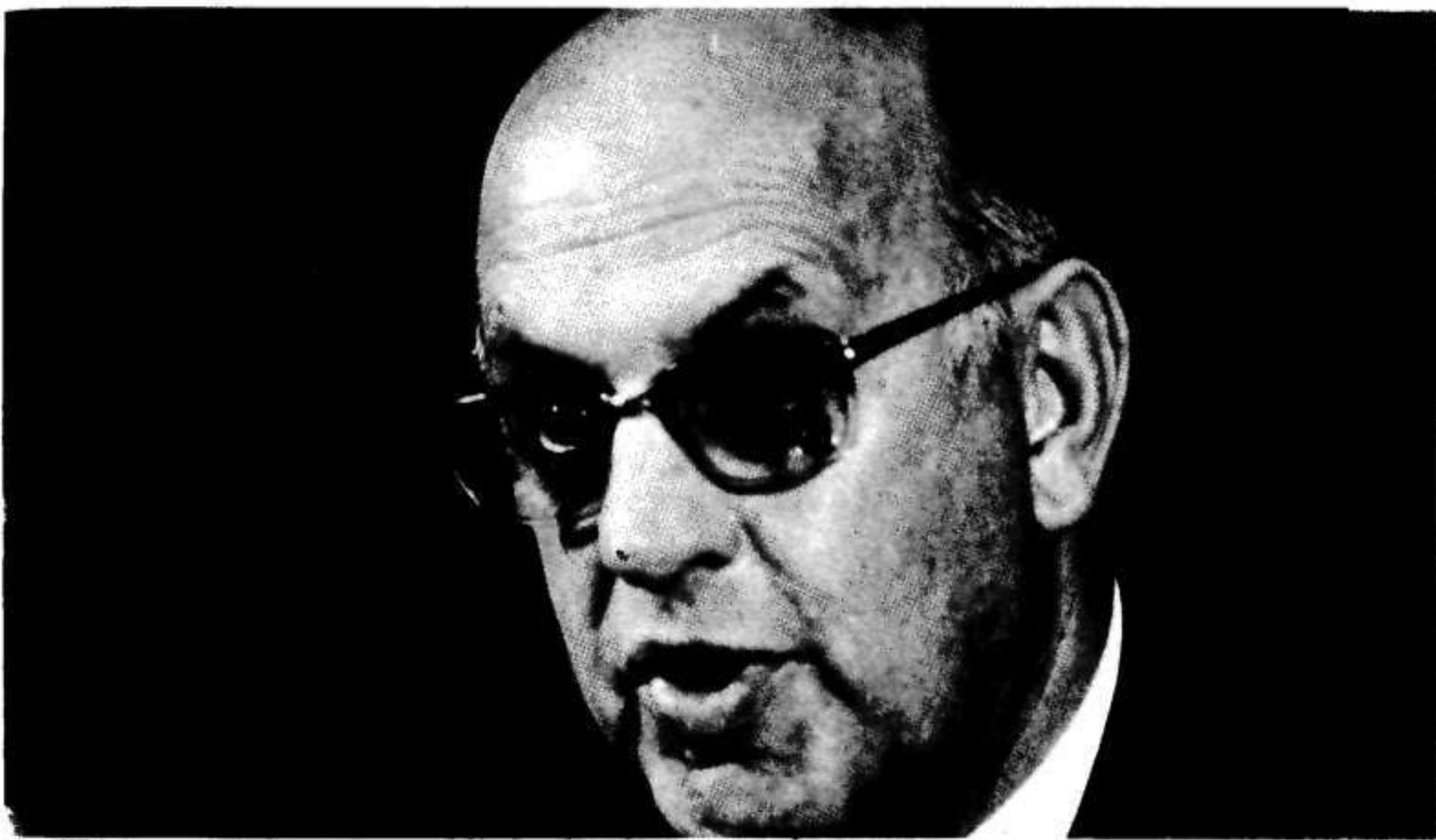


HOW FAR IS PW BOTHA PREPARED TO GO?

Constitutional development:



Mr P.W. Botha

The State President, Mr PW Botha, has outlined proposals for a new form of multiracial government. He also hinted at a broadening of the basis on which the State President would be elected if such plans were implemented.

Mr Botha raised speculation of a possible Black State President by saying that Blacks should be represented on the electoral college which chooses the country's head of state. He emphasised, however, that this was a suggestion he himself had made and was not National Party policy.

National Party sources have also pointed out that Mr Botha's proposals

were for "debate and negotiation" rather than firm Government intentions.

Mr Botha, speaking in the House of Assembly in April, proposed constitutional changes which would alter the function and composition of the President's Council to possibly include Blacks. A post of Prime Minister could also be created.

He said he was considering that the proposed National Council be called "The Great Indaba" and that Black South Africans living outside the self-governing territories could govern their own affairs by means of elected regional authorities. These bodies

could also serve as a basis for their participation in a formal forum for deliberation.

He hinted that Blacks might be given a say in both the election of the State President and on the President's Council.

Responding to Mr Botha's proposals, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, noted that yet again Blacks had not been consulted.

"I again repeat that the era of political prescription in which Whites can dictate to Blacks has passed. The State President has again sprung a surprise about which I most certainly have not

been consulted."

Dr Buthelezi said the State President needed to expand on what he meant by saying that he was in favour of recognised Black leaders being included in the electoral college.

"He should recognise the danger that there is in the National Party continuing to generate mystery about its intentions as far as the inclusion of Blacks in power-sharing is concerned. "Now that he has taken a first tentative step to defy the Conservative Party right wing in Parliament, let him be bold and be explicit about how far he is prepared to go."

Dr Buthelezi added that when it came to national innovations in constitutional development, Black participation in determining development would depend on the freedom of all Black leaders to decide whether or not to participate.

While Dr Nelson Mandela, Mr Zeph Mothopeng and other political prisoners remained incarcerated in jail they did not have this freedom. Their lack of freedom curtailed his (Dr Buthelezi's) freedom and the freedom of every Black leader.

He said that everybody remembered how Mr Pik Botha (Minister of Foreign Affairs) was "slapped down politically" by the State President for venturing to suggest that some time in the future South Africa could have a Black President.

"Mr PW Botha's present utterances make him at least one step removed from the position he adopted then,

however small that step may be."

Dr Buthelezi said the State President and the National Party did not admit the existence of a Black majority in South Africa and the whole of the tricameral parliamentary system was directed at giving continued effect to White political domination in South Africa.

"No amount of dressing this fact up will alter it. We have passed the point where tokenism could have any value," he said.

There was an undeniable Black majority in South Africa and the South African Government continued to attempt to produce a view of a South Africa compromised of a number of minorities.

In an address to students at the University of Pretoria, Dr Buthelezi said the Government only negotiated with whom it wished to.

There was still no negotiating agenda which both Blacks and Whites could subscribe to. The Government still did not accept that there was a Black majority in South Africa.

Although he personally was ready "right now" to negotiate about the future of the country, real negotiations had not yet even begun.

In his Presidential address to a meeting of Inkatha's Central Committee, Dr Buthelezi said if Inkatha became willing to negotiate with the Government despite its rejection of the fact of a Black majority, Inkatha would be "trampled on by the history of Black politics."

"We have to make a stand on this issue

... The issue is so fundamental that we must establish the reality of there being a Black majority as an absolute precondition for negotiation," he said.

Dr Buthelezi told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly that Blacks would have to accept "the burden" of drawing the country's Whites into the political solution for South Africa. The White electorate was far more ready to move towards negotiation than was generally recognised.

Because the Black/White problem was at the heart of the matter, both had to be involved in the solution.

"This perspective tells me that the historic burden of political responsibility that Blacks must bear as Blacks - because it is they who are the victims of oppression - is that of drawing Whites into the political solution."

This was in stark contrast to the perception by some that the struggle must produce a Black victory and establish a Black Government which would then deal with the White problem.

It was the rationale behind the need for an armed struggle to return the ANC to South Africa as the Black government in power. It was this perception that had bedevilled the politics of negotiation.

"If we want a victory over apartheid to be one which establishes a fair and race-free just society, then we must abandon violence as a primary cause of bringing about radical change," he added.

"We call on the State President to recognise that unless reform is related to bringing one South Africa with one sovereign Parliament resting on universal adult franchise into being, this country will continue to gravitate towards destructive violent confrontations ... There are a great, great many influential people and organisations from all race groups who yearn for non-violent solutions to South Africa's problems ..."

- Resolution - Central Committee of Inkatha.



**THE ONLY SOLUTION
TO THE PRESENT
PROBLEMS IS
PARTICIPATION
BY ALL CITIZENS
IN ONE
PARLIAMENT**

“The era of political prescription in which Whites can dictate to Blacks has passed ...” – Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.