

Volume 2, 1989

Classion Call

SOUTH AFRICA:

A NEW GOVERNMENT

PLAN OF ACTION

***But what do
Blacks want?***

INDEX

<i>New National Party "Plan of Action"</i>	3-5
<i>All-or-nothing election for the National Party</i>	6
<i>Plan too "vague" for black South Africa — Dr M G Buthelezi</i>	7-8
<i>Reaction</i>	9
<i>Another point of view — Business Day</i>	10-11
<i>Obstacles to negotiations — working document of the KwaZulu Government presented to the joint SA/KwaZulu committee investigating obstacles impeding negotiations</i>	12-14
<i>Inkatha conference — "Apartheid is doomed"</i>	15-18
<i>Dr Nelson Mandela speaks — Call for black unity and an end to violence</i>	19-21
<i>Which way will the ANC jump?</i>	22
<i>Black unity plea</i>	23

Clarion Call is published as a permanent document of record and reference and as such is printed in this format. Individuals, companies, institutions and others are welcome to subscribe. A R100 p/a subscription fee is requested from those able to contribute to assist in defraying publication and postage costs. Cheques should be made out to the Bureau of Communications, KwaZulu Government and addressed to P.O. Box 650915, Benmore, 2010, RSA. Please clearly print the sender's name and address.

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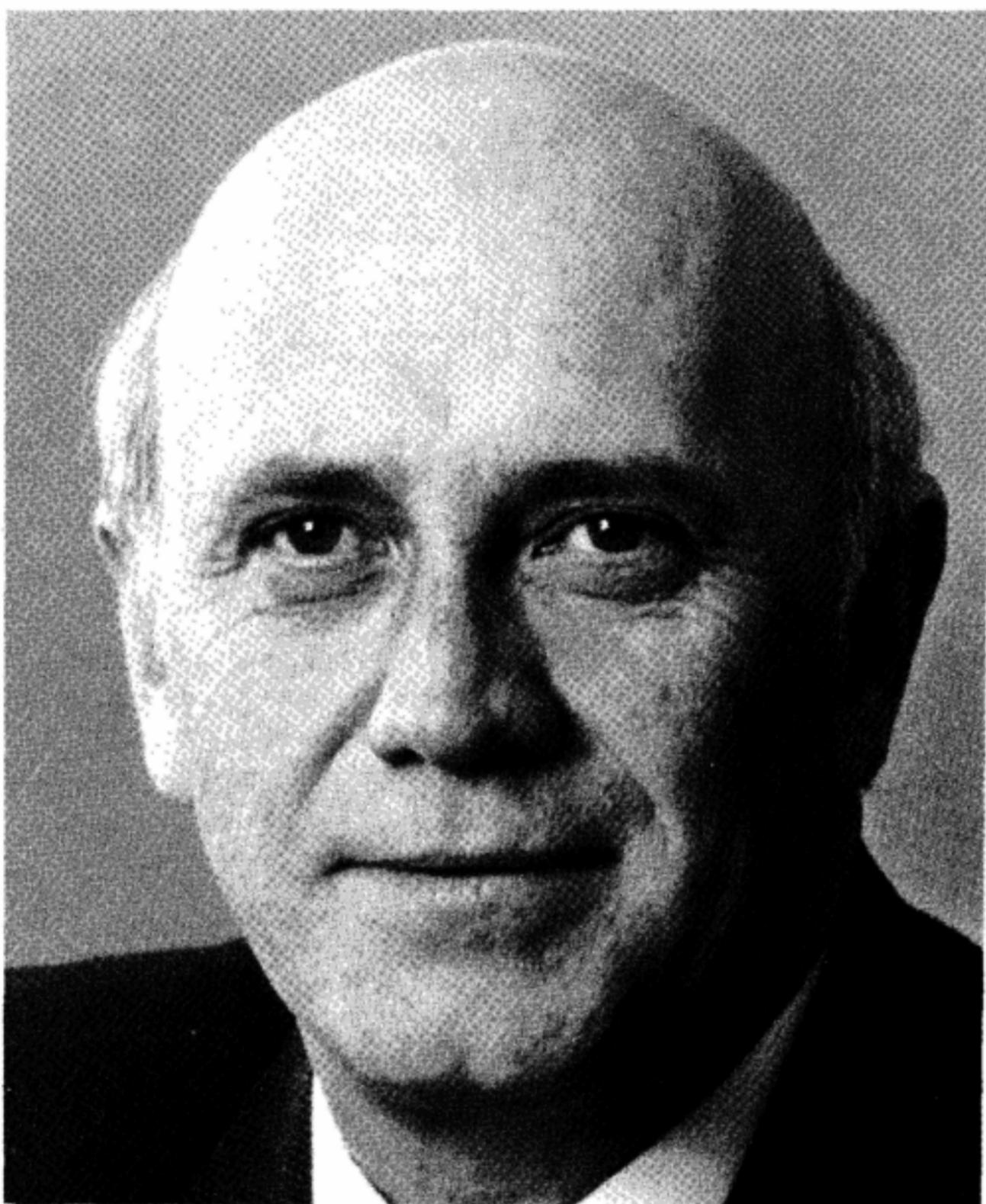
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New National Party “Plan of Action”

GROUPS ARE STILL THE KEY

At its Federal Congress in Pretoria in June, the ruling National Party, in what amounted to a manifesto for the September elections and Government decision-making thereafter, revealed a five-year plan of action for a “new South Africa.”



Mr F W de Klerk, National Party leader

The key principles were announced by Party leader Mr F W de Klerk and the “Plan of Action”, contained in a 22-page document, stressed the need for “negotiations” and the setting up of

institutions in which leaders of all groups can participate in the creation of a new constitutional future.

The National Party says it

intends to “create a new South Africa in which every South African can live in safety, prosperity and dignity, as an individual and within a group”.

“A democratic system can only be maintained if it protects individuals, preserves group values and guarantees the political rights of groups by means of a credible system. Such a system must enjoy maximum support.”

Such a South Africa must be a democracy in which:

- * No group dominates or is dominated;
- * The independence of the judiciary is upheld and honoured;
- * Civilised norms apply;
- * A dynamic economy thrives, based on free enterprise;
- * Everybody lives in safety and harmony and
- * In good neighbourly relationships with the international community.

The plan calls for Parliament to instruct a body of credible and independent experts to study all possible constitutional models, and to define the implications, advantages and disadvantages of each model. A report should then be tabled in Parliament and deal with:

- * The constitutional options available to prevent domination of one group by another;
- * Particularly the methods by which a constitutional dispensation may effectively protect the political rights and values of groups, and the practical implications of the various models;
- * Methods which are available to entrench such a constitution against future amendment or repeal which may result in the infringement of individual and group rights.

This progress should, however, only be set in motion on condition that such an investigation will not impede normal Government activity, discussion and negotiation among leaders.

The National Party committed itself to pursue the following “key objectives” during the next five years:

- * To promote a set of common values, as a basis for a peaceful political system, without inhibiting the identity of groups;
- * To engage recognised leaders of all groups committed to the pursuit of peaceful solutions in talks and negotiations about the political, social and economic systems for a new South Africa;
- * To make a definite start, based on these discussions and negotiations, with the setting up of institutions in which the leaders of all groups can participate in the creation of a new system;
- * To re-assess the functions and powers of the head of state in a new

system, his role or otherwise as head of government, and in the manner in which he should be elected.

In its section on ‘A Democracy: Participation For All’, the plan states that “every South African has the right to participate in political decision making on all levels of government which affect his interests, subject to the principle of no domination.”

The new political dispensation would have to enjoy the greatest possible consensus and the details would have to be worked out in a process of negotiation “preceded by intensive talks with the leaders of all the different groups willing to participate peacefully in a search for fair and practical solutions.”

The National Party undertook to place before the electorate any new constitutional principles before such principles were finally implemented by Parliament.

Separate identities should not be ignored, prejudiced or undermined.

In its section of ‘No Domination: Group Protection’ the National Party plan states the following:

“The South African population consists of a variety of groups that evolved as a result of cultural and historical factors. This can easily lead to a power struggle and to domination, dictatorship and tyranny — as has often happened elsewhere. To avoid this, the diversity of groups must be fully taken into account in a new South Africa of the future.”

At a Press briefing the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said the action plan was not a “radical new policy for the National Party” but rather a plan of action with emphasis on a dynamic approach.

Strong emphasis was being put on negotiated formulae and the idea was to get away from the concept of race as a criterion and to shift from present racially defined groups to culturally defined ones.

Addressing the Congress, Mr de Klerk said the key to “group security and constructive co-operation” between all race groups in South Africa lay in the discovery of a widely acceptable basis for defining the concept.

Under the heading “Self-determination” the document states,

in part: "... In a state in which cultures and interests differ, it is extremely important to extend this federal principle (of area, regional, and through group governments) so that each area or population group has as much say as possible about its own affairs.

"This is another building block in the process of protecting the rights of minorities and preventing domination.

"Consequently the principle of self-determination regarding own affairs, along with the principle of power-sharing regarding general affairs, should be sensibly developed through the division and the devolution of the power of the central government to regional, area or group governments and local authorities where the need is felt."

Africa was the realistic accommodation of the diversity of the country. The protection of group security was a prerequisite.

This involved the right to "own" areas and schools, while provision was made for "greater freedom of choice" for those who did not wish to live as a "group".

(The implication was that the Group Areas Act would remain for the foreseeable future but would be "more sensitively" policed. — Editor).

Under "Groups" the document said the present basis in terms of which groups were defined for the purpose of political participation "creates many problems". It must therefore be revised in a process of negotiation in order to establish greater freedom of choice.

"Success can be achieved if the National Party would be prepared to show greater flexibility about racial issues, while putting stronger and enthusiastic accent on pillars of democracy like human rights . . . much more will have to be done than the mere marketing of the plan . . . South Africans will have to be taught that democracy reveals itself in more than one form . . . that provision for group rights is being made elsewhere, from Belgium to India, in constitutions. They will have to be convinced that those commentators from the right and from the left, who are still holding out the Westminster system as being the most suitable for South Africa, are suffering from a retarded form of British imperialism . . ."

Comment: BEELD Afrikaans newspaper, June 1989

Mr de Klerk emphasised that "discrimination" had to go and educational opportunities had to be improved as did housing and facilities. These changes rested on the successful development of the economy.

Negotiation was considered imperative because of a "realisation that a new democratic dispensation cannot be attained by the National Party acting unilaterally."

The Party accepted that "in the final analysis a secure future can only be built on a broad consensus between representative leaders of the population."

The National Party's mainstay of the framework for a new South

The following principles could apply:

- * A new basis of definition must be established in a process of negotiation with the leaders of the existing groups.

- * Freedom of association and of dissociation must as far as possible be the points of departure.

- * A person must be able to change to another group subject to the consent of the recipient group.

- * Provision must also be made for a group for which South African citizenship will be the only qualification.

- * The right of a group to maintain its own identity and values must be effectively protected.

Under "Violence" the document says the use of violence to achieve political objectives is in conflict with the fundamentals of democracy. Only people and organisations committed to peace could be permitted in the political process and in negotiations. Key objectives in this section were therefore:

- * To promote the concept of the peaceful settlement of political disputes.

- * To establish the notion that domination, in any form, is not in anybody's interest.

- * To promote, by continued action, self-determination regarding "own affairs", along with joint decision-making on "general affairs", by means of the division and devolution of power in a non-discriminatory manner.

- * To reinforce the process of negotiation with expert research and advice about constitutional models and mechanisms in order to establish a credible system for the protection of human rights and group values.

- * To give consent to the overall juridical and structural protection of groups in constitutional structures.

The National Party would consider the advisability of a Bill of Human Rights as part of a future negotiated constitution.

Other section headings in the document concentrated on the Judiciary and Equality Before the Law; Civilised Norms; Social Welfare, A Dynamic Economy; The Civil Service; Security and The International Community.

Under "Discrimination" the document noted: "Discrimination between groups or against individuals based on race, colour, sex, religion or group affiliation is unacceptable. Where discrimination still exists, it must be eliminated in an orderly fashion."

Under "Own Community Life and Free Settlement" it said, in part, that "each individual and each group must have the freedom to choose a communal lifestyle . . ."

"The arrangement of community life, in accordance with the principle of "live and let live", must eventually proceed on a basis which has been negotiated among leaders and is acceptable to all"

All-or-nothing election for the National Party

REFORM CRUCIAL FOR AFRIKANERDOM

The 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-or-nothing survival game it now plays. If it wins, it will again face an all-or-nothing 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."

Apartheid in a different guise?

PLAN TOO VAGUE FOR BLACK SOUTH AFRICA

Following the National Party's announcement of its five-year plan of action, the President of Inkatha and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, released this statement.



Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of Inkatha.

In everything the National Party now says about the future of South Africa and about constitutional development it can be no more than saying something to stake a claim in the negotiating process which the National Party now knows must come.

We will see a great many different statements by different political parties and organisations in the coming pre-negotiating period. It is not whether parties are saying the right things about what they ought to be negotiating about that is important. What is important is that we now have negotiations.

If the National Party's five-year action plan is to make any contribution to the development of South Africa at all, it will have to start off with initial action to make

"If white South Africans want to succeed in establishing something other than a one-man-one-vote system of government in a unitary state, there will have to be a lot more give and take than the National Party now gives evidence of being prepared for. My guess is that we will end up with one or another form of a Federal system of government and my guess is that we will move towards a system in a kind of way which was indicated in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba's constitutional proposals."

— Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

negotiation possible. Dr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners will have to be released and there will have to be talks about negotiation so that venues and agendas can be set.

Quite clearly negotiations will have to bridge the vast differences which exist between parties and between race groups and also quite clearly the leap will not be achieved miraculously overnight. We will all have to start from where we are and agree to move towards each other along a path which we will predetermine.

My cherished ideal still remains a one-man-one-vote system of government in a unitary state. There is now at least a small ray of hope that the National Party can move towards one or another form of democracy which the Western industrial world will recognise as a democracy and which Africa will endorse as moving in the right direction.

“In Mr de Klerk’s approach to a five-year action plan, he says too little about action and talks too vaguely about the redefinition of groups. Until he talks more specifically, he must forgive us all for not knowing what he is actually talking about and for fearing that he is simply presenting apartheid in a different guise.”

Negotiation will have to be about fundamental constitutional issues. Right now the National Party is talking too much about detail and thinking too little about fundamental principles. Mr F W de Klerk will have to get away from airy-fairy vague statements.

There is a black majority in the country which will find political expression as a majority. That is

totally inevitable.

If white South Africans want to succeed in establishing something other than a one-man-one-vote system of government in a unitary state, there will have to be a lot more give and take than the National Party now gives evidence of being prepared for.

My guess is that we will end up with one or another form of a Federal system of government and my guess is that we will move towards a system in a kind of way which was indicated in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba’s constitutional proposals.

Quite clearly we need to separate where we are going from how we are going to get there. Mr de Klerk should be saying more about the National Party’s preparedness to scrap the tricameral Parliamentary system and move towards a new democracy in which there is total equality before the law and the constitution.

Black South Africans see the Population Act and the Group Areas Act as totally redundant and worse. We want Mr de Klerk to say more definite things about the scrapping of these acts.

Once Mr de Klerk has so put his own political camp in order that he can make a joint declaration with black leaders about the ultimate purpose of negotiation, we can turn our attention to how we should negotiate. Until Mr de Klerk does make a declaration about where he intends going, and makes it in such a way that blacks can make it with him, he will have nobody worth negotiating with.

If I were in Mr de Klerk’s shoes, I would concentrate on making sure that the people who ought to be negotiating are persuaded to negotiate.

The future will judge Mr de Klerk on whether he can do this. A great many blacks agree with Mr de Klerk that we must get on with the job of negotiating and stop all petty politicking. There is more readiness in black society to

negotiate than whites have ever realised.

“A great many blacks agree with Mr de Klerk that we must get on with the job of negotiating and stop all petty politicking. There is more readiness in black society to negotiate than whites have ever realised. Negotiations are possible, however, only if black democracy is unshackled and if the South African government does not think that it will be able to continue sitting in the negotiating driving seat.”

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In Mr de Klerk’s approach to a five-year action plan, he says too little about action and talks too vaguely about the redefinition of groups. Until he talks more specifically, he must forgive us all for not knowing what he is actually talking about and for fearing that he is simply presenting apartheid in a different guise.

Mr de Klerk will perhaps turn out to be the last of white South Africa’s hopes. Should he fail, who in the world will blame black South Africans for saying enough is enough?

He has perhaps bought a little time but he must not endanger the little time that he has bought by himself petty politicking too much in the present election campaign. If he is going to produce statesmanship in his leadership, now is the time to start doing it.

“If the National Party’s five-year action plan is to make any contribution to the development of South Africa at all, it will have to start off with initial action to make negotiation possible. Dr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners will have to be released and there will have to be talks about negotiations so that venues and agendas can be set.”

— Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

REACTION:

“Departure from overt racism ...” “The problem is legitimacy ...” “An insult to the people of South Africa ...” “Buying time for apartheid ...” “The key to a new South Africa ...”

Comment following the National Party's acceptance of the action plan ranged from being hailed as “key” to a new South Africa and damned as “an insult to the people.”

DIE BURGER

The Afrikaans newspaper, Die Burger, said that in many respects the NP's action plan reflected “refreshingly new approaches” on issues which had been the centre of controversy in South African politics. The enthusiasm with which the plan was approved by the federal congress had met all expectations. The NP was trying to meet all the requirements of the constitutional situation. It tried to recognise both the diversity of the SA population and the communality of the inhabitants who had to share the country.

MR OLIVER TAMBO — ANC

The African National Congress rejected the plan as a “shocking insult to the people of South Africa.” ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, said “the idea that our people should fold their arms and sit back for half a decade while apartheid is given a change of clothes would be laughable were it not so insufferable.” The plan was “a reformed apartheid” and “apartheid with a face-lift”. Mr de Klerk continued to insist and reaffirm race as the central plank of the constitution. Political rights would continue to be defined on the basis of race. The elevation of group rights above the rights of the individual was the essence of apartheid. “The notion of consensus as the operative principle of government in the South African context, effectively invests the privileged minority with the power of veto over the will of the majority.” Every aspect of the NP's platform was deliberately designed to convey the impression of change, while retaining the hegemony of the racist minority.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Mr Wynand Malan, a co-leader of the Democratic Party, said the five-year plan contained the basic fault which the National Party had been making for years — it was trying to ward off the left but at the same time clinging to certain rightist standpoints. Any move away from apartheid was welcomed. However, the vagueness of the entire plan was lamentable. South Africa was not prepared to risk its future on a plan which offered a step forward without incorporating a movement away from where it stood at the moment. The central problem was black political rights in the midst of white safeguarding. “The plan is so vague, so general, that it is almost no progress on the policy statement of the past two years. Who will be able to vote in five years' time, and for

whom?” The biggest problem in South Africa was uncertainty. The NP programme did not address this. In fact, it worsened the problem by being uncertain itself.

INSTITUTE FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA (IDASA)

Mr Alex Boraine, a director of IDASA, said the “group” concept was totally unacceptable. It was a bundle of contradictions and an attempt to please everyone. The plan made it clear that there was a “departure from the overt racism which has characterised the NP and its policies for more than 40 years.” There was also no doubt that Mr F W de Klerk was a “considerable improvement” on Mr P W Botha. However, Mr de Klerk was essentially the product of apartheid ideology and therefore lacked the vision and the will to work towards a non-racial democracy. The central problem was the Government's lack of legitimacy and the state would have to find another arena where genuine representatives of all South Africa could work towards a new constitution which guaranteed non-racialism and democracy.

BEELD

Beeld newspaper said the National Party's plan had the potential to be instrumental in the creation of a new South Africa. However, a half-hearted implementation of this new line of thinking could delay the attraction of the main objective. No clear constitutional proposals were submitted and the voters would therefore be asked to support the NP during the general election with a new framework of principles. Some people would describe these principles as apartheid in a new form while others would say group rights would be neglected. However, it was clear the “new openness in the approach” contradicted these views. The NP had moved away “from the rigidity of the past” and had a more open-minded approach.

COSATU

Mr Elijah Barayi, President of COSATU, said the State President, P W Botha, or NP leader, F W de Klerk, had six months to begin negotiating with the ANC, failing which the armed struggle would continue. He said a “desperate attempt is being made to convince us de Klerk, a racist to the core, can be trusted with the initiative for change. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was the main advocate of this position, which backed the belief that the British had always been part of the SA problem. COSATU believes that the “democratic movement” could not consider negotiations without a climate of free political activity.



Another Point Of View

*Business Day,
July 3*



AFTER 40 years of messianic self-certainty, the National Party is at last beginning to struggle honestly, I think, with the central issue of South African politics, which is liberty. It fails because it cannot break out of the South African paradigm: the obsession with groups.

That is why the party leaders, in setting out their five-year plan last week, went to quite unusual lengths to suppress, or even to distort, the findings of the Law Commission on the need for a South African bill of rights.

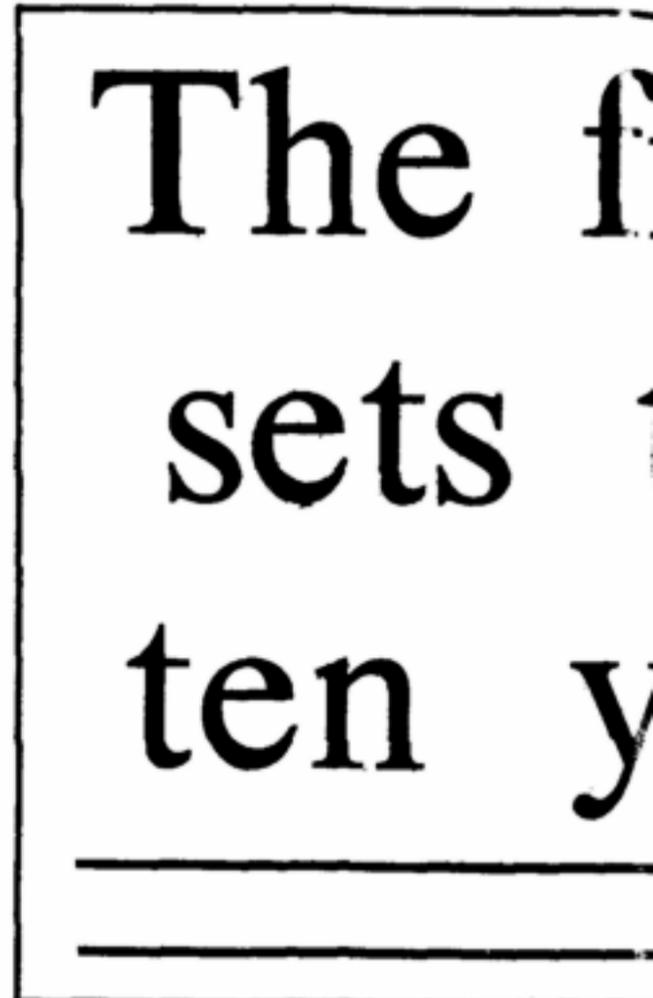
The problem is that the party's plan of action flies in the face of the central finding of the Law Commission: that rights vest in the individual, not in the group. And the Nationalists remain wedded to "the white group," which is neither culturally coherent, nor linguistically uniform, nor politically united, nor even very religious.

The Law Commission's Working Paper 25, drawn up under the chairmanship of Mr Justice Pierre Olivier, a government-appointed Free Stater, puts forward its own plan, conservative but workable, to take South Africa to democracy. The differences between the NP plan and the Law Commission's plan are illuminating.

The Law Commission calls, first of all, for a statement of policy by Parliament "that it is in favour of the protection, in a bill of rights, of the generally accepted individual rights and cultural, religious and linguistic values"

Then, it suggests, government should embark immediately on the major task of systematically repealing all laws which would conflict with the bill of rights. The effect of this process, of course, would be steadily to widen the area of liberty for those South Africans most deprived of it.

Simultaneously, says the Law



Commission, there must be a thorough process of education on questions of human rights, followed by negotiations on a new constitution, which should be submitted finally to referendum.

The test of this plan, as of the NP's five-year plan, is not whether it meets some intellectual or moral criterion, but whether it will bring the country to rest. Since it carries the promise of democracy — of equality before the law, liberty and justice — at the end of it, the Law Commission's plan has a chance of success. Probably nothing less can succeed.

The chances of its success lie in the content which it gives to a bill of rights — rights which no legislation or executive act would be permitted to infringe.

At the top of the list, Article 1 of the proposed bill of rights, puts the right to life. Second, in Article 2, comes the following:

"The right to human dignity and equality before the law, which means that there shall be no discrimination on the ground of race, colour, language, sex, religion, eth-

ve -year plan he stage for ears' turmoil

KEN OWEN

nic origin, social class, birth, political or other views or any disability or natural characteristic."

The only exception it makes is temporary "reverse discrimination", or affirmative action, to overcome the historical disadvantages inflicted on some people by past discrimination.

The Law Commission distinguishes between political rights, intended to protect minorities against oppression, and other rights. The former, it says, are matters for negotiation, to be incorporated in an agreed constitution; the latter must be protected by the bill of rights, as belonging to the individual.

Its words on this point are worth quoting exactly: "In our society, cultural, religious and linguistic values should not be protected as 'group rights' since a group is not a legal persona. These rights should be protected in a bill of rights by way of individual rights."

"In public law," the commission says at one point, "our courts have never recognised an entity known as a 'group' or a 'minority' which can, as such, enforce rights."

Elsewhere it says: "It is unnecessary to protect the so-called group

interests or minority interests in the sphere of culture, religion or language by trying to define the group concerned and conferring legal personality upon it. All that is needed is to designate the interests in question as interests protected by law and to leave it to any individual to protect the interests through court proceedings where necessary."

This approach — if only the National Party would realise it — takes care of all the legitimate concerns of minorities. Indeed, the commission is emphatic: "The protection of minorities in this country is essential, since to ignore the rights of minority groups would be to invite endless conflict."

Even the right to dissociate, so beloved of Nat politicians, is catered for, subject to the all-important qualification that it will not include practising discrimination on the ground of race, colour, religion, language, or culture if public funds are used. Exclusive groups, whether churches or clubs, wine-tasters or garlic-eaters, will be permitted

provided they pay for their own exclusivity.

With these ideas before them, the National Party leaders have opted instead to search for a constitutional model "to prevent domination of one group by another". Instead of accepting the bill of rights put forward by the Law Commission, the NP talks of "considering the advisability" of a bill of rights.

Worse, knowing that the Law Commission has pronounced the idea of "group values," whether cultural or linguistic, to be foreign to our law, the NP still insists on a bill of rights that will protect "both individual rights and group values".

Where the Law Commission calls for a review of the law to purge the statute book of discriminatory measures, the NP calls for a law review to contain the costs of litigation, and hunts for ways to preserve group areas without the Group Areas Act.

The five-year plan talks of representation, but not equal representation; of rights, but not of justice; of democracy, but not of equality. The party still hovers at the edge of democracy, *not daring to plunge*.

The breakthrough from group-think to the concept of individual liberty, let us confess, is not easy, especially not when our archbishop struts about like a pre-revolutionary cardinal, proclaiming his lust for power. Even the Progressive Party, it is worth recalling, started out with a qualified franchise which was designed to evade equal rights.

But there is no middle ground. All discussion of democracy begins, it does not end, with a universal franchise. The National Party, under a new leader, had the chance to commit itself to a democratic system, to adopt the 10-year plan of the Law Commission and to create a prospect of peace in the 1990s. Instead, it has chosen to continue the vain search for the elusive formula to preserve racism by another name.

By that choice, it has built conflict and turmoil into the next decade.

OBSTACLES TO NEGOTIATIONS

Working document of the KwaZulu Government presented to the joint South African/KwaZulu committee investigating obstacles impeding negotiations in South Africa.

A. PREAMBLE

It is accepted that there are real obstacles impeding negotiations in South Africa and that unless these obstacles are clearly identified and sincerely addressed negotiation politics will not take off.

B. OBSTACLES AS IDENTIFIED BY THE KWAZULU DELEGATION

1. Exclusive as opposed to inclusive Negotiations

The South African Government seems to favour exclusive negotiations (i.e. negotiations that exclude certain groups and individuals who, for one reason or the other, are not acceptable to the

Government as negotiating partners). The KwaZulu Government favours inclusive negotiations (i.e. negotiations that include all groups and individuals without any pre-conditions). KwaZulu believes that inclusive negotiations would entail the acceptance of the following measures by the South African Government.

1.1 The Immediate and Unconditional Release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other Rivonia Trialists as well as the release of all those political prisoners that have already served sentences of over 15 years. Other political prisoners must also be considered for release.

1.2 Declaration of an amnesty which would enable all political exiles to return to South Africa and participate in negotiations. The amnesty would have to be

The KwaZulu Government favours inclusive negotiations, ie, negotiations that include all groups and individuals without any pre-conditions . . . The South African Government seems to favour exclusive negotiations, ie, negotiations that exclude certain groups and individuals who, for one reason or the other, are not acceptable to the Government as negotiating partners.



*The KwaZulu Delegation
clockwise from top left:
Dr O D Dhlomo,
Dr F T Mdlalose,
Mr S J Maphalala and
Mr Rowley I Arenstein.*

adequately guaranteed and returning exiles would need to be assured of immunity from prosecution.

1.3 Unbanning of organisations so that the leaders might freely consult with their followers before and during negotiations.

1.4 The Lifting of the State of Emergency, The Release Of Political Detainees And The Restoration Of Press Freedom. This should be done to facilitate free debate and assembly.

2. Removal of Discriminatory Laws
It is accepted that all discriminatory laws cannot be removed overnight in South Africa. Nevertheless there are specific laws that are regarded by the majority as "pillars of apartheid". The following laws would need to be removed before the start of negotiations:

One single obstacle to negotiations is the existence of the tricameral parliament (with all its consequences like the Regional Services Councils, Own Affairs etc) which are perceived by the black majority as entrenching apartheid and racism and making a mockery of the concept of power sharing.

- 2.1 The Group Areas Act
- 2.2 The Population Registration Act
- 2.3 The Separate Amenities Act

3. Inability Of the Government To Allow Groups To Form Themselves Voluntarily And The Insistence That Only Race-Based Groups Should Be Constitutionally Recognised

This inability is demonstrated by the Government's refusal to discuss any other alternative suggested formulae that seek to move away from rigid race classification, e.g. KwaZulu-Natal Indaba, geographic (as opposed to Ethnic) federalism, etc., as well as the Government's inflexible belief that the only solution is rigid ethnic separation e.g. the Homelands Policy and the Tricameral Parliamentary System.

4. The Existence Of the Tricameral Parliament

One single obstacle to negotiations is the existence of the tricameral parliament (with all its

consequences like the Regional Service Councils, Own Affairs, etc.) which are perceived by the Black majority as entrenching apartheid and racism and making a mockery of the concept of power sharing.

C. PROCEDURES IN ADDRESSING THE OBSTACLES

1. Exclusive As Opposed To Inclusive Negotiations

1. Political Prisoners:

The following procedure should be adopted.

1.1 Mr Nelson Mandela And Other Rivonia Trialists

These should be released immediately and unconditionally.

1.2 Political Prisoners That Have Served Over Fifteen (15) Years.

These should also be released immediately and unconditionally.

Dr Nelson Mandela and other Rivonia trialists should be released immediately and unconditionally as should political prisoners that have served over 15 years. The principles of remission of sentence and parole should be immediately applied to all political prisoners that qualify as happens with other categories of prisoners.

1.3 Other Political Prisoners

The principles of remission of sentence and parole should be immediately applied to all political prisoners that qualify as happens with other categories of prisoners.

2. Declaration Of An Amnesty:

2.1 The Government should announce an amnesty through appropriate national and international channels.

2.2 The co-operation of instances like the International Red Cross, the U.N. Commission For Refugees, Western Governments and the International Commission Of

Jurists should be sought encouraging exiles and refugees to take advantage of the amnesty.

3. Unbanning Of Organisations

Once prisoners under C1.1 and 1.2 are released, the Government should immediately negotiate with them the modalities for the unbanning of their organisations.

4. The Ending Of The State Of Emergency, The Release of Detainees And The Restoration Of Press Freedom

The release of detainees and the restoration of press freedom should happen immediately and the lifting of the State of Emergency could be done either immediately or progressively according to districts and in accordance with a predetermined time table before the start of negotiations. In any event C.1, 2 and 3 would of necessity have to lead to the lifting of the State of Emergency, the release of detainees, and the restoration of press freedom.

An amnesty should be declared which would enable all political exiles to return to South Africa and participate in negotiations. The amnesty would have to be adequately guaranteed and returning exiles would need to be assured of immunity from prosecution.

II. Discriminatory Laws:

2.1 There are laws that are already being considered for abolition and these should be abolished immediately before negotiations begin, e.g. Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act.

2.2 Other laws like the Land Acts of 1913 could then be phased out in accordance with a definite time table which would be subject to negotiation.

III Race-Based Group Concept

3.1 The Government must announce its acceptance of the principle of voluntary association or freedom of association.

3.2 Voluntary groups that arise should enjoy protection from the State and their constitutional right should be guaranteed.

Organisations should be unbanned so that the leaders might freely consult with their leaders before and during negotiations . . . The State of Emergency, the release of political detainees and the restoration of Press freedom should be done to facilitate free debate and assembly.

IV. Tricameral Parliament

A mutually acceptable Statement Of Intent should be issued stating clearly that negotiations would aim at replacing the tricameral system with a system acceptable to the majority of the people of South Africa.

D. POINTS OF COMMON AGREEMENT

1. Establishment of a united South Africa with one sovereign parliament:

If this principle is mutually acceptable then the qualification should be that no self-governing territory should henceforth be allowed to declare itself independent, and that the TBVC states that wish to rejoin a United South Africa should be allowed to do so.

2. Belief in a democratic, non-racial and multi-party political system.

3. Belief in the protection of individual and minority rights.

4. Belief in freedom of association for individuals regardless of race.

5. Belief in the free enterprise economic system with built-in mechanisms to create wealth, eliminate poverty and afford disadvantaged sections of the South African population maximum opportunity to fully participate and have a meaningful stake in the economy.'

Inkatha National Liberation Movement conference

A CALL TO PREPARE FOR THE POLITICS OF NEGOTIATION

'APARTHEID IS DOOMED'

"The National Party is now vulnerable and it is subjected to all the stresses and strains of a Party in transition . . . Apartheid is doomed. We can say that with confidence . . ."

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi



Black South Africans must not "petty politic" around the question of getting negotiations on track, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told Inkatha's annual conference in his Presidential address in July.

The good of the State should be put before the good of the Party. The time had come for Blacks to risk entering the politics of negotiation.

"It is now safe for Black South Africans to start thinking about bringing radical change through the

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi addressing Inkatha's annual general conference in July.

CRACKS IN AFRIKANER SOLIDARITY

politics of negotiation. It is now safe because the State does not have the power to replace one version of apartheid with another version and to call the same thing by a different name."

Dr Buthelezi said the politics of change could now best be ensured through the politics of negotiation. Real Black powers in South Africa wanted non-violent tactics and strategies to succeed because that was the quickest and the best way to succeed.

"I want to reiterate my own position and say that I will talk to the devil himself if that will help the cause of justice," he said.

"I say quite unequivocally that the only thing that stands between me and the politics of negotiation with Mr F W de Klerk is the continuing incarceration of Dr Nelson Mandela and any continuing commitment to retain the present constitution.

"All I ask is that Mr F W de Klerk pronounce the death sentence on the present constitution and releases Dr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners before I can become involved in the politics of negotiation."

saw the urgent need for "talks about talks"

KwaZulu was talking about talks with the South African Government. There was a joint ad hoc committee in which the SA Government and the KwaZulu Government were tabling the problems which must be overcome before the politics of negotiation could get off the ground. (See Pages 12-14).

"If Mr F W de Klerk now begins to lead the National Party in such a way that talks about talks become more meaningful because he is more committed to real negotiations than his predecessor was, then we as Blacks must encourage him in what he is doing."

Dr Buthelezi said Black South Africans should not make it impossible for Mr de Klerk to rise above the traditional constraints which have always operated in the National Party.

"The politics of negotiation in this country are going to be very tough when they get off the ground. We must not add any unnecessary complications.

"What right could we ever claim

Black confrontations which are crippling the Black body politic in South Africa, we will lack the negotiating power we need to change the country?"

"There is no great, grand, evil force in life stopping the people of South Africa from authoring a beautiful future for their country and for future generations. If there is no future in this country it is because what we do authors that fact. If there is a future it will be because people bring that future into existence by how they behave . . ."

Dr Buthelezi said a "new era" was dawning for South African politics.

"First and foremost there is now the undisputable fact that Afrikanerdom does not present us with a monolithic power in the ruling National Party. The National Party is now vulnerable and it is subjected to all the stresses and strains of a Party in transition.

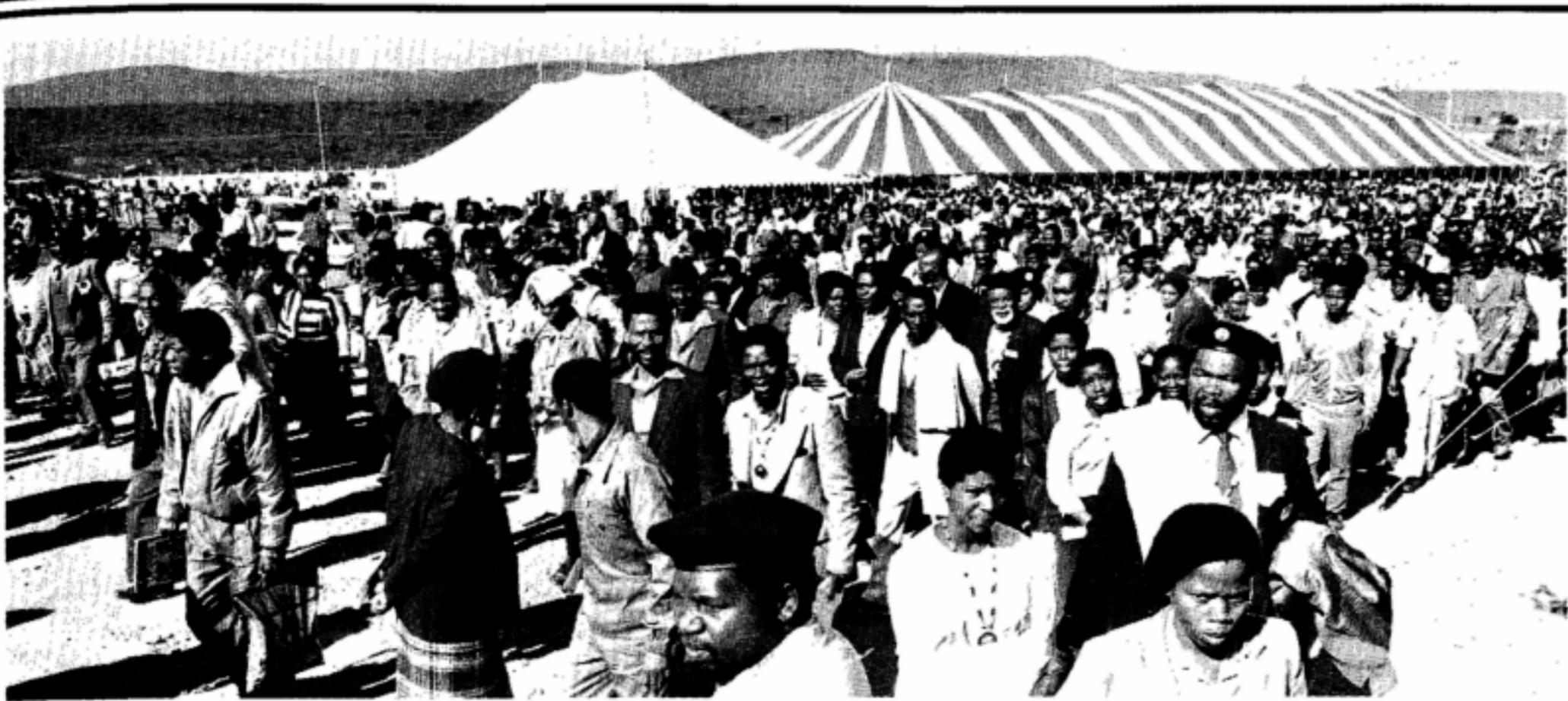
"The height of political screaming on the far right bears testimony to a real Afrikaner perception on the part of some that the National Party is changing. It is changing away from being an exclusive political party beyond the reach of social, economic and political forces beyond its members."

It was "altogether untrue" that only military intervention or a successful revolution could remove apartheid from South Africa.

"Right now there are emerging signs that we are moving towards one or another kind of finality for our country. Everything I see around me tells me that we cannot remain the same . . . There is now the indisputable fact that Afrikanerdom does not present us with a monolithic power in the ruling National Party . . . The cracks and even schisms in Afrikaner solidarity have denied apartheid the support that it previously had."

Dr Buthelezi added that he would go one stage further and say that however firmly he was committed and would remain committed not to negotiate about the future of South Africa unless Dr Mandela and others were released from jail, he

to demand that we bring about changes through the politics of negotiation if we show that we do not know the meaning of the word in our own Black political dealings with each other? Unless we overcome the hideous Black-on-



There were social, economic and political forces building up in the country which were going to "thrash apartheid" without relying solely on those who were committed to war and revolution.

"I for one am no longer afraid of apartheid being an invincible system of discrimination. I know that apartheid is going to be defeated," he said.

The vast majority of Black South Africans knew this.

"They may be very impatient for the change that they see ahead. They may be angry that it has not yet quite come. They may even urge desperate acts to hasten the day of

our liberation. The fact, however, is that they see apartheid is doomed. They know that victory will be ours."

The people of South Africa would author the destiny of their choice for the country.

The schisms that were dismembering the Afrikaner community as a monolithic power were schisms rooted in economic and social reality.

"Economic realities have already placed Blacks in so-called White South Africa and Blacks are now irradicably present there. There is nothing that apartheid can do to purge so-called White areas of

"There is no possibility that there will be a return to classical Verwoerdian apartheid and the solidarity that lay behind apartheid then. The schisms that are dismembering the Afrikaner community as a monolithic power are schisms rooted in economic and social reality . . ."

THERE WILL BE CHANGE

Black South Africans. We are there — irradicably there.

There was also an equivalent existing Black dependence on Whites.

“Any Black leader who does not accept this fact is as politically blind as the far right White political leaders are blind.”

“I am not saying that there will be change because of what already has happened. I am saying there will be change because it is now in our power to ensure that there will be change . . .”

Dr Buthelezi said that however “hideously wrong” a great deal of South Africa was, South Africans themselves would now have to put it right.

“The tricameral parliament disgusts me politically as much as it disgusts anybody in South Africa. I will have nothing to do with it and no force in the world will drag me into its operation. I will do nothing to legitimise it and strengthen it . . .

“I can believe in the future more fervently now because the call for non-violent democratic opposition forces to succeed is now stronger than it has ever been before.

“Black and White are economically intertwined in such a way that both Black and White are scrambling the South African egg and it will never be unscrambled again. The now total dependence of Whites on Blacks is irreversible.”

There was a “crying out from the people” for non-violent tactics and strategies to succeed because it was the people who paid the price of failed violence.

Inkatha’s theme for 1989 was: A Year Of Action For Peace — A Year Of Organisation For Peace — A Year Of Preparation For The Future. People in Southern Africa



“There will be change because there is now every indication that we will start moving away from the vicious upward spiralling of violence which actually underpins apartheid. Across South Africa there are now murmurings against violence for political purposes. There is rejection of violence by the State for political purposes and there is rejection of violence by revolutionary movements for political purposes.”

were addressing the question of how best to employ non-violent tactics and strategies in the achievement of political goals and in the achievement of posterity.

Right now there were historic Southern African forces working for peace which were also operative in South Africa. All political organisations were being herded in the same direction.

Dr Buthelezi said “nothing could be more tragic” than a black South African population which was not ready to respond to bring about radical change through non-violent

means when this became possible.

“God forbid that history ever blames us because when the time for non-violent change came we were too sceptical to play our role and to ensure non-violent change succeeded.

“I have always been prepared to suffer for my political convictions. I do what has to be done if I believe it to be the right thing. When something is right, I do it regardless of the consequences. I say it is now right for black South Africans to prepare themselves for the politics of negotiation.”

NELSON MANDELA

“ . . . I only would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa.”

Following his July meeting with outgoing State President Mr P W Botha, jailed ANC leader Dr Nelson Mandela released a statement saying that the only way to peace was through dialogue with the mass democratic movement and the ANC.

Dr Mandela said:

“The statement issued by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, on the meeting between the State President and myself is an accurate reflection of what happened at the meeting.

The statement, however, constitutes no deviation from the position I have taken over the past 28 years,

response to comments in the media concerning the meeting with the State President. I believe, however, that at this early stage further statements to the Press as a means of conducting possible future discussions would not be the appropriate course of action to promote peaceful development.

“I would like to confirm that my release is not an issue at this stage. As implied in the original statement, I only would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa.”

Earlier this year Dr Mandela wrote a letter to Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi

in due course, the restoration of the cordial relations which existed in the seventies between Dr Buthelezi and the exiled President of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo, and between Inkatha and the ANC.

He added that in his entire political career “few things have distressed me as to see our people killing one another as is now happening . . .”

The full text of Dr Mandela's letter to Dr Buthelezi follows:

1335/88: NELSON MANDELA

Victor Verster Prison,
Private Bag X6005,
PAARL SOUTH, 7624
3.2.89

Dear Shenge,

I thank you for the warm and well considered telex message you sent me on behalf of King Zwelithini and Inkatha on the occasion of my seventieth birthday. I also received your letter of 26 August 1988 in which you wished me a speedy recovery from illness, and in which you outlined your efforts both locally and abroad to secure the release of prisoners in South Africa.

Apart from your telex and a telegram from Mrs Helen Suzman, hundreds of similar messages came from well-wishers in the country and in different parts of the world. It is partly the unswerving support of such men and women, and partly the achievements made by our organisation within and outside the country which have given

“Dialogue with the mass democratic movement and, in particular, with the African National Congress, is the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country . . . at this early stage further statements to the Press as a means of conducting possible future discussions would not be the appropriate course of action to promote peaceful development . . .”

Dr Nelson Mandela, statement, July 1989.

namely that dialogue with the mass democratic movement and, in particular, with the African National Congress, is the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country.

“I make this statement in

in which he deplored the ongoing Black-on-Black violence in Natal/KwaZulu and said that “nothing would please him more” than to know that his concern and appeal had not fallen on deaf ears.

Dr Mandela said he hoped to see,

Call for black unity

prisoners so much strength and hope.

You will readily accept that it is not at all easy from my present quarters to comment fully and freely on the sentiments you so eloquently expressed in the above correspondence. It is sufficient to state that your persistent demand for the unconditional release of prisoners before negotiation can start, is a stand which I have always welcomed as a positive contribution to the search for lasting peace in this country.

Obviously, my fervent hope is to see, in due course, the restoration of the cordial relations which existed between you and O.R., and between the two organisations in the seventies. The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity. At no other time in our history has it become so crucial for our people to speak with one voice, and to pool their efforts.

Any act or statement, from whatever source, which tends to create or worsen divisions is, in the existing political situation, a fatal error which ought to be avoided at all costs.

Far more information than I possess at the moment is required before I can blame any of the parties involved in the deplorable conflicts now taking place in Natal. All the same, I consider it a serious indictment against all of us that we are still unable to combine forces to stop the slaughter of so many innocent lives. The struggle is our life and, even though the realisation of our fondest dreams may not be at hand, we can nevertheless make that struggle immensely enriching or absolutely disastrous.

In my entire political career few things have distressed me as to see our people killing one another as is now happening. As you know, the entire fabric of community life in some of the affected areas has been seriously disrupted, leaving behind a legacy of hatred and bitterness which may haunt us for years to come. It is a matter which requires the urgent attention of all people in this country. Nothing will please me more than to know that my concern and appeal have not fallen on deaf ears.

Once again, I thank you, the King and Inkatha for your inspiring message. My best wishes to you and Mndlunkulu.

Yours sincerely,
MADIBA.

MANDELA SPEAKS



Nelson Mandela.

Sowetan 13/7/89

Talks aimed at ending the appalling violence have subsequently been held between the UDF, COSATU and Inkatha. Inkatha has insisted that the ANC also be involved in the discussions.

A document drawn up by the UDF, COSATU and Inkatha delegations has now been presented to the Presidents of the UDF, COSATU, Inkatha and the ANC. Talks between the four Presidents are expected to be held, possibly in London, quite soon.

Dr Buthelezi has told Inkatha leaders that "on face value" the document is "positive" and represents a very major advance towards really meaningful Black politics.

"It is proposed that the four Presidents meet and that the agenda is the examination of the document which the Inkatha, UDF and COSATU delegates have drafted.

"It is also proposed that the Presidents appoint two committees: one would be a permanent consultative committee which attends to ongoing needs to overcome difficulties between the organisations. The other is a joint peace committee which will be set the task of organising a peace

conference.

"This peace conference would then bring into being an organising committee representative of Inkatha, the UDF and COSATU which would also appoint a joint peace rally committee which would be responsible for a mass rally in troubled areas. There would also be separate joint peace committees to organise rallies in the widest possible range of areas where violence has taken place"

Dr Buthelezi said the proposals (which could not be revealed at present) "cannot be faulted from the point of view of Inkatha's politics and all the demands that it has made for virtually the whole of its existence"

They amounted to a "major political statement endorsing Inkatha's legitimacy and relevance to the struggle. We must do nothing from our side that scuttles them . . ."

He said he could well see future historians tracing a whole new political era, and in fact the final collapse of apartheid, to this document and to the united action that it made possible.

It was now time to be very cautious, Dr Buthelezi said.

"Dr Mandela is calling for the cessation of hostilities between Black and Black but he is calling for more than this. He is calling for Black unity and he is calling for a solidarity in the approach of all the Black political organisations concerned. He is standing head and shoulders above so many others who are putting Party before the State . . ."

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi

and an end to violence

“... The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity. At no other time in our history has it become so crucial for our people to speak with one voice, and to pool their efforts. Any act or statement, from whatever source, which tends to create or worsen divisions is, in the existing political situation, a fatal error which ought to be avoided at all costs . . .”

Dr Nelson Mandela, letter to Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, February 1989

“On the other hand, future historians may well see this document as creating a political morass out of which only trial, tribulation and finally the collapse of the forces in it, could have been expected.”

How all reacted to these talks would determine what kind of future black leaders and organisations were going to have.

“They are crucial and must be handled with care and wisdom. A false step either way can be fatal.”

Dr Buthelezi said his vision for the development of non-violent tactics and strategies was “greatly encouraged” by the fact that COSATU and the UDF were seeking to talk peace with Inkatha.

“The significance of this is, of course, magnified by the fact that they are wanting to talk peace to Inkatha after they had consulted the ANC on the matter.”

It was “early days yet” and nobody knew how the ANC was going to manage its internal tensions which were resulting from some of its office bearers and members venturing out into a more peaceful approach to South Africa’s problems. He did not know yet for sure that the ANC in exile would become committed to the politics of negotiation as a primary means of bringing about change.

All he was saying was that there were forces working for peace.

“There is the historic event of our hero and martyr, Dr Nelson Mandela, calling to Black South Africans to avoid the senseless killing and Black-on-Black confrontations. The historic forces working for peace have even reached into a South African jail and touched a great son of South Africa on the shoulder and moved him to make his call.

“When Dr Nelson Mandela wrote to me he did so because he thought that when he put pen to paper calling for peace, it would be distributed for everybody to hear his call. This I am doing. I am calling for peace and I am saying that Dr Nelson Mandela supports this call.”

Dr Buthelezi said he did not wish to speak on behalf of anybody who was in jail. He was only carrying Dr Mandela’s message to the people. Dr Mandela was calling for peace between blacks.

“I call therefore for peace and for the employment of non-violent tactics and strategies both because the ruling National Party is now facing its own nemesis and will experience total doom unless it participates in real political change. I am also calling for peace because it is in the air in the whole of

Southern Africa.

“History is demanding the emergence of non-violent tactics and strategies as the winning tactics and strategies. All else carries too much risk.

“Peace will not come simply because we sing about it, or pray about it or because we demand it. Peace is something we will have to work for. We will have to organise the people to establish their forces for peace. We must have a multi-strategy approach to peace and each organisation must do what it can to bring about peace.

“I am calling for peace and I say that Dr Nelson Mandela supports this call . . .”

“We must continue acting for peace. Peace is not something that will be imposed on black South African warring parties from on high. Lasting peace, real peace, will only come about when the people most involved in violence themselves do most about banning the violence as the hideous crime against the struggle for liberation that it is.”

Mandela says: Talks with ANC are the only route to peace

JAILED ANC leader Nelson Mandela said last night the only way to peace was through dialogue with the mass democratic movement and the ANC.

The Prisons Service released the statement by Mandela on his meeting with President P W Botha.

Mandela said:

“The statement issued by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, on the meeting between the State President and myself is an accurate reflection of what happened at the meeting. The statement, however, constitutes no deviation from the position I have taken over the past 28 years, namely that dialogue with the mass democratic movement and, in particular, with the African National Congress, is the only

way of ending violence and bringing peace to our country.

“I make this statement in response to comments in the media concerning the meeting with the State President. I believe, however, that at this early stage further statements to the Press as a means of conducting possible future discussions would not be the appropriate course of action to promote peaceful development.

“I would like to confirm that my release is not an issue at this stage. As implied in the original statement, I only would like to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa.”

President Botha last night declined to comment on Mandela’s statement.

Coetsee, in his weekend statement on the talks, said no policy matters were debated and no negotiations conducted. The men had “availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in SA.”

RIAN SMIT reports DP co-leader Wynand Malan said last night that the important thing about Mandela’s statement was the commitment not only to peace but also to the searching for a peaceful way of peace.

“The fact that government has been prepared to release the statement is of even greater importance, because it confirms the absolute necessity of negotiations also with the ANC,” he said.

The statement also supported the position the DP had taken on talks with the ANC.

CP spokesman Andries Beyers said his party condemned the talks with the “terrorist organisation” in the strongest possible terms.

“The electorate will cast judgment on September 6 on whether or not they agree with the NP’s talks with Mandela.”

TIM COHEN reports that DP adviser Van Zyl Slabbert said the political significance of Mandela’s statement — which he viewed as conciliatory — was not its contents, reflecting what Mandela had always felt, but the fact that it was released.

“Mandela’s position has always been that government cannot do a deal with him alone. He is part of the movement. The release of the statement reflects a slight change of attitude

□ To Page 2



● MANDELA

A TIMES MEDIA PUBLICATION

Time to look ahead and to each other

DEMOCRACY — OR ELSE!

Revolutionaries in exile are making the first real moves in many years towards making it possible for them to participate in the politics of negotiation, says Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a meeting with West German politicians he said the African National Congress was now beginning to drop its "winner-takes-all approach in all-or-nothing politics."

"It has issued a discussion document on constitutional development which uses the Freedom Charter on a basis for discussions about a multi-party democracy. It also issued a document for internal circulation in which it discusses conditions under which blacks should be prepared to

enter the politics of negotiation?

"Not only therefore must we see Mr F W de Klerk as a President-in-waiting whose only course of action is to put the politics of negotiation on track, but we must see that he will be doing so against the background of growing black support for the politics of negotiation in non-violent attacks and strategies against apartheid."

Dr Buthelezi told Inkatha's annual general conference that he believed there was a "softening" of ANC lines in a number of

directions and "however flawed and faulty the ANC's document on constitutional guidelines is," there was a certain step towards the acceptance of a multi-party approach to South Africa's problems.

It was "early days yet" and nobody knew how the ANC was going to manage its internal tensions which would result from some of its office bearers and members "venturing out" into a more peaceful approach to South Africa's problems.

Political victories are meaningless unless they lead to the evolution of a national will to survive. South Africa does not want a post-apartheid period characterised by the hideous strife seen elsewhere in post-Colonial Africa. South Africa needs to establish a government which governs by consensus and in such a way that all the people of this country accept the way in which they are governed. I say rather simply that if we leave it to political parties only, we will magnify the dangers I have been referring to a hundredfold.

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi

COMPROMISE WILL BE THE KEY

There would have to be a "new mix" in which what was previously unthinkable to whites and blacks would become commonplace, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi told young Afrikaners in Durban recently.

Whites would see the removal of the Group Areas and Population Registration Acts and a new constitution as both necessary and ordinary.

Blacks would have to accept both a transitional period and the principle of minority group

protection.

He said he remained committed firstly to one South Africa, with one sovereign parliament and with universal adult franchise and total equality before the law and the constitution.

Whites were deluding themselves if they believed real democracy to be possible without these things — there was no democracy anywhere in the world without them.

Once the "rock bottom foundation stones" were accepted, negotiations could begin about how to express the democratic principles

which produced these things and about the form of political democracy.

However much he favoured a one-man-one-vote system of government in a unitary state, he was prepared to negotiate about a federal or other form of democracy which constitutional experience in civilised countries had upheld as viable.

"There must be a multi-party democracy because in our circumstances, it is either that or rule by a military junta — either from the far right or the far left."

We, the members of the Central Committee of Inkatha are aware that the politics of transition hold difficulties for all political groupings in South Africa. We are aware that real constitutional change is being retarded because white politics generally and the National Party in particular, wants change but cannot bring itself to make the bold steps that are needed.

We therefore resolve:

1. To recommit Inkatha to be allies of any group which commits itself to struggle for an open race-free democracy in South Africa and as one sovereign country which will have one sovereign parliament resting on an universal adult franchise system of voting.
2. To reiterate our willingness to negotiate individual and group right protection within the framework of the race-free democracy we demand.
3. To call on all other black groups to offer white South Africa safe custody through the transitional period which lies ahead.
4. To call on the National Party in particular and on other white political parties, to go forward trusting in God and trusting in the principles of democracy if for no other reason than that only deepening crisis can surround white politics where it stands now.

Resolution, Central Committee of Inkatha, meeting July 1989

"I do not know yet for sure that the ANC in exile will become committed to the politics of negotiation as a primary means of bringing about change. They have not yet reached the point where they themselves are saying this. In fact they are still pinning most hopes on continuing their violent programmes.

"All I am saying right now is that the historic Southern African forces working for peace will have to

Which way will the ANC jump?

increase their relevance to internal politics and this means backing that which can be done above ground."

Dr Buthelezi told a group of prominent visitors from Hungary that the armed struggle had failed and that he looked forward to the Eastern bloc now backing the politics of negotiation.

The claim that the "armed struggle" had put South Africa on the path of reform were "patently false"

"Now, at last, the social, economic and political realities,

which are beyond party-political manipulation, are dictating events," he said.

"It is my fervent hope that the new thinking in the Soviet Union and the narrowing of the East-West gap will lead to the Soviet Union and its socialist allies backing the politics of negotiation."

In a Presidential address to the Central Committee of Inkatha, he stressed that in South Africa "at large" today, there were no victors and no vanquished.

"Politics is somehow suspended

because while each political grouping does what it does do, real forward moves can only be made by political realignments.

"The National Party is now finally, I sincerely hope, disabused of any notion that it is a monolithic power which can do as it will when it wants to. There is recognition that political sharing of one kind or another is now essential. However, the sharing has not begun and I despair sometimes when I see the indications that the National Party does not know how to share"

We, the members of the Central Committee of Inkatha have always striven for black unity based on the acceptance of a multi-strategy approach. We have always said that there is a need for a multiple strategy approach and a multiplicity of attacks on apartheid alone would eradicate it and establish a fair and just democracy.

We note that moves of great historic importance have taken place in Angola and Namibia and we believe that there is a momentum in making the right moves which we must add to. And we also believe South Africa is close to that point in history where right moves can be made inside the country.

We therefore resolve to:

1. To urge all black groups in South Africa to think and plan actively for black unity.
2. To urge the ANC to respond to the call by Inkatha, the UDF and Cosatu to involve itself in peace talks.
3. We urge Mr Oliver Tambo to follow the suit of the President of Inkatha and publicly to declare his willingness to attend a meeting between the President of Inkatha and the ANC, UDF and Cosatu alliance.

Resolution, Central Committee of Inkatha, meeting July 1989

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**Bureau of Communications — Dept. of the Chief Minister
Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office**