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AIDE MEMOIRE BY MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER KWAZUuLuU,  
PRESIDENT OF INKATHA AND CHAIRMAN, THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE  
FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE HON. ' DR.' @, VILJOEN, MINISTER  
OF CO-OPERATION, DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

; PRETORIA. 26TH OCTOBER 1984

21 am very pPleased, Mr. Minister, to have the opportunity of sharing  
--a few thoughts with you. I have been looking forward to meeting

You in your capacity as Minister of Co-operation, Development ang  
Education, and I received your invitation to do SO with gratitude.  
I am, I think, in a position to understand just how difficult your  
Joh is. You face immense Problems and take over â\200\230responsibilities  
from others in circumstances which are changing. You do not have  
the easy task of following in the footsteps of Someone else to  
continue as the Minister of a Department with ongoing traditions.  
You have to do far more than follow set patterns of solving  
Problems in the tried and tested ways developed by those who went  
before you. Because yours is the task of leading your Department  
and discharging your responsibility as g â\200\230Minister in new  
cirCumstances, I would like to give you an undertaking from my side  
that - I wil) Co-operate with you wWwherever it is Possible to do so.  
As a South African I am deeply concerned about my country, and I am  
Prepared to throw my full weight behind eÃ@very possible positive

development which you, Sir, your Cabinet colleagues and the State  
President have in mind.

History has decreed that Blacks and Whites are co-habitants of this  
country. Our destinies are intertwined, and I believe Black  
White should Strive for national reconciliation to produce the

maximum national effort to pull this country out of the political  
quagmire in which it has been for so long.

Blacks lin urban areas but that it was desirable for them to be  
there, I took heart and what I have to say today is in

of Black politics. We are both aware that I am implac

to apartheid and I hope, 'Sir, that wWe can share the hope that this  
word apartheid will one day cease to be -â\200\230a< term: of  
significance in our Politics. .

In my leadership role, I try always to base ny actions and my  
decisions on Christian norms ang accepted Western civilised  
standards ang values, Democracy to me has a very. potent meaning,

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It has salvaged mankind from anarchy and despotism. Democracy, the politics of negotiation and the idiom of compromise which is inherent in it, lay the foundations for an orderly society and the best possible organisation of economic forces. Under democratic rule the citizens of a country have the freedom to explore their worth as human beings and to aspire to achieve the maximum of which they are capable. In our circumstances, democracy goes hand in hand with free enterprise, and as a South African, I am not only committed to democracy, but I am also committed to an enlightened

and pragmatically effective free enterprise system. I reject the armed struggle. I reject "the use of violence for political purposes, and I am deeply conscious of the responsibility which rests on all Black leaders to turn Black political anger and frustration into positive forces capable of contributing towards the development of this country. :

I have been in politics virtually my whole life and I have found that harsh facts constantly intrude to limit what I can do and to determine what is possible to do. I want to assure you, Sir, that my opposition to much of what this and previous Governments have adopted as policy is dictated not only by my sense of political morality, but by the harsh facts with which I am surrounded in Black politics. I have to lead my people where they are. I have to stand amidst my people and lead them in the idiom of the political mood which Prevails. I have to speak for my people and I have visibly to be the champion of their cause. If I abandon this idiom in my politics, I will lose the popular support which has enabled Inkatha to make clean-sweep victories in KwaZulu elections and to develop the largest Black political constituency which the history of this country has ever known. Apartheid puts you, Sir, and I on different sides of a political fence, and I hope that we can recognise this fact, while also recognising that that fence needs to be demolished and that we have to deal with each other while this is being done. :

The South African Government is striving to create political circumstances acceptable both to Black and White. I believe they are going about it in the wrong way, and I believe that White politics is even now busy alienating the majority of the citizens of this country. I must therefore necessarily oppose much of the present Government's policy and this has led to a degree of estrangement between myself and the State President.

I hold a very fundamental conviction that Black and White in this country are here for better or worse. They are here to live with each other, and it is the responsibility of Black and White leaders to make that living together as harmonious as human nature allows.

My own analysis of the South African situation and of the future leads me to ask that discussions we have today and in the future range beyond the four corners of apartheid. As a popular Black leader, I cannot talk to you within the four corners of apartheid and talk to my people about expanding those corners to what would be unrecognisable proportions to dyed-in-the-wool apartheid theorists. ot i :

"I simply do not believe that the new constitution solves this country's political problems. There is an urgent necessity for Black and White lleaders to sit around tables and talk about Black/White power-sharing. I cannot talk meaningfully about power-sharing as I wunderstand it within the framework of the State President's public announcements. I just cannot believe that the present Government's public commitment to a confederation of Southern African states, comprising a dominant White state and ten impoverished Third Wworld Black states, will provide a solution which lis acceptable to the majority of this country's 22 million Black citizens. o

and constitutional development needs ultimately to be agreed to by ever agreeing to the kind of formula which is pPresently being

employed by the National Party. I cannot conceive of a South Africa held in perpetual tension of counter-balancing Black and White political forces. I can only conceive of a South Africa din

which Black/White political tensions are resolved, and I see the urgent need to explore ways and means of persuading the White electorate, and Black society, to make political compromises.

There has been a cherished ideal of a one-man-one-vote system of"

government in Black South for generations. I and some others are prepared to consider compromise solutions and to consider the merits of federal or other formulae which Whites could be persuaded to accept. Just as Whites will not be able to accept a one-man-one-vote system, so Blacks will not be persuaded to accept the new tricameral parliament and to seek their political future in so-called homelands gone independent. IL 1. had to accept independence for KwaZulu, my people would abandon me and I would cease to have any utility in the process of avoiding Black/White confrontations more violent than we have ever known before.

I thought Mr. Minister that at my first meeting with you in your new capacity, I ought to say these simple things as clearly as I can. 1. 18t ne patently clear that the whole country would

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benefit from a rapprochement. I do not aspire to take over the reigns of government and to lead both Black and White in an all-powerful position. In our circumstances, a government of national reconciliation is urgently needed, and both Black and White leaders need to recognise the necessity of moving away from government by racial domination. I am reviled in many Black quarters because I accept the need for the politics of negotiation, and I work towards compromise solutions in which both sides will have to abandon some

<--things they cherish. I constantly face pressures from

revolutionary forces aspiring to form a Black majority government by violence if necessary. It takes a great deal of courage to remain as committed as I am to bringing about change through democratic means by the employment of non-violent tactics and strategies. I have the courage to do so and I also have the courage to oppose apartheid on behalf of my people.

Mr. Minister, Sir, I hope that what I have had to say will be heard in the constructive and friendly spirit within which it is said. I will co-operate with you in any action which dismantles

apartheid. May I, Sir, wish you well in your immense responsibilities.

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Alinisteric van Samewerking en Outwikkeling  
Ainistry vf Co-pperation aud Deoelopuwent

Posbus |  
P.O. Box ]384

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The Honourable the Chief Minister Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi  
KwaZulu Government Service 2  
Private Bag X01

ULUNDI ,

2838 : 5

Dear Chief Minister

With reference to the discussion during our meeting on the 26th October 1984 and the aide memoire which you presented to me, I would like to return again to your statement on page 3 : "There is a urgent necessity for Black and White leaders to sit around tables and talk about Black/White power sharing. I cannot talk meaningfully about power sharing as I understand it within the framework of the State President' s public announcements.â\200\235 Although you explained that your reference to the State Presi@ent's public announcements particularly refers to the matters of independence and confederation, I would like to make sure that the significance of several statements contained in both the State Presidentâ\200\231s inaugural address of the 14th September 1984 and his address at the opening of Parliament of the 18th September receives your attention. I believe that these formulations affecting political rights of Black people in South Africa introduce a flexibility which is also at the basis of the approach of the Special Cabinet Committee considering the political and constitutional development of Black communities outside the national states. In this context I would suggest that your participation in

consultations with the Cabinet Committee would be meaningful both to yourself and to the Government. :

From the inauguration speech I quote the following:

"This concept of the devolution of power does not 6nly apply to the mutpai

relationship between White and Brown South Africams, but it also applies to

relations with the various Black communities which, particularly since 1960, have travelled a long way on the road to self-determination.

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As far as our Black peoples are concerned, the constitution makes special provision for responsibilities of the South Africal State President. I commit myself and the Government to seek an institutionalised form of co-operation with the independent and self governing states. We have already advanced very far and are aware of the necessity to coâ\200\224opgzgte in finding a solution for the vital issue of citizenship and nationality.

I also quote the following passage:

â\200\234Phe position of the Black communities living outside the national states is

receiving the urgent attention of the Special Cabinet Committee which I appointed last year. Consultations are continuing across the broadest possible spectrum and a great deal of work has been and is being done to find suitable political mechanisms which will be acceptable to, and in the interest

of, these communities. This work is being done within the context of the

Government' s policy of devolution of powers so as to bring government closer to the people.â\200\235

From the speech at the opening of Parliament I quote the following passage:

â\200\234Politically, Black participation requires structures and processes other than those offered by this constitution. We therefore realise that the Constitution in terms of which this Parliament has been created and you have been summoned here today, does not provide fully for the diversity which marks the South African population. Democratic political participation must also be

further extended among our Black communities in South Africa in order to ensure their advancement and to meet the demands for justice.

My Government will continue to create, on the basis of consultation and negotiation, a framework within which co-operation with Black states, both independent and selfgoverning, can take place. Furthermore, means will have to be found to enable Black communities outside the independent and selfgoverning states to participate in political decision-making in matters affecting their interests. Thus we have to continue to build on the Toundations which were laid by the establishment of Black local authorities.â\200\235

(The underlining of words in the above passages are my own.)

May I remind you again that it has all along been the policy of the Government not to force any national state into taking independence, but to leave the decision for or against independence to each national state concerned. I would also like to emphasize that the approach by the Cabinet Committee is not one of first working out proposed solutions and then submitting them to Black



leaders for comment, but to engage in discussion and negotiation with Black

leaders from which hopefully points of agreement can emerge on which we can build further negotiations. S

I sincerely trust, Mr Chief Minister, that you will see your way open to make yourself available for discussion%/\200\230with the Cabinet Committee.

Yours sincerely

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G. VAN N, VILJQEN =

MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION, DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING

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"ibhe Hon. Dr. G. van N. Viljoen-...  
" Minister of Co-operation, Development

KWAZULU

MINISTRY OF THE CHIEF MINISTER,  
FINANCE, ECONOMIC AFFAIRS  
AND POLICE.  
â\200\230 ; . s 2 Private Bag X01  
e : e i e . : Ulundi  
i : . . : 3838

\ 20th November 1984

and Education  
PO Box 384  
Pretoria  
ee01

Dear Mr. Minister,

Thank you for your letter of the 5th November 1984. I

your \* writing to me and raising the question of my participation in the Special Cabinet Committee's deliberations. I think, that your letter does not address itself to the real problems about which we talked. I was aware of what the State President had said in his inaugural address on the 14th September 1984 and what he had said at the opening of Parliament on the 18th September. I believe it would serve a useful purpose for me to respond to you by making a number ' of observations about each of the quotations contained in your letter. I do so to make quite sure that I am not being misunderstood, or that you are perhaps led to doubt the extent to which I am committed to the politics of negotiation, and that I look forward to the time when my participation in constitutional developments will be made meaningful by â\200\230clear statements of

Principle and statements of intent as far as the Government is concerned.

appreciate  
participation in  
however,

Before I discuss the details of the

your letter, I would like to make a few general observations. My understanding of what the State President has in mind, and what the National Party is committed to, can be summarised as follows. The State President and the National Party regard 87 per cent of the country as an area in which the new parliament will be sovereign in perpetuity. This parliament is established by the new constitution which defines Whites, Coloureds and Indians as population groups and ignores the reality that in the 87 per cent of the country referred to , the majority of citizens are Black. The State President has said nothing to encourage me to believe that he entertains any prospects of power-sharing between Black and White within the framework of the present constitution or in any other future

various quotations contained in



Constitution. I cannot put aside the consideration that the majority of the people of so-called White South Africa -

that they will) have no constitutional rights in

the country's parliamentary process,

As I understand the State President and

committed to retain the supremacy of the country's Parliament over

to entertain only consultative

\*mechanisms between so-called independent and self-governing national

7 There is talk of additional

and which will) relate the country's

called independent and national

hand. as I understand it, this is one of the prime functions of the Special Cabinet Committee and its undertaking its work on the assumption that:

: 5% The present Parliament

it will) retain its sovereignty over 87 per

constitutional rights for Blacks to  
parliamentary process,

not opt for independence will only have  
ability within the

2. There will - be no

3. Black States which do  
administrative responses  
kind of legislation which is at

4. Certain powers will be devolved to local authorities in  
urban areas, without parliament

White, Coloured and Indian

If I am correct in this understanding, then I will continue to find it impossible to participate in the development

Cabinet Committee, as quoted from  
by the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, and  
issued by the Department of Foreign Affairs:

It applies not only to Whites,  
Coloureds and Indians in the new dispensation, but also to

tional States, and in principle  
in terms of Black  
Local Authorities Act of 1982.

Involved in the development of Black  
local authorities established by the 1982 Act 3 would be the party  
to endorsing the National Constitution which has denationalised myself  
and 22 million other Blacks, against which precludes in principle  
Black/White power-sharing in the

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Mr. Minister, Sir, I am not against participation as a Black

strategy aimed at bringing about change. I am not a confrontationist and I am truly committed to the politics of negotiation. I am prepared to seek the kind of compromises which

will make negotiation possible, and I have in fact very few non-negotiables. I find, however, that I am just not able to compromise on the question of demanding power-sharing between Black and White leading to the participation of Blacks in the country's

parliamentary process. If I were to abandon this stand, I would so . lose support and so shed my following, that I would not be worth

- negotiating - with. The crux of the issue is for me whether or not

there is any hope of power-sharing in my sense of the word.

You quote the State President as saying:

but it also applies to relations with the various Black

communities which, particularly since 1960, have travelled long way on the road to self-determination. As far as our Black peoples are concerned, the constitution makes Special provision for responsibilities of the South African State President. I commit myself and the Government to seek an institutionalised form of Co-operation with the independent and self governing states. We have already advanced very far and are aware of the necessity to Co-operate in finding a solution for the vital issue of citizenship and nationality."

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In this quotation the State President commits the institutionalisation of co-operation. to search for a formula for power-sharing.

himself only to seek  
There is no undertaking

The State President also says:

"The position of the Black communities living outside the national states is receiving the urgent attention of the Special Cabinet Committee which I appointed last year. Consultations are continuing across the broadest possible spectrum and a great deal of work has been and is being done to find suitable political mechanisms which will be acceptable to, and in the interest of, these communities. This work is being done within the context of the Government's policy of

devolution of powers so as to bring government closer to the people." -

There is again no indication of a desire for power the State President specifically says that the Committee is working within the context of the Government's

-sharing, because  
Special Cabinet

Government's policy,  
.and I have summarised my understanding of that policy above.

The third quotation of the State President is

"Politically, requires structures and  
Processes other this constitution. We

therefore realise in terms of which this  
Parliament

communities in  
advancement and to meet

My Government will continue to Create, on the basis of  
consultation and negotiation, a framework within which co-  
Operation with Black States, both self-  
governing, can take place. means will have to be  
found to enable Black communities the independent and  
self-governing States political decision-  
making in matters affecting 11 Thus we have to  
continue to

Pronouncements, in  
about

arty,

National Party in the electorate, I can understand the  
ambiguity in his language. The State President  
leading this country to accept  
Whites, or he does not. If he  
offending conservative opinion,  
Black opinion. It would appear  
that President and the

11 South Africa

I cannot naively surmise  
first tentative step in this

Mr. Minister,  
negotiate about  
National

'i"reiterate that I am preparedwto co  
â\200\230â\200\230see it as unconstructive and se

-constitution has thrust me,

are devolved commensurate with the Sovereignty of the  
White, Indian ang Coloured Parliament over 87 per cent .of the  
country. I deeply regret that I am caught in this impasse and I am  
quite sure that the National Party will one day move from its  
Present position ang be bold enough to tell its members, and the

negotiate with me  
-sharing in a single

country's

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mpromise., I reiterate Ehae 3

lf-defeating to force a totally  
unacceptable constitution down White throats, A totally

know the eÃ©xtent to which this is destructive of the process of  
negotiation. I would work day and night with the State President  
and the National Party in. & Search for g formula which would  
admittedly be a compromiseAformula, but which would nNevertheless be

acceptable to both Black ang White, I yearn for the pPolitics of  
national reconciliation to which such a . Without  
this search, pPolitics in this country wi Steadily  
towards confrontation and violence.

I hope this letter clarifies My position and leads to g2 greater  
understanding of the political dilemma into which the new

Yours Sincerely, :

MANGOSUTHU G, BUTHELEZI  
CHIEF MINISTER KWAZULU  
PRESIDENT OF INKATHA