## All-or-nothing election for the National Party

## REFORM CRUCIAL FOR AFRIKANERDOM

he National Party is facing an all-or-nothing survival game in the September elections, according to the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In addresses throughout South Africa and to influential visitors from abroad, Dr Buthelezi says he believes that when Mr F W de Klerk steps into outgoing State

There is no prospect of the National Party losing this election and returning in five years to win . . . it is an all-ornothing survival game it now plays. If it wins, it will again face an all-ornothing situation: it must win in order to reform or be eclipsed. If it does not reform and do so in such a way that black and white start working for the same political ideals and accommodate each other in the give and take of a democracy, the NP will either be eclipsed by the far Right-wing or have to resort to military rule and face real revolution for the first time . . ."

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi

President Mr P W Botha's shoes, if he doesn't get reform "on track" the white electorate will be disillusioned with him.

If the National Party lost in September it would never recover and if it won, but failed to implement reform, it would be eclipsed.

Dr Buthelezi says Mr de Klerk must address reform seriously because "institutionalised South Africa" demands that he do so.

"This is as well as the fact that his own party knows that if he doesn't, Afrikanerdom, which the National Party was originally formed to protect, will become totally vulnerable.

"Mr F W de Klerk is going to win the forthcoming Tricameral parliamentary elections and will have to tackle the question of really meaningful reform. He has no options. Everything else will lead to the final collapse of the National Party and his political ignominy."

"Mr de Klerk will have to respond to the historic demands for reform against a general groundswell demand for the normalisation of South Africa as a modern Western-type democracy which is running across all race groups."

He had "no option but to become serious" about what his predecessor, Mr P W Botha, failed to do.

It was because Mr de Klerk was in this position that there was such a stir in black politics. The South African Government was now caught in the dilemma of not being able to make any policy or constitutional move without consulting blacks and getting black support for what it intended doing.

Discussions between Inkatha and the UDF and Cosatu delegations flowed from a joint perception that negotiation could well become a reality.

In the period lying ahead, there had to be an awareness that there could be mistakes made by the NP and in black politics which would cost everyone very dearly.

The South African Government was "milling around at the crossroads of history and it cannot stand where it is at present. It has to move forward or be crushed where it is."

Apartheid was doomed and robbed of any length of life by black opposition to it.

"It is the time for cool heads . . . but the circumstances are such that even the best that we can hope for is not certain."

Dr Buthelezi says there are "more shades of grey" in every South African political issue today than there were 25 years ago and the country is moving into a position in which parties will "shade" each other instead of standing in stark contrast.

"This is certainly the case in black politics whereas, as Archbishop Desmond Tutu is admitting, it is not differences about objectives but differences about tactics and strategies which are dividing black from black."

Dr Buthelezi says black bargaining power is on the ascendancy and the total economic dependence of whites on blacks with the reciprocal total dependence of black on whites economically makes it possible to work for political interdependence.

He does, however emphasise the following: "However promising prospects are for negotiations getting off the ground and for real democracy emerging to replace apartheid, the vulnerability of everything of importance has never been greater."