

## UDF MEETING - 9 APRIL 1986

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## INTRODUCTION

1. An apprentice in extra-Parliamentary politics.
2. Represent no constituency.
3. Title : **"Where to White Politics?"**
  - (a) Not an occasion to denigrate my former colleagues. Admire them.
  - (b) Have traversed the electoral spectrum of white politics over 12 years. Anyone who says : Whites are irrelevant to the future of South Africa is living under a dangerous illusion - capacity for violence can have a decisive impact on our future.
  - (c) Equally, Whites who believe that life can go on as before in playing white politics - also living under a dangerous illusion.
4. My resignation is not so much a commentary on the PFP and opposition politics, but on the Government and the likelihood of constitutional change in the ordinary sense of the word.

I resigned because :-

- (a) I became convinced that the present Government has no intention of getting rid of the basic cornerstones of Apartheid.
- (b) The present tri-cameral Parliament is -

- (i) constitutionally and
  - (ii) practically incapable of creating sufficient pressure to bring about such change as is necessary to scrap Apartheid.
  - (c) the real pressures for such change will come from outside Parliament and the debate is about what kind of pressure is going to be brought to bear for such change and I would like to participate in that debate.
5. This does not mean that there is no role for those who wish to use parliament to protest against and oppose apartheid. This is an honourable tradition justifiably made famous by Helen Suzman and others. However, protesting against Apartheid is not the same as changing it. There are also those who claim to oppose it, whilst in fact bolstering and extending it.

#### WHAT HAS CHANGED ?

1. **Tri-Cameral Parliament**
  - (a) Entrenched Apartheid
  - (b) Constitutionally excluded Blacks - one man, one vote.
  - (c) Executive Presidency
  - (d) Extended logic of Apartheid.

Overall effect - made conventional constitutional change much more difficult, if not impossible.

2. **Troops from the Border to Townships**

- (a) Symbolic value
- (b) Confusion of role
- (c) Militarization of internal situation
- (d) Promoted a new culture of resistance

3. **Offer to Mandela**

- (a) Political offer
- (b) Give up violence - give up apartheid
- (c) Violence of apartheid vs violence of revolt

4. **How do we break this spiral ?**

- (i) Historical responsibility to change Apartheid
- (ii) Restore freedom of choice
- (iii) Negotiate with leaders

**WHAT ROLE FOR WHITES**

1. Must persuade other Whites to come to terms with a fully non-racial democratic South Africa.
2. Must get involved, not only in the dismantling of Apartheid South Africa, but in the reconstruction of South Africa beyond Apartheid.
3. Must be shown that they do not have a special place as Whites, but as equal citizens of a non-racially structured country.
4. This has to be done within all those extra-Parliamentary organizations that have influence and access to White opinion-making as well as those who do not.