ADDRESS TO THE KWAZULU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

19 JUNE 1985
DR. F. VAN ZYL SLABBERT MP
LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION

INTRODUCTION

1. Great honour - no written speech.

2. Personal relationship with Gatsha Buthelezi
   - Frank/warm
   - No sloganeering politician
   - Understands accountability
   - Against/For

3. Shared many discussions, meetings and seminars.
   - Vilified/praised - denigrated/admired
     from left and right.
     So have I.

   - Am prepared to say :-
     (i) Deeply committed to Non-Racial Democratic
         South Africa.
     (ii) Totally reject any measure which prevents
         freedom of participation of individual.
     (iii) Extraordinary patience and forbearance
         continues to explore avenues for peaceful
         change.
     (iv) If any objectivity in writing history -
         these facts will live on into posterity.
SOUTH AFRICA: HOVERING BETWEEN SEIGE AND NEGOTIATION POLITICS

1. Address you at crucial time in the history of our country.
   (a) Mounting external pressure
   (b) Increasing internal polarization
   (c) Escalating poverty/unemployment.

2. (a) At this time South Africa constitutionally totally unprepared to cope with the political consequences of these problems.
   
   (b) Because of, not despite, the existing tri-cameral system we are -
      (i) more divided
      (ii) more conflict prone
      (iii) more isolated than before it became reality.

(c) Of one thing deeply convinced: If there is to be an acceptable constitutional arrangement for all people in South Africa, it cannot be based on or inspired by the philosophy or assumptions motivating the tri-cameral system.

(d) Any constitution which depends on: -
    (i) Population Registration Act
    (ii) Group Areas
    (iii) Compulsory racial grouping
    (iv) Separate Black constitution
IS DOOMED TO FAILURE.

3. Therefore, at present South Africa is:
   (i) Internationally isolated
   (ii) Internally divided
   (iii) Constitutionally unprepared.

4. What are the options?

   REVOLUTIONARY ROMANTICISM
   (a) Question of time South African Government will be on its knees
   (b) Personal experience: No loss of will to govern, or ability to coerce and oppress.

   WITHDRAWAL/PROTEST
   (a) Disengage/Protest
   (b) Tyranny thrives in isolation
   (c) Engage: Violence/negotiation

   VIOLENT ENGAGEMENT
   (a) Violence only means to maintain/change status quo.
   (b) Siege - prolonged state of inconclusive violence
       Society in a state of institutionalized brutalization
       - Everybody loses, nobody wins.
       - Whites more insulated
Last to understand consequences, 
first to be warned (SADF)

ENGAGE FOR NEGOTIATION

(a) HOPEFUL SIGNS

(i) President
(ii) Policy shifts
(iii) Mechanisms

(b) CONFUSING SIGNS

(i) Public interviews
(ii) Heunis/Open ended agendas
(iii) Lack of freedom of association

THE CASE FOR A DECLARATION OF INTENT

(i) Not HOW but WHEN
(ii) Clarifies basis for negotiation
(iii) Legitimizes participation
(iv) Establishes bona fides

BUTHELEZI COMMISSION

(a) Excellent exercise in negotiation politics
(b) In it very clear indications for the minimum conditions in a Declaration of Intent.
(c)(i) One Constitution
(ii) One Citizenship
(iii) One system of franchise based on powersharing and no domination
(iv) Influx Control

(d) Within these points alternative constitutional models can be explored.

PFP AND NEGOTIATION

(a) REFERENDUM/PARTICIPATION
(b) PHILOSOPHY
   (i) Voluntary Association - all legislation
   (ii) Convention
   (iii) Will not compromise - must be in WHITE POLITICS

(c) OPPORTUNITIES
   (i) SCC
   (ii) Political Interference Act

PFP AND INKATHA
1. Fractured/fragmented society
2. Shaped by history and present structures and opportunities.
3. Past/Present must not obscure common future.
4. Sensitive to difficulties/Constructive critical performance
But let us never doubt each other's commitment to a non-racial democratic South Africa.

5. Let us meet often and strengthen each other's conviction that one day, sooner than most think -

THERE WILL BE ONE SOUTH AFRICA FOR ALL ITS PEOPLE

--- ooo ---