

## Heunis's reaction: another setback?

# Indaba meets again to plan tactics, despite discouraging response

### Political Staff

DURBAN — The Natal/kwaZulu Indaba meets today to plan tactics and tie up crucial loose ends in the face of discouraging Government reaction to its proposals.

In the latest setback, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis has emphasised that he gave no assurance that a referendum would definitely be held to test the opinions of the people of Natal.

However, in an interview today he did not close the door on the proposals, or on the possibility of a referendum.

"I will only be prepared to comment on behalf of the Government after the Government has received and considered any proposals and has taken a decision," he said.

Indaba chairman Professor Desmond Clarence said today that plans were being made to hand the report to Mr Heunis as soon as possible.

It was also likely that Mr Heunis would be given a motivation for a referendum in Natal on the proposals.

There is now no doubt that members of the Indaba will go ahead with their referendum if the Government refuses to hold one.

This has been confirmed by Mr Frank Martin, former elected Natal MEC and a co-sponsor of the Indaba.

### WRAP—UP

The Indaba could also present its economic and education proposals after tomorrow's meeting.

Professor Clarence said the Indaba would now have to decide whether to wrap up and leave the rest of the work, such as selling the proposals to the Government and to the people of Natal, to political parties.

Mr Heunis's statement comes after a weekend statement by Natal National Party leader Mr Stoffel Botha, in which the pro-

posals were harshly criticised.

Mr Heunis today defended Mr Botha's right to make the statement before the Government had considered the proposals.

Mr Botha, as leader of the National Party in Natal, was represented at the Indaba with observer status.

"Quite obviously he has the right to respond and to comment on proposals in the province of which he is a political leader," Mr Heunis said.

Mr Heunis said it was too premature to speculate on probabilities, before the Government had received the report.

Commenting on reaction to the report, Professor Clarence said it should be remembered that no one was totally in favour of the proposals — "it is a compromise".

Minority reports were possible, not only from the dissenting right, but also from other parties, Professor Clarence emphasised.

● See Page 15

# Aim now is to persuade people of Major campaign to be launched

By Colleen Ryan,  
Political Reporter

The most ambitious sales campaign yet seen in South Africa is about to be launched, with the organisers of the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba hoping to persuade the people of Natal and the Government to accept non-racial rule for the province.

The effect of the Indaba plan would be to take power from the central Government and give it to the new provincial rulers, so it is highly unlikely the Nationalists will accept the proposals in their present form.

Already, the leader of the National Party in Natal, Mr Stoffel Botha, has rejected the draft constitution, saying it would lead to black domination.

And the deputy chairman of the Indaba, Mr John Kane-Berman, believes Mr Botha's statement sums up the present Government mood.

## PROOF NEEDED

"Mr Botha has let the cat out of the bag and I think it will have the effect of stopping the Indaba resting on its laurels."

"It will have to galvanise itself for the next phase of the operation."

"It has to prove that the great majority of people in the province want this form of government," said Mr Kane-Berman.

The Indaba had decided the proposals should be submitted to all the people of kwaZulu and Natal. Mr Kane-Berman said he hoped such a test or referendum would

take place in the next six months. He had no illusions about the difficulty of persuading the Government to accept the plan.

The Indaba was called eight months ago to try to create a single legislature for Natal and kwaZulu.

Delegates consisted of the 39 "middle ground" groups, including agricultural, religious and cultural groups and other regional cultural bodies.

One of the most important participants was Inkatha, whose chief repre-

sentative was Dr Oscar Dhlomo, kwaZulu's Education Minister.

The Government had observer status, but right-wing groups as well as significant black groups such as the United Democratic Front were absent from the talks.

The UDF has rejected the Indaba decisions, saying it was an attempt to bypass the ANC while it was banned, and that it was not a genuine, non-racial democracy.

Mr Kane-Berman admitted that rejection of the Indaba by groups

such as the UDF was a problem.

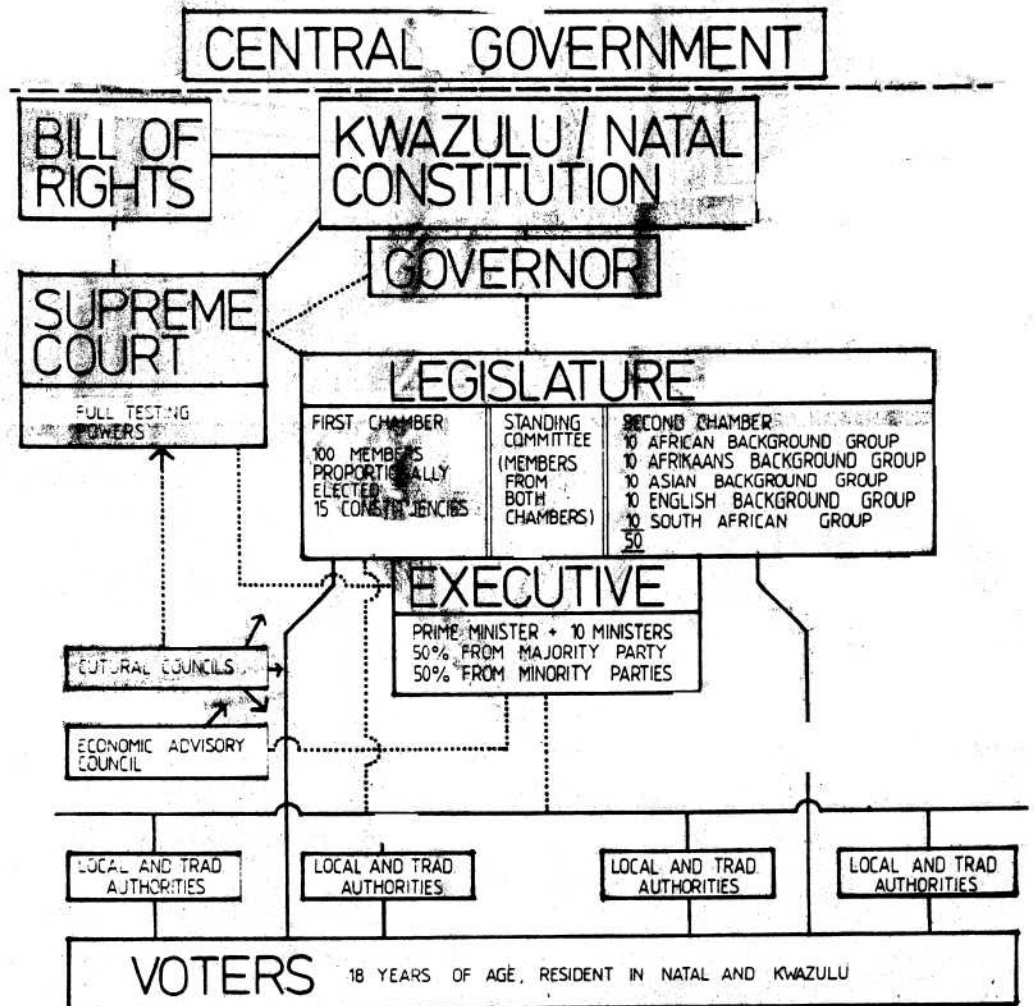
He said the ANC, which did have support in Natal, was locked in a power struggle with Inkatha.

After long and sometimes difficult deliberations, the Indaba decided last week on a non-racial constitution, with only the Afrikaans cultural group, the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK) refusing to sign the agreement.

The key aspect of the

constitution is the Rights which is designed to protect minorities and end all discrimination. It also provides a two-chamber structure, a Prime Minister and a 10-man Cabinet, a governor, standing committees and an independent judiciary.

The Bill of guarantees equalisation under the law for all inhabitants; equal rights for all race groups; equal property rights; equal language and cultural rights; and equal rights which would



# Natal to opt for non-racial government pledged to 'sell' Indaba proposals

KwaZulu Natal



Indaba

forced by the Supreme Court of South Africa.

The constitution also stresses the importance of "devolution of power" and proposes that major functions presently carried out by central government be transferred to the provincial government.

Functions to be devolved include revenue collection, primary and secondary education, planning, health services, agriculture, physical and land use planning, tourism and local government.

Mr Kane-Berman said that if the Government accepted the constitution, then the new provincial government would have the power to abolish all discriminatory legislation, including the Group Areas Act.

Schools would also be desegregated.

## CONSTITUENCIES

The province would be divided into 15 constituencies for elections for the first legislative chamber, which would consist of 100 seats. Voting would be based on simple universal adult suffrage through proportional representation.

The Prime Minister would be the leader of the party that secured an overall majority in the first chamber. He or she would probably be black, as would be the vast majority of the electorate.

The second chamber would consist of 50 seats, equally representing African, Afrikaans, Asian and English ethnic groups. A fifth "South African" group would represent people who chose not to vote on ethnic lines.

Mr Kane-Berman said provision for the non-racial "South African" group stressed the Indaba's concern for freedom of association.

Legislation could be vetoed in the second chamber if a group felt that the legislation would adversely affect its culture or language. Disagreements would finally be settled by the Supreme Court.

The provincial executive had been designed so that all groups would have a say. The Prime Minister would appoint five Cabinet Ministers from his own party. The remaining five Cabinet Ministers would be elected by the other parties in proportion to their strength in both chambers.

## COMMITTEES

Laws would only be ratified once accepted by the chambers and the relevant standing committees. There would be one standing committee for each Minister and all parties would be proportionally represented.

The standing committees would make decisions by a two-thirds majority decision, and no single party would be allowed more than 60 per cent representation.

Although the new government would control many important functions, vital areas such as foreign affairs, defence, national intelligence, police, prisons, railways and harbours and water affairs would remain under the jurisdiction of central government.

One of the major questions about the new system is how it could possibly function within the framework of apartheid

at central government level.

Mr Kane-Berman said he was convinced it could work.

"The key to the Indaba is its dynamic effect. I have no doubt that if this constitution is imple-

mented it will provide political stability.

"There would be investment in Natal and it has the infrastructure for growth. And soon there would be pressure in other parts of the country for something similar."

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**Professor who was firebombed for his support of the Natal-KwaZulu**

**D**EMANDS for major constitutional reform in South Africa are reaching a crescendo, and the chorus of appeals grows by the day.

Sympathetic Western governments, Dr Fritz Leutwiler's bankers, the local business community, the media, (including the Afrikaans Press), the established church organisations, (once again including the Afrikaans churches), Afrikaans academics and a restless, forward-looking wing within the Government itself, have taken positions which five years ago were expressed only by liberals, small extra-parliamentary lobbies and blacks.

The Government has no counter to these appeals other than to hold out the promise of constitutional negotiations because it has committed itself to full citizenship for blacks and to political participation for all South Africans at the highest level.

These repeated undertakings by the Government inevitably reinforce expectations and add to the pressures. The time for visible and dynamic action on the constitutional issue has quite clearly arrived.

Despite all this political impetus, however, it is simply naive to assume that a political resolution is on the cards.

Certainly there are signs that the Government is preparing to announce new policy initiatives later in the year, and it is trying to prepare the way for negotiations, but a basic impediment is likely to remain.

The power-base of the Government lies in a racially defined category of white voters within which it can depend on majority support.

A powerful feeling exists that if a racially open system of voting were to be introduced, the present Government support group would become a small minority opposition — in perpetuity.

The perceived lesson of Africa is that oppositions are permanently excluded from power. Hence the basic National Party principle of (white) group self-determination is at stake.

# INDABA OF HOPE

**The time for visible and dynamic action has clearly arrived. The country badly needs this catalyst**

**By LAWRENCE SCHLEMMER**



*director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Natal, who was organising secretary of the Buthelezi Commission. He has since maintained his interest in the "Natal Option" with help and advice to planners of the Indaba. Last week his office was petrol-bombed and many of his valuable papers destroyed.*

power.

For people committed to "majority rule", a group-based formula closes the door to negotiation. Even for those blacks who do not aspire to the fairly unqualified power of majority rule, racial classification implies that whites reject common association with them and hence it also means a continuation of second class citizenship.

The contradiction between these two viewpoints is the San Andreas fault line in our political geology.

The country badly needs a catalyst to start the construction of a bridge across this lethal division. This is where the KwaZulu-Natal indaba comes in.

The indaba is a logical sequel to the Lombard report, the Buthelezi Commission and increasing practical co-operation which has taken place subsequently between Natal and KwaZulu.

This co-operation has led to the establishment of a joint strategic committee between the KwaZulu Cabinet and the Natal Provincial Executive.

A few weeks ago a joint delegation headed by Chief Buthelezi and the Administrator of Natal, Mr Radclyffe Cadman, submitted a request to the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning for the establishment, by statute, of a joint Executive Authority for the combined region.

**T**he central Government might well wish to negotiate about the proposed powers of the joint executive, in particular those which fall outside the concept of what it has defined as "general affairs" in the present parliamentary structure.

Even so, if a joint executive within the scope of general affairs were to be established for the region by Act of Parliament, it will be the first instance of "equal" power sharing between African and non-African groupings in South Africa's history.

Black political interests outside of Inkatha and the KwaZulu leadership, however, have real cause for disquiet regarding the joint executive.

It will establish in a position of shared power over the whole region the existing authorities (with coloured and Indian representation drawn in) without the democratic process of elections within the new regional context.

It will lack the fundamental legitimacy of representation in an elected body for the whole region which will be capable of making

invited.

The purpose of the indaba is to formulate the constitutional framework for a single legislative assembly for a united region of Natal and KwaZulu.

It will be a second tier of government, presumably with additional powers, fully within the RSA, and with a defined relationship to the central Cabinet and Parliament.

The indaba will be launched next week at the Durban City Hall under the chairmanship of the distinguished former principal of the University of Natal, Professor Desmond Clarence, with the director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, John Kane-Berman, as vice-chairman.

Indications are that 31 out of 38 delegations will accept invitations to the indaba, from political organisations representing all categories of people as well as from all organised commerce and industry in the region.

The Government, through the National Party of Natal, will have a high-powered contingent of observers.

The indaba is vital for the region. If it succeeds it will not only be a recognition of the inextricable interdependence of all people in Natal and KwaZulu, but it will also mean universal participation in provincial government which will be close to the people and which will have meaningful powers to remove inequality of opportunity and promote development.

It will fully re-integrate the black people of the region into a common political community. To succeed it will have to bury apartheid in the region, and this broadly seems to be the common commitment of all the delegates.

Why is it significant for the rest of the country?

Its salience is at least twofold. Firstly it could provide a living constitutional model for the bridging of the divide in South African political thinking which I referred to in the beginning. At least one of the major white political delegations is committed to the protection of minority rights through racially-defined structures.

The black delegates will probably have proposals which reject group-based representation. Thus the indaba will be the first real exercise in negotiation which has to resolve this conflict — on the basis of consensus.

It is a forbidding task, but my assessment is that it can be, and

trahised government apart.

It is one way in which a government with strong right wing and left wing oppositions can balance the opposing forces and rule creatively.

**I**n South Africa, local or regional initiatives are germinating, not only in Natal but in the Eastern and Western Cape as well.

For understandable reasons there is a dearth of pragmatic black leadership in the country. Participation in meaningful multi-racial government at local and regional level will unlock political realism and moderation on a scale which seems totally improbable at the moment.

There are many paths to evolutionary change, and one of the most auspicious paths in South Africa is to allow local communities to resolve their own conflicts, at a pace determined by local conditions.

For these and other reasons, the KwaZulu-Natal indaba is being watched with great interest by the international community.

I do not believe they will be disappointed, except by the fact that some extra-parliamentary organisations, like the UDF, have refused to be part of the negotiations.

In a society so full of suspicion and alienation as ours it is perhaps understandable that some of these organisations fear that a combination of forces in the indaba, and in developments thereafter, will try to exclude them from the political running.

**T**he architects of the indaba, however, both from the KwaZulu and Natal sides, are firmly and publicly committed to an outcome which will be based on democratic elections.

The organisations which are not participating all claim large popular followings. If the claims are true they will be missing their first real opportunity to employ the leverage that a large, popular following brings.

How they will reconcile their refusals with their claims to democratic and peaceful goals remains to be seen.

Finally, it would be unrealistic to expect that the central Government will simply go along with the proposals which the indaba eventually presents. The political sup-

# kwaNatal: Buthelezi spells out the bottom line

**DURBAN** — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi today spelt out three essentials without which the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba's proposed single legislature would be rejected by the region's black majority.

He told guests at a ceremony in Pinetown at which he was awarded the freedom of Pinetown that if the Indaba failed it could mean the loss of South Africa's last opportunity for negotiated change.

But for the proposed single legislature to receive vital black acceptance it would have to be:

- Elected by all the people of the province, voting on a common voters' roll,
- In all respects a non-discrim-

inatory, non-apartheid system; and

- Not an alternative to full black participation in the central South African Government.

Chief Buthelezi said he understood the fears of many whites, Indians and coloureds. But, provided the plan met these criteria he would be happy if it also included enough safeguards and guarantees to ensure that these people were represented in the legislature and the executive and that legitimate rights were protected.

## IRONY

If the Indaba reached agreement and, most important, sold its plan to the people of kwaZu-

lu/Natal, the Government would be forced to take it very seriously indeed.

There was irony in the fact that, although he was receiving Pinetown's highest honour, he would not be allowed to vote or stand for office in its elections or to choose where to buy a house in the town.

He drew attention to this to illustrate how much reform was still needed.

He called on the Pinetown Town Council to take immediate steps to end discrimination in the municipality — to open all amenities and to ensure that there was no job discrimination in its employment.

He said that although it might be true that capital to

build the town had come from largely white ratepayers, most of the sweat and toil had been supplied by blacks.

Chief Buthelezi warned whites not to be fooled into thinking that a few token changes would ensure a peaceful alternative to the "Vorsterian nightmare" too ghastly to contemplate.

## EUPHEMISM

There were titanic, well-financed resources determined to wreck the economy, make South Africa ungovernable and to establish a socialist or quasi-socialist system which some euphemistically called a people's democracy.

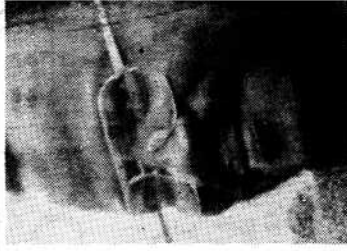
"Such a 'democracy' would

show every sign of having little to do with either people or democracy and a great deal to do with rule by the few for the few, with a so-called people's court hanging the 'necklace' on those who dare to disagree," he said.

Yet it was hopeless for those who wanted peace to adopt a reactionary position and fight to maintain the status quo.

Even a modified form of the status quo was indefensible and untenable because it did not have the support of the vast mass of South Africans who hated it and wanted it destroyed.

But in all this, Chief Buthelezi said, he could offer a powerful message of hope. People



Buthelezi . . . condition  
ceptance by black mc

were not stupid and not want to exchange any for another.

They simply wanted prosperity, hope, a real home, a decent job, a guarantee for their children equal say in the rural their town, province and try. — Sapa.

# The two issues: Inkatha and ANC

**PATRICK LAURENCE on the key election issues**

THE Indaba, with its proposals for non-racial government for Natal and KwaZulu, has crystallised as a key issue in the May 6 general election for whites.

So, too, has the question about whether there should be negotiations with the outlawed African National Congress and, if so, on what conditions.

White elections in the past have been dominated by debate over what policies the white community should adopt toward the black majority.

The present election is no exception. Relations with Inkatha and the ANC have emerged as core issues in the election.

Inkatha was, of course, a major participant in the Indaba. Its president, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was the driving force behind the idea of joint non-racial government for KwaZulu and Natal. Its secretary general, Oscar Dhlomo, was a co-convenor of the Indaba conference.

It was hardly accidental that the outgoing ambassador to Britain, Denis Worrall, was identified as an "Indaba candidate" soon after the news broke of his decision to quit and return to South Africa to stand against the National Party.

Equally significantly, Worrall is tipped to stand against either the NP's Natal leader, Stoffel Botha, or its Cape leader and Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Chris Heunis.

Botha was the man who rejected the Indaba proposals for a non-racial legislature for Natal and KwaZulu based on universal adult suffrage because, he said, they did not protect minority rights adequately.

His rejection came within days of the publication late last year of the broad outline of the proposals. Faced with a chorus of criticism in Natal, Botha backed away, explaining that he was speaking for the Natal NP but not the government *per se*.

By then, however, he had been identified as an anti-Indaba man — despite his protestations that he was not opposed to the Indaba *in toto*, only to some of its conclusions. His anti-Indaba profile was confirmed when he repeated his criticisms in parliament.

The defeat of Botha in Port Natal by the pro-Indaba Worrall would clearly be a major blow to the NP. So, too, would be the defeat of Heunis in the Cape seat of Helderberg.

When the final Indaba report was handed to Heunis last month he maintained a judicious silence, declining to comment until he had studied it in detail.

But Heunis has now broken his silence, declaring in the no-confidence debate: "The proposals do not provide for effective power-sharing and do not offer sufficient guarantees to groups against domination."

Heunis, the man charged by PW Botha with negotiating a new



Voters queue to register at the NP tables in the PFP stronghold of Yeoville

Picture: AFP

that he was anti-Indaba. "I believe the Indaba proposals must continue," he said. "I see the Indaba proposals as a start, not as an end in themselves."

But Heunis has been tagged as an anti-Indaba man. He will thus be an ideal target — and a coveted scalp — for a pro-Indaba candidate.

In his opening address to parliament last week, PW Botha left no doubt about his opposition to the Indaba proposals. He prefaced his remarks on the Indaba with a rejection of "so-called one man-one vote, non-racial democracy", declaring that it was unsuited to South Africa and would not lead to a just society.

Of the Indaba proper, Botha stressed that constitutional agreements "at every level of government" must provide for the protection of minority groups and their right to self

determination. Significantly, Stoffel Botha used the same language when he rejected the Indaba proposals.

Commenting on PW Botha's speech, PFP leader Colin Eglin said: "While he endorsed the concept of negotiation, he rejected the non-racial philosophy which is at the heart of the Indaba proposals. Irrespective of what the people of KwaZulu and Natal may want, the government will only allow them to have a future on the basis of National Party principles."

The most important of these is group representation on the basis of race, with — judging from the tri-racial parliament — built-in control for whites.

The Indaba apart, another issue is the question of negotiations with the ANC. The NP, fearful of its ultra-right foes in the Conservative and

Herstigte Nasionale parties, has adopted a tough anti-ANC line.

PW Botha set two conditions for talks with the ANC in his opening address: it must renounce violence and it must sever ties with the South African Communist Party.

Addressing foreign correspondents in Cape Town, Foreign Minister Pik Botha made it clear the government would adopt a strong anti-ANC stance in the election campaign.

Lambasting the ANC for its violence and accusing it of wanting to seize power, he insisted that its *de facto* leader is "a real white man", Joe Slovo of the SACP.

"He has received two or three awards from Moscow," Botha said. "He is — or was — a colonel in the KGB."

NP leaders have signalled their determination to crush dissent on the ANC from the party's *verligtes*.

Wynand Malan, the Nat MP who resigned from the NP in protest against President Botha's defence of the Group Areas Act, specifically called for talks with the political — as distinct from the armed — wing of the ANC. He thus implicitly recognised that talks could take place even without a formal renunciation of armed struggle by the ANC.

But another NP rebel, Albert Nothnagel, was rounded on for deviating from the party line by declaring that it was a myth to think there could be a lasting political settlement in South Africa without the ANC and without the release from jail of its leader, Nelson Mandela.

Faced with threatened expulsion from the party, Nothnagel, who represents the conservative Pretoria constituency of Innesdal, crumbled, recanting in writing (even though a secret Broederbond working document made essentially the same point last year as the humble rebel Nat MP).

The NP Transvaal leader, FW de Klerk, released the full text of his letter for publication. The headline in the Afrikaans newspaper, *Die Burger*, read: "Nothnagel submits." Worrall can expect a tough fight when he returns home.

Pik Botha meanwhile has given a taste of the verbal onslaught to come. He charged the PFP — which the Nats say stands for "packing for Perth" — with wanting to talk to the ANC so that they can surrender the country to them, "the sooner the better".

# DOORS: KwaNatal talks to

should rather be left as a matter of choice.

Although there was no place in the present constitution for such a system, Mr Martin said an amendment to the Constitution Act could make provision for it.

Mr Martin said he envisaged his proposal as a step towards multiracialism — "and our last opportunity for peaceful change."

He said: "We're not advocating UDI or Home Rule for Natal. We just want a rationalisation of legislation at this level in the interests of economy, better administration and goodwill towards other race groups."

Although the consocia-



□ **FRANK MARTIN:**  
Our last opportunity for peaceful change

tional model is but one of the suggestions likely to arise at the Indaba, and while Mr Martin insists he will be keeping a "low profile", it is likely to be a strong consideration.

Exco and the KLA have met frequently over the past months to talk about the Indaba, so when Mr Martin says: "The Zulus may accept it now, but in three year's time they won't", it suggests that agreement has already been reached between the prime movers behind the Indaba.

However, the organisers insist the agenda is open-ended, and that all 31 of the parties who have agreed to participate can put forward

their proposals.

Another possibility is that Natal could ask to be declared a Special Status Region. This would entitle the region to pass laws which could be in direct conflict with the apartheid laws of the land.

It seems unlikely the government would tolerate such a situation, and underscores the point that any proposal to come from the Indaba has no chance of succeeding unless it is backed by Government.

Professor Lawrence Boule, head of Constitutional Law at Natal University, said the constitutional and economic realities suggested that

no fruit would be borne of the Indaba. At most, he saw it as an exercise in negotiation.

The main obstacle on the constitutional front was that, since union, there had been increasing centralisation of public authority. Most recently, this had been seen through the hollowing out of provincial powers, which had been handed to Pretoria.

Professor Boule said: "There's not enough power left at the moment for there to be any meaningful policy-making at this level."

A joint legislature for KwaZulu and Natal could also conflict with the Government plan for

power to be devolved to the new Regional Services Councils.

As far as economics were concerned, Professor Boule said the region was a liability on state coffers, and could not survive independently without Government approval and backing.

Natal and KwaZulu spent more Government money than it generated, Professor Boule said.

The NPA generated less than 20 percent of its expenditure and KwaZulu brought in less than 30 percent of what it spent.

Mr Martin, however, said he never doubted that the plan would need financial and political

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support from Government to succeed. He also argued that joint administration of the region would be a tremendous saving.

He estimated there could be a saving of up to R4 million in the health services alone if Natal and KwaZulu shared a common medicine depot.

Already the region is well on its way to a joint administrative body. Proposals for the Joint Executive Authority (JEA) have already been presented to the Government. It is a structure with an equal number of representatives from the KwaZulu Cabinet and the Executive Committee

with a rotating head of the Chief Minister and the Administrator.

The next stage, called *Phase 3* by KwaZulu, is a single elected legislative authority for the region — hence the decision for an Indaba.

KwaZulu and Province chose about 40 organisations to participate in the talks — a grouping which they call the most representative ever to meet.

Although not all organisations have replied to the invitation, 31 parties have expressed support for joint regional government by agreeing to talk about it.

Inkatha Secretary-General Dr Oscar Dhlomo stressed that the

search for a regional option did not imply giving up the struggle for black political participation in parliament.

"What we are doing in KwaZulu-Natal will hopefully provide us with a stepping stone to intensify the struggle for our political rights at the first tier of government. This is our *Phase 4* of the KwaZulu-Natal option."

A positive stance towards the Indaba has been adopted by, among others, big business and the Progressive Federal Party, as well as Inkatha and the New Republic Party.

Each delegation has one voter and five advi-

sors. The Indaba hopes to work through consensus, rather than putting matters to the vote. After the *modus operandi* have been established this week, sub committees may be established and the Indaba is expected to meet two days a week for several months.

The National Party and other parties to the Right have decided not to participate, but the fact that the NP has opted for observer status shows that they have not rejected the experiment out of hand.

Among the groups who have declined to participate are the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the Natal Indian Congress.

The UDF said in a letter to the Indaba organisers that it rejected the separation of Natal and KwaZulu from the rest of the country.

"South Africa is indivisible. Measures to work out a separate solution for KwaZulu and Natal will serve to undermine the unity of our people," they said.

The UDF also said the KwaNatal option did not address itself to the rights of Africans at central government, nor did it challenge the fundamental issues of apartheid.

It was also opposed to the fact that discussions so far had involved two Government-created bodies while non-racial democratic organisations had not been involved.

It said meaningful change could only be brought about when apartheid was dismantled, political prisoners were released, exiled leaders returned and the African National Congress and other organisations were unbanned.

## The UDF Viewpoint

SOUTH AFRICA is indivisible ... measures to work out a separate solution for

ence  
stitu-  
Uni-  
msti-  
omic  
that

ingru policy-making at  
this level."

A joint legislature for  
KwaZulu and Natal could  
also conflict with the  
Government plan for

30 percent of the  
spent.

Mr Martin, however,  
said he never doubted  
that the plan would need  
financial and political

ment. It is a structure  
with an equal number of  
representatives from the  
KwaZulu Cabinet and the  
Executive Committee

ment by agreeing to talk  
about it.

Inkatha Secretary-  
General Dr Oscar Dhlo-  
mo stressed that the

Party, as well as Inkatha  
and the New Republic  
Party.

Each delegation has  
one voter and five advi-

have declined to partici-  
pate are the African Na-  
tional Congress, the Unit-  
ed Democratic Front, the  
Congress of South Afri-  
can Trade Unions and the  
Natal Indian Congress.

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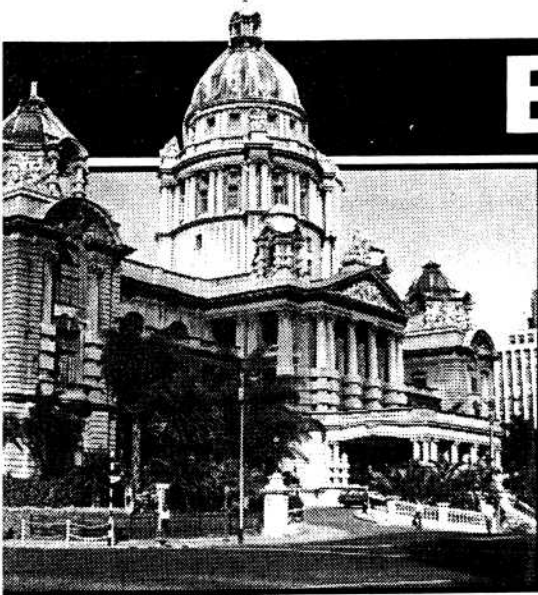
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## The UDF Viewpoint

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ers released, ex-  
iled leaders re-  
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African National  
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tions are un-  
banned**

# BEHIND CLOSED



... The Durban City Hall, where participants will convene for the dispensation for Natal and KwaZulu

**A**RM-WRESTLING at the KwaNatal talks, which start at the Durban City Hall on Thursday, will be carried out behind closed doors and only the hour-long opening session will be open to the public.

After several months, the Indaba hopes to emerge with a model of provincial government for Natal, reached through consensus between the 31 participating organisations and which could be put to the test in a referendum throughout the region.

Co-organiser of the Indaba, senior MEC Frank Martin, said he would welcome the opportunity



By  
**CAROLYN MCGIBBON**

of asking everyone in Natal for their opinion on a joint-legislative body. This could feasibly be carried out by referendums held simultaneously by each local authority in the area.

If a majority of the population favoured the new dispensation, the Government would be hard pressed to refuse the Natal option, Mr Martin believed.

He said he would propose to the Indaba a con-

sociational model for second-tier government based on the Swiss Canton system.

For Natal this would mean the four racial groups would each elect an equal number of representatives to a multiracial legislature.

Mr Martin said their powers would be limited to jurisdiction over matters presently governed by province, as well as any additional powers

which might be handed down.

It would not mean, for example, that Natal could scrap the Group Areas Act or could have a single ministry of education. The new body would not be able to overturn Acts of Parliament and would still have to fall in line with the apartheid structures imposed by the central government.

He said he saw no reason why the existing voters' rolls for the four racial groups should not be used, but said new voters should not be forced onto any particular roll by the Population Registration Act; it

# Worrall to play big role in Indaba-type convention?

Schreier 3/2/87

By TONY STIRLING and BRIAN STUART

SPECULATION is growing that Dr Denis Worrall, South Africa's outgoing ambassador to London, will lead a multiparty opposition coalition at an Indaba-type convention aimed at breaking the existing political impasse.

Adding strength to this suggestion are hardening rumours — that have neither been confirmed nor denied — that Dr Worrall will stand as an

Independent against Mr Stoffel Botha, the NP leader in Natal, who has rejected the outcome of the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba — in the coming general election.

As in the case of Mr Wynand Malan (NP, Randburg) it is being said that the PFP will not oppose him.

The "Diary" of the Times of London yesterday used as its lead article

a report quoting "impeccable sources" as stating that Dr Worrall will lead an opposition alliance after the election.

It suggests that Dr Worrall has held talks with opposition leaders in this regard, and believes that the PFP-NRP election pact will increase the number of seats held by the parties — which will lead to more National Party defections after the election.

Sources say that what is being envisaged is not the formation of a coalition party as such, but a coalition grouping to participate in an Indaba-type convention that would involve a broad spectrum of political interests, including Black leaders.

The sources suggest that it is within this context that Dr Worrall is expected to play a leading role.

## Timing of indaba is 'sinister' — Stoffel

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Natal National Party leader Mr Stoffel Botha today expressed concern that there could be something "sinister" in plans to promote the Natal/kwaZulu Indaba proposals partly in parallel with the white election.

He also criticised the fact that the Indaba was being advised in the campaign by an overseas company and asked where the "multimillion rands" were coming from to finance it.

Mr Botha's comments are likely to spark another row following the international controversy which followed his condemnation of the indaba proposals last year.

Mr Botha's opposition to the proposals was later officially backed by the Government.

In an interview today Mr Botha said: "It is perhaps sinister that this campaign is being run parallel to the elections."

"They can be quite sure that people of Natal and South Africa will not be dictated to by an organisation which has unlimited funds."

Mr Botha said the PFP should spell out the proposals they supported.

"The white electorate in Natal is already asking pointed questions."

"They want to know why the Progs are soft on existing educational standards."

"They want to know why the Progs are soft on group community life which could be destroyed by forced integration in residential areas."

"Perhaps the Progs do not care about white people."

Professor van Wyk said Mr Botha's statement on the indaba campaign was "ill-informed and inaccurate".

## No objection 'in principle' to concept Heunis 'positive' to Natal — KwaZulu proposals

By BRIAN STUART  
CAPE TOWN. — Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, says there is no objection "in principle" to co-operation between the Natal Provincial Administration and the government of KwaZulu.

He was reacting to requests by Natal and KwaZulu for a Joint Executive Authority (JEA) to administer both areas.

The talks with Mr Heunis in Cape Town yesterday were led by Mr Radclyffe Cadman, Administrator of Natal, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, who is also president of Inkatha and chairman of the SA Black Alliance.

At a Press conference after the talks, Mr Heunis said the proposals would be submitted to the Government for consideration and decision. He understood that Natal and KwaZulu wanted a decision as soon as possible.

It seems that if the Government approves the plan, legislation to set up a joint Natal-KwaZulu administration could come before Parliament this year.

"The principle of co-operation between the administration of Natal and the government of KwaZulu is a natural manifestation of their inter-dependence in many fields," Mr Heunis told the Press.

In effect, Natal and KwaZulu asked the Government to create a statutory institution for co-operation between them. Negotiations had taken place, and the request flowed from consensus between them.

"Obviously, the Government's approach is that, quite apart from political institutions to accommodate the South African communities, it is accepted that in many respects there is an inter-dependence between the various geographical regions, governments and regional authorities," said Mr Heunis.

"For example, the existence of a Customs Union agreement underscores the principle of the necessity for co-operation between countries in Southern Africa.

"The establishment of a Council of Ministers between South Africa and the TVBC countries is another example of formal-

On this, Mr Heunis declined to comment. "I was informed that the two parties are going to negotiate on the issue. It would be presumptuous of me to comment on the negotiations or anticipate the results," he said.

Chief Buthelezi described the proposals for a joint administration as well as a joint legislative body as "a giant step towards a unified South Africa".

"Basically, we are saying there cannot be a solution in this country if we exclude anybody," he told the Press.

Earlier, in a memorandum to Mr Heunis, Chief Buthelezi said KwaZulu and Natal were faced with the need to rationalise their responsibilities and maximise co-operation and mutual assistance.

"We are doing everything in our power to maximise efficiency and to eliminate duplication of endeavour, and to make our forward planning as effective as possible."

He told Mr Heunis these proposals represented "a beginning to negotiations between Black and White".

dress this problem directly."

Although the actual proposals were not released, Mr Cadman indicated in a memorandum presented to the Minister, that the JEA would cover areas such as roads, education, traffic, libraries, nature conservation and recreation.

It would afford equal representation to Natal and KwaZulu, and would be financed from a joint account with the possibility of further grants from Central Government or direct funding from Parliament on the basis of an annual Budget.

ised though voluntary co-operation."

Mr Heunis's reaction is seen by Natal and KwaZulu as a "positive" response, indicating that the concept will not be rejected out of hand.

However, Dr Oscar Dlomo, Minister of Education and Culture in KwaZulu, said the proposed joint administrative body was but the first phase of proposals to draw Natal and KwaZulu closer together.

"Phase two", as he described it, would begin with the Natal indaba in Durban on April 3, aimed at seeking consensus on proposals to create a joint legislative assembly for Natal-KwaZulu.

"They promise more such negotiations and they promise greater achievements."

Chief Buthelezi said the proposals for a joint administration represented "the kind of politics" in which all races worked together and which needed the "blessing" of the Government.

Mr Cadman also stressed the need for co-ordinated government in the Natal-KwaZulu region.

"With separate statutory decision-making structures it is not possible to achieve adequate representation of the people from either area in the decision-making process. Our proposals ad-

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strative Assembly

eld in Durban  
political groups  
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sion administra-

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ANC and the  
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by the Kwa-  
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fort.

I require ex-  
Committee's  
tations the  
from admini-  
he NRP-do-

ie precisely in the areas of legislat-  
d exclusions of racial groups from  
olitical participation at the national  
vel, can solutions be expected by the  
xclusion of Indians at the provincial  
vel — especially in a province  
here Indians substantially outnumber  
whites? Should a national federal  
lan offer Indians the opportunity to  
ominate one "state" in the federation  
ould they not lose this opportunity in  
Natal dominated by KwaZulu's ex-  
anded authority?

In the end, are the KwaNatal talks  
t between the representatives of the  
aning NRP and Natal's MEC and the  
ngle personality of Chief Buthelezi,  
ho represents KwaZulu's blacks and  
his a sufficiently large base on  
hich to advance a regional solution?  
olitical history has taught that it is  
ry tenuous to build institutions  
ound a limited power base.  
These are only some thoughts on  
is very important matter which re-  
ire attention, not only by the partici-  
ants at the talks but also by the gen-  
al public.  
Impatience with the slow progress  
the national reform process is un-

Indeed, one may imag-  
ine that Mr Botha at this  
time probably wishes it  
was nothing but a dream.  
Unfortunately for him —  
and all who think like him  
— it is not. It is sim-  
ply one of the many harsh  
realities they must face up  
to as the chickens come  
home to roost.

After 38 years of harsh-  
ly-enforced apartheid rule,  
the Government can now  
be said to be reaping the  
bitter fruits of what they  
have been sowing all these  
years.

They know it. The rest  
of the watching world  
knows it. Those who have  
always opposed this  
thoroughly repugnant and  
quite unacceptable system  
sense victory. It is defini-  
tely in the air. And so  
world pressure mounts and  
the anti-apartheid brigade  
is going for the jugular.

I have just returned  
from a brief visit to the  
US and the United King-  
dom. I was part of a group  
of senior black and white  
South African journalists  
who met and conferred  
with high-ranking Ameri-  
can journalists from the  
print and electronic media.

We met at Harvard  
University in Cambridge,  
Massachusetts, and the  
subject was — you  
guessed it — South Afri-  
ca.

It was not all gloom and  
doom from those who fol-  
low the developments here  
and take a keen interest in  
the future of the country.

To be sure there are  
many that one meets in  
the US and the UK who  
constantly search for miti-  
gating factors to plead

ates, for instance, is stud-  
ied closely. Chief Mangos-  
uthu Buthelezi, president  
of Inkatha and Chief Min-  
ister of KwaZulu, is seen  
as among the few remain-  
ing of his breed with whom  
white South Africa may  
negotiate.

The much-vaunted  
Natal option, commonly  
referred to as the Natal  
Indaba, is of more than  
passing interest to those  
I met during my trip. They  
seem to think it may be  
the one option that may  
yet save South Africa from  
the Armageddon that lies  
ahead.

But they are not over-  
ly optimistic.

They cite the Govern-  
ment's intransigence and  
reluctance to break com-  
pletely from the hardened  
apartheid mould. Some  
give it the thumbs down  
on the basis that Mr Botha is  
not, according to his track  
record, prepared for whites  
generally to share power  
meaningfully with the  
blacks.

So we all wait and see  
what will become eventual-  
ly of "KwaNatal".

Is the US media out to  
get South Africa? was the  
topic of one of the numer-  
ous panel discussions dur-  
ing our US visit. To which  
we, the visitors, responded  
almost unanimously thus:  
if that was the general per-  
ception, here or abroad,  
then we could only suggest  
that the Western media  
was out, not to get South  
Africa as such, but rather  
to knock the very stuffing  
out of apartheid.

The meeting was hard-  
ly into its stride when news  
came through of the Gov-

ern Cape leaders Mkhuse-  
li Jack and Henry Fazzie.

"Here we go again," I  
heard one of my white  
South African colleagues  
cry. "Our Government has  
just gone and done what it  
loves doing and doing best  
— shooting itself in the  
foot."

Of course, Mkhuse-  
li Jack has since had his ban  
lifted. No thanks to Mr le  
Grange but lots of thanks  
to the Supreme Court  
which overruled the Minis-  
ter's decision.

And, with an unbeliev-  
able naivete, they still ac-  
cuse Western newspapers  
and TV stations of unfair-  
ly picking on South Afri-  
ca.

With such Government  
bungling and ineptitude,  
need they really wonder  
why this country is receiv-  
ing such a merciless drub-  
bing?

Most whites find it easy  
to accuse Western nations,  
especially America, of  
double standards and hy-  
pocrisy when they fire  
away at the South African  
regime. They readily point  
to America's own recent  
history — not a very  
happy one, it must be ac-  
cepted — of troubled race  
relations.

Government apologists  
here and abroad refer *ad  
nauseum* to the racial riots  
in England.

What they all fail to un-  
derstand or deliberately  
refuse to accept, is that,  
however misguided outside  
critics may be, on one  
thing they remain in abso-  
lute agreement. And that  
is that the racism inherent  
in South Africa's apartheid  
policies is not only an im-

country in the whole wide  
world that actually legis-  
lates in Parliament on the  
basis of race and colour.

They used to describe  
South Africa as the pole-  
cat of the world. Then they  
were content merely to  
give the smelly animal a  
quiet brush-off and leave it  
alone. Not so any more.

The death sentence has  
been passed on Dr Ver-  
woerd's quaint invention.  
What's more, overseas ob-  
servers will not accept the  
hollow declarations by  
Government spokesmen to  
the effect that the monster  
is dead.

I told a US audience  
that, in my view, no  
amount of costly Govern-  
ment advertising and prop-  
aganda-peddling would  
convince us, the victims of  
apartheid, that it is dead. I  
said that the death of  
apartheid and its final bur-  
ial rites must be an-  
nounced and performed by  
us blacks, and not by any-  
body else.

The onslaught against  
South Africa's iniquitous  
system is intensifying, not  
decreasing. The demon-  
strations outside South  
African embassies no  
longer make the big head-  
lines of a few months ago.

Nevertheless, one gets  
the feeling that things are  
moving, that the people out  
there won't rest until jus-  
tice and fairness prevail in  
our land.

The ANC is now undeni-  
ably recognised interna-  
tionally. It is accepted and  
its representatives are lis-  
tened to in many influen-  
tial circles and forums.

It is worth noting that  
even Dr Chester Crocker

retary of State in the Rea-  
gan Administration was  
heard to admit that, in a  
"generic sense," the ANC  
were "freedom fighters".

Did this remark herald a  
possible shift in the Ameri-  
can Government's policy  
towards South Africa?

Or was Dr Crocker  
sending out an early sig-  
nal for the death of "con-  
servative engagement?"

Typically, the man who  
must be running out of  
sticks and carrots with  
which to persuade the Pre-  
toria regime to mend its  
ways remained as vague as  
"ever. Newsmen are said to  
have left the briefing shak-  
ing their heads in utter be-  
wilderedness.

If outside observers be-  
lieve, as they no doubt do,  
that South Africa is  
afire, then equally they  
believe that Mr Botha and  
his Cabinet colleagues are  
fiddling like Nero. They  
believe that the reform  
measures of which so  
much is being said nowa-  
days will amount to noth-  
ing as long as the basic  
apartheid structures re-  
main in place.

An so, of course, say  
all of us.



□ CHESTER  
CROCKER: Change  
of mind?

black participants. Only  
white political parties is  
NP, HNP and CP all  
refused to sign the Busi-  
ness on those grounds. (The  
today for reasons discuss-

It is easily predictabl  
produce agreement on a  
C: Natal, as a semi-inde-  
ca, would need substan-  
the central Government  
egalitarian policies (such  
The alternatives of m  
or reduced standards for  
would simply reduce sul-  
ment and create economi

It is, in reality, virtu-  
radically different socia-  
gions of one country with  
movement of people and r

It is unlikely that a Ni-  
ernment would collect ta-  
Africa to pay for a Natar  
they cannot accept ideolog

Thus even if the other  
the Natal option is econo-  
The above arguments  
Natal option or a joint  
from the forthcoming Ind-  
people and organisations  
jumping on the bandwag-  
on?

Many, certainly, have  
not thought through the  
issues in depth.

Below I have listed  
three other hidden agen-  
das which could explain  
otherwise inexplicable  
support.

## Agenda

1. The use of this Indaba  
as a proxy forum for con-  
stitutional debate betwe-  
en parties who will  
not (yet) sit around a na-  
tional negotiating table.  
The PFP participation  
might be ascribed mainly  
to this motive — any talk  
is better than no talk.

2. The NRP can only  
hope to stay alive as a  
Natal party if some al-  
ternative forum is found  
to succeed the Natal Pro-  
vincial Council — even a  
slight hope is some hope.

3. Inkatha may see its  
power base as being  
much stronger in a feder-  
al system once South  
Africa becomes truly  
democratic. Thus the  
more the idea of a Kwa-  
Natal option is publicised  
the better the prospects  
for a long-term federal  
solution. In addition a  
strong regional system  
would give Inkatha possi-  
ble control over impor-  
tant issues in a large part  
of South Africa.

In conclusion, however,  
I believe the Indaba will  
produce no concrete,  
short-term, results.  
Whether it is a waste of  
time is a matter of per-  
sonal judgment.

derstandable as is the attraction for  
regional solutions. This attraction is  
enhanced especially in Natal where  
the Zulu population has been com-  
paratively conservative when judged  
by the national norm. And Chief Bu-  
thelezi's assiduous self-projection of  
pacifist inclinations fuels this regional  
utopian aspiration.

Yet on closer examination Natal is  
not much different from the rest of  
the country.

The whites are actually a bit more  
conservative as judged by the Ref-  
erendum on the tri-chamber parlia-  
ment and by recent elections; racial  
conflict is certainly in evidence as  
was demonstrated at Inanda in 1985;  
severe economic problems in Kwa-  
Zulu have hardly been alleviated by  
frequent searches for foreign invest-  
ments overseas; and violence has the  
dubious distinction of an added dimen-  
sion in Natal where a peaceful future  
is promised for Natal as a whole but  
where the KwaZulu administration  
has shown no aptitude to even under-  
take the initiative to control faction  
fighting among the black population  
itself.

Is this a standard conservative ex-  
pression of the fear of being swamped  
by black majority rule?

Not at all.

This is merely a caution that action  
born out of impatience could well lead  
to greater problems than those which  
gave rise to demands for reform in  
the first place.

A Natal solution may have inherent  
temporal limitations in the sense that  
a national solution just could offer  
more attractive terms which is entire-  
ly possible if radical federation is  
proffered. Most governments of the  
Left would quickly dismantle home-  
lands while a federal form would ex-  
pand and consolidate such homelands  
into federal states.

Either option would leave KwaNa-  
tal with its KwaZulu homeland in-  
tact or KwaZulu would be progres-  
sively integrated into Natal.

Elections under this latter prospect  
would be along the lines of one-man,  
one-vote.

Alternatively, should a joint KwaNa-  
tal administration demonstrate its  
inherent limitations deriving from its  
predictable difficulties of compromis-

ing traditional and modern political  
systems which haven't succeeded any-  
where else in Africa, dismantling the  
integrated administrative structures  
and vested interests will hardly be  
feasible.

Once this process is started, it will  
hardly be capable of being reversed.

Greater administrative co-opera-  
tion between Natal and KwaZulu is to  
be commended — but not if it entails  
statutory authorisation.

Unless Natal is bent upon total se-  
cession from the Republic, Natal's re-  
formist forces would be better chan-  
nelled towards the development of a  
national solution lest Natal finds itself  
with a structure which it cannot dis-  
lodge should a national solution re-  
quire it.

And above all, such negotiations as  
do take place should be conducted  
only after a clear commitment has  
been made to subject the work of the  
Indaba to a popular referendum.

And a further commitment should  
be extracted that no threats of vio-  
lence and imminent catastrophe be  
made should the public reject the pro-  
posals emanating from the indaba.

**T**ALKS between the Natal Provincial Administration and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly are progressing to a new stage.

The first Indaba is to be held in Durban shortly. Representatives of all major political groups in Natal have been invited to take part in the discussion concerning the establishment of joint administrative structures for Natal and KwaZulu.

While there appears to be much public support for these developments from a wide assortment of respected organisations, there are emerging a lot of questions about these talks which need to be debated.

Interest groups on the Left, such as the ANC and the UDF, and those on the Right, such as the HNP and the Conservative Party, have already declined to support, or have already indicated their unwillingness to participate in, these discussions.

The KwaNatal talks, as they are referred to, have their origins in the well established observation that the geographic and economic conditions of Natal and KwaZulu are so intertwined that it will be increasingly more difficult to develop their economies separately.

The logical response is to explore the formation of joint-administrative structures to avoid expensive duplication and wasteful competition in the provision of administrative services.

Insofar as the solution purposes more administrative efficiency and cost-saving measures, these negotiations will hardly encounter resistance. But there are problems which have yet to be publicly debated which impinge on some very delicate political questions.

The extensive preliminary planning and constant stream of public relations indicate that the Indaba will be a very tightly controlled affair at which debating is to result in the pursuit of consensus among the active participants and it is expected that a popular referendum among the white, Indian and black populations of Natal will be discouraged.

The public at large needs to take a greater interest in these developments as the participating organisations may not necessarily reflect grassroots attitudes.

The tri-chamber parliament has been severely criticised for excluding the majority black population yet the KwaNatal talks have been progressing without the participation of Indians; blacks who do not necessarily feel that their interests are represented by the KwaZulu administration; and it is anyone's guess as to what portion of whites identify with the effort.

A critical examination of the talks will require explanation of the following matters:

□ To what extent is the Natal Executive Committee's enthusiastic participation in these negotiations the consequence of its scheduled elimination from administrative authority in mid-1986? Does the NRP-dominated Executive Committee reflect the sentiments of the white sector which is represented decisively by the National Party in the national House of Assembly?

□ Does the Natal option imply a degree of secession from the Republic in that exemption from national legislation which would conflict with provincial measures will have to be pursued? Will this not isolate Natal's whites from whites in the rest of the country and what does this portend in any future conflicts in Natal where whites are out-numbered by blacks 11 to 1 while in South Africa the ratio is 5 to 1?

□ What will be the National Government's reaction to local reform which would put great pressure on the Government to expedite a national solution along the same lines? Should the national plan call for a new constitutional design such as federalism, would not the Natal option present a *fait accompli* to the Government's plans for at least this province?

□ Why have Indians been so obviously excluded from these discussions to date? Where South Africa's problems

like one long, bad dream that just won't go away.

Indeed, one may imagine that Mr Botha at this time probably wishes it was nothing but a dream. Unfortunately for him — and all who think like him — it is not. It is simply one of the many harsh realities they must face up to as the chickens come home to roost.

After 38 years of harshly-enforced apartheid rule, the Government can now be said to be reaping the bitter fruits of what they have been sowing all these years.

They know it. The rest of the watching world knows it. Those who have always opposed this thoroughly repugnant and quite unacceptable system sense victory. It is definitely in the air. And so world pressure mounts and the anti-apartheid brigade is going for the jugular.

I have just returned from a brief visit to the US and the United Kingdom. I was part of a group of senior black and white South African journalists who met and conferred with high-ranking American journalists from the print and electronic media.

We met at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and the subject was — you guessed it — South Africa.

It was not all gloom and doom from those who follow the developments here and take a keen interest in the future of the country.

To be sure there are many that one meets in the US and the UK who constantly search for mitigating factors to plead

The role of the moderates, for instance, is studied closely. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, president of Inkatha and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, is seen as among the few remaining of his breed with whom white South Africa may negotiate.

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But they are not overly optimistic.

They cite the Government's intransigence and reluctance to break completely from the hardened apartheid mould. Some give it the thumbs down on the basis that Mr Botha is not, according to his track record, prepared for whites generally to share power meaningfully with the blacks.

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then we could only suggest that the Western media was out, not to get South Africa as such, but rather to knock the very stuffing out of apartheid.

The meeting was hardly into its stride when news came through of the Gov-

ernment's draconian banning orders on black Eastern Cape leaders Mkhoseli Jack and Henry Fazzie.

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Government apologists here and abroad refer ad nauseum to the racial riots in England.

What they all fail to understand or deliberately refuse to accept, is that, however misguided outside critics may be, on one thing they remain in absolute agreement. And that is that the racism inherent in South Africa's apartheid policies is not only an im-

South Africa is the only country in the whole wide world that actually legislates in Parliament on the basis of race and colour.

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Nevertheless, one gets the feeling that things are moving, that the people out there won't rest until justice and fairness prevail in our land.

The ANC is now undeniably recognised internationally. It is accepted and its representatives are listened to in many influential circles and forums.

It is worth noting that even Dr Chester Crocker

leagues, the secretary of the African Adm heard to "generic : were "fre

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lie precisely in the areas of legislated exclusions of racial groups from political participation at the national level, can solutions be expected by the exclusion of Indians at the provincial level — especially in a province where Indians substantially outnumber whites? Should a national federal plan offer Indians the opportunity to dominate one "state" in the federation would they not lose this opportunity in a Natal dominated by KwaZulu's expanded authority?

□ In the end, are the KwaNatal talks not between the representatives of the waning NRP and Natal's MEC and the single personality of Chief Buthelezi, who represents KwaZulu's blacks and is this a sufficiently large base on which to advance a regional solution? Political history has taught that it is very tenuous to build institutions around a limited power base.

These are only some thoughts on this very important matter which require attention, not only by the participants at the talks but also by the general public.

Impatience with the slow progress of the national reform process is un-

derstandable as is the attraction for regional solutions. This attraction is enhanced especially in Natal where the Zulu population has been comparatively conservative when judged by the national norm. And Chief Buthelezi's assiduous self-projection of pacifist inclinations fuels this regional utopian aspiration.

Yet on closer examination Natal is not much different from the rest of the country.

The whites are actually a bit more conservative as judged by the Referendum on the tri-chamber parliament and by recent elections; racial conflict is certainly in evidence as was demonstrated at Inanda in 1985; severe economic problems in KwaZulu have hardly been alleviated by frequent searches for foreign investments overseas; and violence has the dubious distinction of an added dimension in Natal where a peaceful future is promised for Natal as a whole but where the KwaZulu administration has shown no aptitude to even undertake the initiative to control faction fighting among the black population itself.

Is this a standard conservative expression of the fear of being swamped by black majority rule?

Not at all. This is merely a caution that action born out of impatience could well lead to greater problems than those which gave rise to demands for reform in the first place.

A Natal solution may have inherent temporal limitations in the sense that a national solution just could offer more attractive terms which is entirely possible if radical federation is proffered. Most governments of the Left would quickly dismantle homelands while a federal form would expand and consolidate such homelands into federal states.

Either option would leave KwaNatal with its KwaZulu homeland intact or KwaZulu would be progressively integrated into Natal.

Elections under this latter prospect would be along the lines of one-man, one-vote.

Alternatively, should a joint KwaNatal administration demonstrate its inherent limitations deriving from the predictable difficulties of compromis-

ing traditional and systems which have where else in Africa integrated administ and vested interest: feasible.

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Greater administ tion between Natal a be commended — bu statutory authorisati

Unless Natal is be cession from the Reg formist forces would nelled towards the c national solution lest with a structure wh lodge should a nati-quire it.

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## General Affairs

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# the Indaba

### Reform moves are better channelled to national solution



BY  
Prof KP MAGYAR,  
University of Durban-Westville

TALKS between the Natal Provincial Administration and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly are progressing to a new stage.

The first Indaba is to be held in Durban shortly. Representatives of all major political groups in Natal have been invited to take part in the discussion concerning the establishment of joint administrative structures for Natal and KwaZulu.

While there appears to be much public support for these developments from a wide assortment of respected organisations, there are emerging a lot of questions about these talks which need to be debated.

Interest groups on the Left, such as the ANC and the UDF, and those on the Right, such as the HNP and the Conservative Party, have already declined to support, or have already indicated their unwillingness to participate in, these discussions.

The KwaNatal talks, as they are referred to, have their origins in the well established observation that the geographic and economic conditions of Natal and KwaZulu are so intertwined that it will be increasingly more difficult to develop their economies separately.

The logical response is to explore the formation of joint-administrative structures to avoid expensive duplication and wasteful competition in the provision of administrative services.

Insofar as the solution purposes more administrative efficiency and cost-saving measures, these negotiations will hardly encounter resistance. But there are problems which have yet to be publicly debated which impinge on some very delicate political questions.

The extensive preliminary planning and constant stream of public relations indicate that the Indaba will be a very tightly controlled affair at which debating is to result in the pursuit of consensus among the active participants and it is expected that a popular referendum among the white, Indian and black populations of Natal will be discouraged.

The public at large needs to take a greater interest in these developments as the participating organisations may not necessarily reflect grassroots attitudes.

The tri-chamber parliament has been severely criticised for excluding the majority black population yet the KwaNatal talks have been progressing without the participation of Indians: blacks who do not necessarily

## The world watches as moderate Buthelezi tries for negotiations



By  
OBED KUNENE

South Africa's case.

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With such Government bungling and ineptitude, need they really wonder why this country is receiving such a merciless drubbing?

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□ Renier Schoeman, one of the Nat observers at the Indaba

## The talks will produce no concrete short term results ...



By PETER CORBETT, Dept of Economics, Univ of Natal

# Indaba?

## The world watches as moderate thelezi tries for negotiation

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of "constructive engagement" fame seems to have had a slight change of mind about the status of the ANC, an exiled body.

At a briefing attended, among others, by some of my South African colleagues, the Assistant Secretary of State in the Reagan Administration was heard to admit that, in a "generic sense," the ANC were "freedom fighters."

Did this remark herald a possible shift in the American Government's policy towards South Africa?

Or was Dr Crocker sending out an early signal for the death of "conservative engagement?"

Typically, the man who must be running out of sticks and carrots with which to persuade the Pretoria regime to mend its ways remained as vague as ever. Newsmen are said to have left the briefing shaking their heads in utter bewilderment.

If outside observers believe, as they no doubt do, that South Africa is aflame, then equally they believe that Mr Botha and his Cabinet colleagues are fiddling like Nero. They believe that the reform measures of which so much is being said nowadays will amount to nothing as long as the basic apartheid structures remain in place.

An so, of course, say all of us.



**D**ESPITE the cautious and qualified optimism of the major political proponents of the KwaNatal Indaba, comments published in the Press recently apparently see the "Natal option" as a panacea for the political ills it shares with the rest of South Africa.

To counter balance this almost euphoric treatment of the prospects let us examine some important questions about the Natal option and about the likelihood of a negotiated consensus on the formation of a "joint" legislature for Natal.

A: A legislature is (usually) an elected body which makes, implements, and enforces laws. To be relevant in the context of reform in Natal a regional legislature must;

(i) control politically important functions such as education, hospitals, police etc.;

(ii) be given complete independence to determine policies which may differ substantially from those set for the rest of South Africa.

I would predict that KwaZulu members of such a legislature would wish to make legislative and policy changes contrary to National Party ideology. Anticipating this I predict the National Party will oppose such independence.

B: The voting system to elect members of a KwaNatal legislature would need, broadly speaking, to be based on numbers in order to be acceptable to black participants. Only the PFP among (mainly) white political parties is likely to support this. The NP, HNP and CP all are opposed and the NRP refused to sign the Buthelezi Commission Report on those grounds. (The NRP may be more flexible today for reasons discussed below).

It is easily predictable that the Indaba will not produce agreement on a system of representation. C: Natal, as a semi-independent part of South Africa, would need substantial financial support from the central Government if it wished to pursue more egalitarian policies (such as in education).

The alternatives of much higher regional taxes or reduced standards for currently privileged groups would simply reduce substantially regional investment and create economic stagnation in Natal.

It is, in reality, virtually impossible to follow radically different social policies in different regions of one country without radical controls on the movement of people and resources between regions.

It is unlikely that a National Party central Government would collect taxes from all parts of South Africa to pay for a Natal option which, in any case, they cannot accept ideologically.

Thus even if the other problems were overcome the Natal option is economically a non-starter.

The above arguments suggest strongly that a Natal option or a joint legislature will not arise from the forthcoming Indaba. Why then are so many people and organisations jumping on the bandwagon?

Many, certainly, have not thought through the issues in depth.

Below I have listed three other hidden agendas which could explain otherwise inexplicable support.

### Agenda

the Natal Provincial Administration and all other participants in the Indaba.

From the late seventies onward there has been a series of moves to restructure Natal and KwaZulu politically, socially and economically in a way that might set a pace in the process of national reform. The Lombard and Buthelezi Commissions are the most publicised initiatives of this kind.

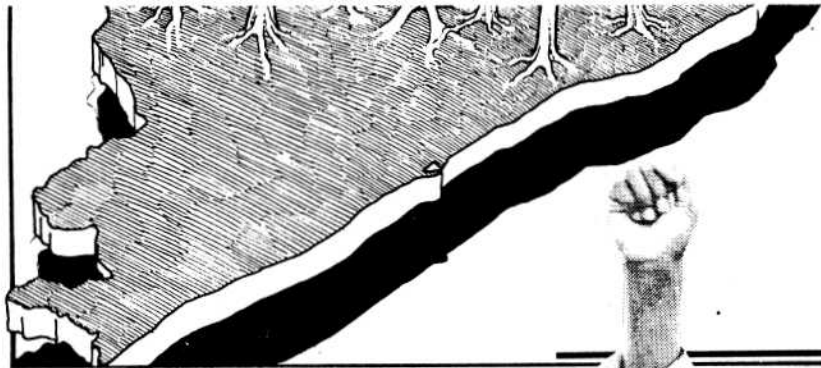
To date, the co-hosts of the Indaba, the KwaZulu Government and the Natal Provincial Council, have achieved at least half of their three phase plan for restructuring the province. A Strategic Policy Group (SPG) consisting of Natal MECs and KwaZulu Cabinet Ministers has already been set up.

The formalising of these links through a joint administration requires the passing of an Act of Parliament. Thus delegation of the SPG to the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Chris Heunis on March 11. His response was not dismissive or unfavourable.

Such a joint administration, however, about things like roads, health and the Parks Board and is not concerned with any extension of democratic legislative powers that might erode apartheid here it is most entrenched, like the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act.

The main aim of the Indaba is to reach consensus on the creation of a single legislative body. At the moment Natal and KwaZulu have either the constitutional power to create a joint legislative body nor any clarity about the future of provincial administrations.

The central government has not yet indicated how the Regional Services Councils will come into operation or what the



formal links between the KLA and a newly-appointed Provincial Executive will be.

What is clear is that the powers of a Regional Services Council in Natal will be considerably less than those of the fated NPC and in no way equivalent to those of the KLA.

Thus progressive organisations are being invited to participate in what they see as a Government ploy to introduce a structure which would give form but no substance to black political aspirations.

It is ironic that the NRP, already moribund in national politics, voted itself out of provincial power by supporting the new constitution during the 1983 referendum — a constitution that centralises power away from the administration at any level that is responsible to an electorate.

Without a sense of clear, long-term alternatives for solving the crisis the Government seems now to be more interested in considering a regional initiative that might bring federalism to the forefront as an option for South Africa's future.

In this sense the Indaba may be seen as a national experiment. The choice of Natal as a "political laboratory" is enhanced by a supposed Natal distinctiveness.

Natal provincial boundaries do overlap with regional features such as population distribution, land

● **Key man at this week's KwaNatal indaba is Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha. It was the Buthelezi Commission which laid the foundation for the talks**

settlement patterns, urbanisation, and the development of a particular political culture. Furthermore, the sheer complexity of land fragmentation between Natal and KwaZulu makes the territorial and racial administration of apartheid more obviously absurd in Natal than in other parts of the country.

Most important, the province is popularly deemed to have avoided the national patterns of conflict that plague the rest of South Africa.

But groupings on the Left generally reject a piecemeal federalist-type solution in favour of dealing with the dismantling of apartheid and the restructuring of South Africa in a unitary state.

An examination of the list of organisations invited to participate in the Indaba shows that the most likely area of consensus lies in the interest groups that were signatories to, or interested in, the Buthelezi Commission, some now in different guises.



Inkatha Secretary-General Dr Oscar Dhlomo has said the Buthelezi Commission is not necessarily a part of the agenda for the Indaba, and that, in any case, it would need considerable updating to be of immediate relevance. In view of the number of participants who have accepted the Buthelezi Commission in principle, however, it seems likely it will be the central document around which consensus over the legislative future of Natal and KwaZulu will be thrashed out.

It looks as though the Indaba will be a meeting about updating the Buthelezi Commission in an obviously political context.

There is now sufficient interest in the Buthelezi Commission in both national and provincial government and business spheres for it to throw off its academic cloak.

If, as is contended, the Buthelezi Commission will be the central document of the Indaba,

it is worth remembering that the constitutional thrust of the Commission is towards something called "consociational democracy" which finds its most workable example in Switzerland where the disparities between interest groups are minimal — unlike Natal.

When the Indaba begins those organisations which are least beguiled by the Buthelezi Commission, bantustans or white provincial politics will not be there. Apart from conservative opposition, these are such organisations as Cosatu, Cusa, the UDF, Azapo, the NIC, the PAC and the ANC.

Who will be left at the Indaba with a claim to extensive popular or democratic support or an organized constituency? Only the KLA, Inkatha and very peripherally, the PFP.

Bantustans are, of course, inimical to the principles of organisations like the UDF, ANC, Azapo or

the Indaba will seek consensus on proposals to be put to the Government on creating a single legislative body to govern a combined area of Natal and KwaZulu at second-tier level.

Among the list of acceptances are:

The Afrikaanse Sakekamer (Natal region), the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Black Allied Workers' Union, Coloured Ad Hoc Committee, Durban City Council, Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce, Inkatha, Inyanda

Council of African Women. The public has been invited to attend the first open session of the Indaba at the Durban City Hall on Thursday.

This lasts one hour, from 10am and there is room for 720 spectators.

Tickets will be available in the foyer at the Church Street entrance to the City Hall from 11am to 2.15pm on Tuesday and Wednesday.

The rest of the talks will be held in secret.

*Democratic Front is, and just as time will show how important the ANC Mission-in-exile is. Whether the time left to them is little or great, in combination they are now a siege factor and you must recognise this fact."*

This kind of statement, made within weeks of an invitation to Cosatu to attend an Indaba, is hardly conciliatory or suggestive of an open agenda.

Inkatha's call for workers to rally on May 1, to launch the new Inkatha-inspired trade union Uwusa — a union designed to oppose and draw support from Cosatu — is likewise confrontational in the face of a consensus-seeking Indaba.

One senses Cosatu being ensnared in a similar trap as that which befell the Progs during the referendum: to be politely offered participation in an unacceptable structure and then castigated for declining.

For the UDF, it seems that constant vilification by Chief Buthelezi over the past year and the victimisation of members of the UDF by Inkatha members in Durban's major townships have added to their historical reluctance to negotiate with Inkatha.

Of course, it will be suggested that the failure of progressive organisations to participate in the Indaba betrays a lack of

confidence in their constituencies; the lack of a power base.

Over decades the Government in practice and ideology has engendered suspicion of its divisive policies. If the Indaba is a prototype for conciliation — a sort of mini national convention — there are terms to be met, such as the complete dismantling of apartheid, the release of political prisoners and detainees, and the unhampered return of exiles.

Chief Buthelezi has said that if the ANC is legalised, it would be necessary for them to prove their national constituency through democratic process. By the same argument, Chief Buthelezi would have to prove his constituency outside the bantustan structure, on which his claim to democratically determined constituency currently rests.

The Indaba, like the Convention Alliance, contains the seeds of its own demise, if it does not recognise the historically-determined opposition of progressive groupings.

It seems to be seeking a rationalised efficacy, and stabilising mode of regional independence. In order to be credible as democratic beyond the opinions of newspaper popular white opinion and KLA ambition, the Indaba needs to begin without the designs of defunct Provincial Council or a controversial Inkatha-controlled KLA

These talks contain the seeds of their own demise ...

# What hope for



**GEORGINA STEVENS** explores the reluctance of organisations on the left to participate in the KwaNatal Indaba

**A**N Indaba sounds like a good idea. It suggests there is a traditional African way of doing things; a kind of African communalism that can be revived through a good-natured open-ended chat around the fire, that will go on until the sun rises and wise compromise prevails.

It might then seem querulous to question, in advance, the prospect of a get-together between all sorts of disparate groupings specially if, as is stated, the agenda is open and the vote of each invited interest group "is equal to that of any other."

The Indaba hosts, the Natal Provincial Council and the KwaZulu Government, are at pains to stress that the vote is not of primary importance. The aim is to reach consensus where possible and only to take a vote when necessary.

But given the spectre of white Natal's blind acceptance of the bicameral Parliament, with its legacy of piralling black opposition, State oppression, and violence, one should think carefully about what lies behind the public statures of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the Natal Provincial Administration and all the other participants in the Indaba.

From the late seventies onward there has been a series of moves to restructure Natal and KwaZulu politically, socially and economically in a way that might set a pace in the process of national reform. The Lombard and Buthelezi Commissions are the most publicised initiatives of this kind.

To date, the co-hosts of the Indaba, the KwaZulu Government and the Natal Provincial Council, have achieved at least half of their three phase plan for restructuring the province. A Strategic Policy Group (SPG) consisting of Natal MECs and KwaZulu Cabinet Ministers has already been set up. The formalising of these links through a joint administration requires the passing of an Act of Parliament. Thus delegation of the SPG



## Thirty-one organisations accept the invitation to discuss a new

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And the National Party and Ucuca were sending observers.

Nine organisations had said they would not attend the historic talks.

Some had told newspapers they would not attend.

Among the organisations which have declined to attend are the African National Congress, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, the Conservative Party, Cusa, Cosatu, the PAC and the United Democratic Front.

The Indaba will seek consensus on proposals to be put to the Government on creating a single legislative body to govern a combined area of Natal and KwaZulu at second-tier level.

Among the list of acceptances are:

The Afrikaanse Sakekamer (Natal region), the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, the Black Allied Workers' Union, Coloured Ad Hoc Committee, Durban City Council, Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce, Inkatha, Inyanda

formal links between the KLA and a newly-appointed Provincial Executive will be.

What is clear is that the powers of a Regional Services Council in Natal will be considerably less than those of the fated NPC and in no way equivalent to those of the KLA.

Thus progressive organisations are being invited to participate in what they see as a

● **Key man at this week's KwaNatal Indaba is Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha. It was the Buthelezi Commission which laid the foundation for the talks**

settlement patterns



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# What hope for

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Chamber of Commerce.

The Islamic Council, Kwa-Loga, KwaZulu Canegrowers' Association, KwaZulu Government, Labour Party, Natal Agricultural Union, Natal Association of LACs.

Natal Chamber of Industries, Natal Municipal Association, Natal Provincial Council, National Peoples' Party, New Republic Party, Peoples' Congress Party, Progressive Federal Party, Pietermaritzburg City Council, Reform Party, Regional Advisory Committee, SA Hindu Maha Sabha, SA Sugar Association/SA Canegrowers, Solidarity, the National Council of African Women.

The public has been invited to attend the first open session of the Indaba at the Durban City Hall on Thursday.

This lasts one hour, from 10am, and there is room for 720 spectators.

Tickets will be available in the foyer at the Church Street entrance to the City Hall from 11am to 2.15pm on Tuesday and Wednesday.

The rest of the talks will be held in secret.

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*Democratic Front is, and just as time will show how important the ANC Mission-in-exile is. Whether the time left to them is little or great, in combination they are now a siege factor and you must recognise this fact."*

This kind of statement, made within weeks of an invitation to Cosatu to attend an Indaba, is hardly conciliatory

confidence in their constituencies; the lack of a power base.

Over decades the Government in practice and ideology has engendered suspicion of its divisive policies. If the Indaba is a prototype for conciliation — a sort of mini national convention — there are terms to be met, such as the complete dismantling of apartheid, the release of