

# DR M G BUTHELEZI:

**"On the level of constitutional development, the State President can make no gains from doing things which blacks reject. He has to involve blacks in constitutional development. We as black leaders have the ultimate weapon of veto right over what the State President can achieve. He can blunder without us but he cannot succeed without us. The next two to three years is going to be a crucial time in which massive endeavours should be made to stop the State President establishing political circuses in which he can be the ring master. Black leaders such as myself will judge what he is doing in part by those with whom he does it . . ."**

**"I have not got a hidden agenda . . . I have no double agendas either. I have stated almost ad nauseum the conditions under which I am prepared to consider participation in the National Council of the State President. First of all, the State President must tell us what he wants to talk about. If the State President turns his National Council into a castration chamber then only those who aspire to be political eunuchs will want to go there. Negotiations must add power to the arm of the negotiators. The only thing that adds power to black leaders is movement towards realising a situation in which there is one South Africa, with one sovereign parliament and one universal adult franchise system. Only powerful black and white leaders could negotiate these things into realities. They will only be achieved through compromise solutions and through the give and take between parties who have something to give and are capable of taking something . . ."**

**"If the State President, through whatever means, drags political small boys into his National Council, he must not expect the black political heavy-weights to be prepared to take their seats beside them. There is a man-size job waiting to be done and if he tries to do it with the feeble, he must not expect me to be prepared to water down my strengths with feebleness. His National Council will fail if he gathers in it the political has-beens or if he gathers in it those who simply do not have the clout that effective negotiation demands . . ."**

**"The State President will fail utterly if he follows a course of events in which he gives political roles to good boys and expects them to do an impossible job. I would negotiate with the State President tomorrow if the negotiating agenda would include the scrapping of the Tricameral Parliament and would, for instance, make it possible for me to table a final version of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba constitutional proposals. Obviously black democracy must be**

**unshackled to give black negotiators the prospects of carrying blacks with them. The only blacks worth negotiating with are blacks who would, in fact, increase their own power bases through negotiations. Of what value would I be to Mr P W Botha, to black South Africa and South Africa as a whole, if I was by now located in the South African political rubbish heap because I had prematurely involved myself in discussions with the State President?**