

R A U

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1. VORSTER & P W BOTHA era.
2. To suggest a topic such as this one clearly implies the failure of the existing policy.
3. We will have to think afresh and question old assumptions. There are a number of false assumptions in the topic suggested for this evening.
4. Assumption 1 : that a separate constitutional arrangement can be produced for Blacks or groups of Blacks that will be workable and/or acceptable.
5. Assumption 2 : that "urban Blacks" constitute an identifiable political entity or constitutional unit. In this sense there are no "urban Blacks" just as there are no "urban Whites", only Black and White people living in the cities.
6. Assumption 3 : that an acceptable constitutional solution can be found without voluntary association. This is a fundamental paradox and contradiction of the Separate Development philosophy.
7. Assumption 4 : that a manageable administrative and legal mechanism can be established which will at the same time promote co-operation and stability and separate urban Blacks from rural Blacks, i.e. influx control with a smile.

8. As long as we as Whites who are the dominant minority cling to these assumptions, no viable constitutional solution can be found for Whites, Blacks, Coloureds and Asians.

9. I think it is possible to work toward such a solution if we proceed from the following set of assumptions :
 - (a) Accept the reality and consequences of urbanization, i.e. that Blacks can and will migrate like anybody else in the land of their birth;

 - (b) Accept that influx control is a hopeless failure and has to be scrapped completely. The problem is not to stop people from coming to the cities, but what to do with them once they are here ;

 - (c) Accept voluntary association as a basic and fundamental human activity, also for the purposes of political participation;

 - (d) Accept that no constitutional solution can be unilaterally imposed but only negotiated;

 - (e) Accept that you cannot select or determine who the leaders are with whom you have to negotiate.

10. If the Government worked with these assumptions it could give practical effect to them by the following steps :
- (a) Give a clear declaration of intent by stating that it wishes to negotiate a constitutional solution acceptable as far as possible to both Black and Whites and therefore regarded the citizenship of Black South Africans as negotiable and open for discussion;
 - (b) To prove its bona fides it will stop all forced removals and demolition of squatter communities as well as persecutions under the influx control laws ;
 - (c) Invite leaders in existing constitutional structures as well as such community leaders who enjoy obvious support and legitimacy outside such structures to co-operate and negotiate new constitutional structures as well as formulating programmes to cope with urban migration and community stability, rural poverty and underdevelopment;
 - (d) Allow freedom of association, organization and speech provided it is not subversive or promotes violence and confrontation. This will for once and for all remove the accusation that such leaders that do come forward are not "real" or are "puppets" or "stooges".

The obvious problems that will have to be faced ?

- (a) The rate and extent of urbanization;
- (b) White and Black radicalism;
- (c) Maintaining a viable moderate Black-White centre that can negotiate effectively.

But these problems are going to exist in any case and will be even more difficult to cope with if the above assumptions are not the guiding principles to finding a solution to the constitutional position of NOT only urban or rural Blacks, but ALL South Africans.

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