

**MEMORANDUM FOR DISCUSSION WITH DR F HARTZENBERG, MP
LEADER OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY
AND ADVOCATE TOM LANGLEY, MP**

**BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU
AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY**

ULUNDI: JUNE 28, 1993

I wish to welcome to Ulundi Dr Hartzenberg, as leader of the Conservative Party. I know that when COSAG leadership met in Ulundi on the 5th of May, this meeting was already on the cards. Dr Hartzenberg and I have known each other in different capacities for almost 20 years, from the time when he was a member of the National Party, and a South African Government Deputy Minister. I can say the same about Advocate Langley.

The CP established good relationships with the IFP during the time of the late Dr Treurnicht, in spite of our political differences. We are therefore not starting from scratch in our relationship. What is going on at the World Trade Centre has proved that it was good that that relationship has been built up between us. I say this notwithstanding the present political difficulties that have arisen since Friday as a result of what happened at the World Trade Centre.

Gentlemen, I do not know what the turning points of South African history are going to be. All I know is that history is not going to be made by individuals. It is not going to be made by State Presidents, Cabinet Ministers and political leaders. History is going to be made by the people. History will determine what can, and can not be done, at the World Trade Centre. People will determine what history dictates.

I open with the thought that people write history, because we will this week be facing a barrage of criticisms, and worse, of what the AWB did on Friday. I, like all democrats, condemn the use of violence, and I condemn the breaking into the World Trade Centre. I condemn, with a deep sense of disquiet, the racism in the attacks against Black delegates, and particularly against Black women delegates. Those were unforgivable slurs on South African honour. I assumed that this was not something done on the instructions of the leader of the Conservative Party, or General Constand Viljoen. Our National Chairman, Dr Mdlalose, told me that both Dr Hartzenberg and General Viljoen wanted to apologise to those who were assaulted and insulted. It is, however, clear to me that this is a case where there arises the issue of guilt by association. This is most unfortunate, particularly when Mr Terreblanche is quoted in the media as saying that he is not prepared to apologise. This places me in an extremely difficult position.

Having said that, however, I want to record my deep sense of disgust at the utter hypocrisy at the World Trade Centre. I am disgusted that the same Negotiating Council which continually urges the Government and the ANC to find a way forward after the PAC had killed little children and attacked the elderly, continues to wage a vendetta against the SAP.

I applaud those attempts by the Council to keep the PAC in the negotiating process. I would not have sanctioned my delegates agreeing to the expulsion of the PAC while the ANC and MK were in cahoots, and MK remained virulent, alive, and vicious, in its attack against civilians, and the ANC remained in the Negotiating Chamber. I say so as the leader of a political party which has lost hundreds of IFP leaders, many of them at the hands of MK.

I call for a proper perspective, and it is the perspective I have advocated ever since CODESA I - the making of the negotiation process all-inclusive, and finding ways and means of bringing everybody in, including the PAC and AZAPO.

I will refute any attitude to the AWB which will not be reconciliatory, and which will not entice them into the negotiation process. I will not distance myself from the CP because it is a member of the Afrikaner Volksfront. I will not distance myself from the CP because the CP is a member of COSAG. I will proclaim my right of free political association with those whom I know will have to be made party to the negotiated settlement of South Africa's constitutional future.

I know that my stand and my attitudes will cause me to pay political costs. I have never been conditioned in my political acts and thinking by the need to be popular. I have done what is right. I have said what is honestly correct, and I have stood by what I have done and said.

I am aware that as we talk today there will be a great surge of anti-right wing sentiment and activity which will result in many things mushrooming across the whole country, and the emergence of a new left wing militancy demanding the relinquishing of control of security forces by the Government to one or another multi-party control authority.

As far as I am concerned South Africa is South Africa and the South African Government, warts and all, is the only government we have, and it is both the de jure and de facto government of the day. I believe that there shall be one single process towards the new South Africa, and that until we have a satisfactory constitution under which there can be elections, the present government will have to stay in power. The alternative is a government of the generals under some kind of military command of the country, which I do not want.

The alternative of Transitional Executive Councils actually beginning to govern, and the Negotiating Council becoming the Parliament of the day, must be rejected, and I will reject these developments.

Somehow we must get the Government to begin governing with the authority of a Government. The Government appears to have lost the will to govern and we must remedy that.

I am not sure that the best that we are able to do will give the Government the necessary heart to govern with authority. I say that we must force the Government to govern with authority despite the fact that there are far more party political gains for me from the Government being weak, and the membership of the National Party, and members of the National Party Caucus, abandoning the National Party in favour of the IFP.

I will not allow the IFP to become locked into a two-phase transitional process which will result in a Constituent Assembly being elected to give a majority party the right to determine the future of South Africa, the constitution, the boundaries and the powers and structures of regions.

Negotiations should be about finding common ground between opposing parties, where well defined positions can not be reconciled, and where finding common ground between starkly opposed alternatives, are unravelled.

The parties which favour a two-phase process leading to a Constituent Assembly have exactly what they want in the Negotiating Council. On the other hand, parties which favour a single phase process, and who want regional powers, boundaries and structures to be negotiated ahead of elections, and who want elections for regional government before, or simultaneously, for a national government, have nothing on the negotiation table.

This must be altered. I am just not prepared to go on any longer being locked into negotiation for a two-phase transitional process. I am not prepared to be locked into rapid progress towards an April 1994 election which will establish a Constituent Assembly.

We can not proceed any further down the line that the Technical Committee and the Negotiating Council are determining for us. The IFP will put a halt on further negotiations on constitutional principles and transitional issues until we are satisfied that what we want is on the table, and negotiations are about attempting to find common ground between what the Government and the ANC want on the one hand, and what the IFP and COSAG want on the other.

I do not know how, and when, and under what circumstances it will be possible for the IFP and the CP to reconcile the very fundamental differences which exist between them on constitutional issues.

It will be utterly impossible for the IFP to support any notion of race-defined elections for any region or city in the new South Africa. The IFP in fact feels helpless in the face of restraints being placed on its ability to be of real assistance in supporting the CP.

As far as we are concerned even the people of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville are citizens of Pretoria who will have to be consulted about the future of Pretoria.

I do not believe that the constitutional differences between us are impediments to our common action in the heat of today's struggle against Government capitulating to the ANC. I do not believe that our differences should be allowed to mar our joint action to put an end to ANC/SACP/SAG connivance once and for all. That connivance spells doom to open negotiations and it is prohibitive of a true multi-party settlement.

I will stand shoulder to shoulder with the CP, and whoever else will stand with us, to bring the Government to its senses and block a SAG/ANC/SACP seizure of power by stealth through negotiations.

The call for the IFP to disassociate itself from the CP and COSAG is a very transparent call by the ANC, its allies and its fellow travellers, to marginalise the IFP.

Issues are so much more clear now than they were during the beginnings of COSAG. All I can say today is that my going to Mmabatho on the 29th of September 1992 and calling for a Conference of Concerned South Africans at the Indaba Hotel on the 6th of October 1992, was really providential. I pay many costs because of my COSAG commitments, but they are nothing like the costs South Africa would pay if I had not opposed the Record of Understanding.

Gentlemen, I believe that we share a very clear understanding of where we severally and jointly stand, and of what we have in common in our fight against Government/ANC collusion, which will lead to Government handing over power to the ANC in return for a piggy-back ride on Mandela into the future.

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