

ADDRESS TO THE KWAZULU LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

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DR. F. VAN ZYL SLABBERT MPLEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITIONINTRODUCTION

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) Seperate 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) Seige - 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 others commitment to
a non-racial democratic South Africa.

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

THERE WILL BE ONE SOUTH AFRICA FOR ALL ITS PEOPLE

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