

# Time to look ahead and to each other

## DEMOCRACY — OR ELSE!

**R**evolutionaries 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

**T**here 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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# **INHLABAMKHOSI**

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