

Memorandum for Discussion at a meeting between  
the Right Honourable John Major, MP  
Prime Minister of the United Kingdom  
and  
Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi  
Chief Minister of KwaZulu  
and President of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

10 Downing Street, London  
25 June 1991

Mr. Prime Minister, | am very pleased to be able to send you this Memorandum and to then have the opportunity of discussing points in it with you personally. Your continued interest in South Africa is greatly appreciated and | believe that the turn of events in the country is going to make Britain's involvement in the development of South and Southern Africa more vital than ever before.

Historically the wheels have to turn the full circle. Britain came to South Africa and conquered and introduced all sorts of things which it left behind for the benefit of South Africa when it withdrew after the Act of Union 1910.

| believe that the process of discovering democracy in South Africa is going to be a process of discovering the real value of that which Britain left behind. There will be democracy in South Africa because there will be the rule of law and there will be the rule of law because Britain left behind it legal institutions which placed South Africa's judicial system in the forefront of the best that there is in the whole of Africa. :

There is the freedom of the press as an ideal which survived all the dark decades of apartheid and racism. The ideals of freedom of expression and the freedom of association that goes with it, are ideals which are deeply rooted in the best of the liberal traditions that the British left behind them. :

South Africa's educational system is another of the great benefits that the British left behind them. | am obviously not talking about Bantu education and the corruption and distortion of education apartheid prepared for Black consumption. | am talking about that which is there intact which can be utilised now that South Africa will be free of apartheid.

There is a lot more. There is the whole banking system and all the financial institutions of the country. There is organised mining, commerce and industry and perhaps very importantly there is the South African Civil Service.

Of course, above all, there are the Churches and Christianity which was rooted in South Africa during British occupation of the Cape and Natal.

All this and a lot more, and everything that went with British influence while South Africa was still a member of the Commonwealth, established South Africa on a global north/south axis which will yet be our salvation.

| have always argued and | now reiterate that the Black struggle in South Africa has never been a struggle for anything else other than full inclusion of Blacks in the South Africa that we will have once it is stripped of racism. It is only in latter years that the abolition of the constitution has become part of the Black struggle.

It was only when the present Tricameral parliamentary system was introduced that the Black struggle had to turn to demand the abolition of the constitution in part and in whole. The Tricameral parliamentary system radicalised Black politics and it was then easier to sell the notion that there could be no reform and only revolution could bring about change. It was also easier to sell the notion that apartheid was what it was because it rested on a free enterprise system which was exploitative in nature.

This brings me to a very important point. Inkatha Freedom Party always has rejected the notion that apartheid was synonymous with free enterprise. We have always rejected the notion that South African society must be completely dismantled and that it must be replaced with one or another form of Socialist government with one or another form of one-party state.

That position still appertains today. We do not need any adventurism in politics. We do not need weird and wonderful excursions into Socialism or communism or some kind of Worker State. We need only to reintroduce the norms and the standards and the values which are in British parliamentary democracy and which were always our ideals in South Africa.

This process of normalising South Africa as a modern, Western-type, industrial democracy is going to be the salvation of the country. In it we will find a tremendous advantage in the way the pursuit of this ideal brings South Africans together in common cause.

In the discovery of the best that there is, there will automatically be the discovery of the most that we can share. It will automatically be the most that we can hold in common. :

Inkatha Freedom Party has always argued that unless we can overcome racist division now and unless we can begin reconciling Black and White now while we are finally dismantling apartheid and laying the foundations for a new democracy, there will be no new democracy.

We have always argued that the question of social reconciliation, economic reconciliation and political reconciliation hang together in one process. We have seen what happens when governments in Africa have had to deal with a divided society after there was victory against colonialism or racist government.

There must be one national will to establish a democracy and to make it work. Without that there will be not democracy.

And this is where | turn to the African National Congress and | say that | must oppose the attempt to introduce a Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government. Nothing could be more designed to pit Black against White, to raise social tensions and to make political reconciliation impossible.

| really fear for politics in the next period because the world seems too unaware of just how grave a threat the Harare Declaration and its proposals for a Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government are for South Africa.

| reject the Harare Declaration and its proposals because it rides roughshod over White fears. But | also oppose the Harare Declaration because | believe that for the sake of South Africa, the government that follows apartheid government must be a government drawn up by a multi-Party majority.

There is no doubt in my mind that a straight majoritarian government which has acquired power by using the Black majority in South Africa to ride roughshod over the White minority will be enormously unstable.

White South Africa is so strategically placed and Whites occupy positions in society, in commerce, banking, mining and industry, in the Civil Service and in the Security Forces of the country which would give them strategic advantages which Renamo and UNITA could only dream of.

Whites in South Africa would also have the tremendous advantage in moving against a government they reject of being mobile and technically very competent. The movement of men and the transportation of goods will not present logistical problems.

The strategic location of Whites in society, their technical sophistication and their mobility, would give them logistical advantages which no future black government could ignore. We cannot gain victories over apartheid and we cannot establish a democracy if we do not bring the white man in as a friend of what we are doing. ;

|, however, not only reject the Harare Declaration and the route that it points out for political development because it rides roughshod over White fears and will create an unmanageable white backlash. | reject the Harare Declaration also because it goes hand in hand with highly centralised political power and is a framework within which winner-takes-all politics will be entrenched in the country.

Black South Africansâ\200\224and | believe White South Africans, and Indian and Coloured South Africansâ\200\224want never again to be subjected to the consequences of an entrenched political Party with monolithic State powers around it.

The IFP is working for the devolution of power. It is working for the breaking up of the monolithic powers that successive National Party Governments have built around themselves. We are quite determined to bring government closer to the

people and we can only do this if we enhance the importance of the third and second tier levels of government.

We want to move away from harsh majoritarianism capable of amassing monolithic powers. We want the devolution of power and we want to make future government decision-making dependent upon consensus politics. We want checks and balances built into the political system which curb the growth of power and which necessitate the give and take necessary for consensus politics.

We argue that in the whole process of finding common cause in the search to preserve the best that there is in the country, there will be very positive developments which will reconcile Black and White and which will predispose South Africa to have the kind of government in which we could never again see the horrors of an all-powerful entrenched political Party.

We do not of course know the details of each forthcoming political event and it would be a foolish person indeed who would attempt to paint future scenarios in any detail now. Things will change. Every political Party is in the melting pot. The South African cookie is going to crumble and politics will be full of surprises.

I am, however, properly and I think correctly concerned that the politics which is going into the promotion of a Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government is politics that is going to be very disruptive. The ANC has committed itself to the politics of mass action in the pursuit of its Harare Declaration ideals.

This was reiterated only very recently by Dr. Nelson Mandela himself. And my concerns here are I believe rooted in not only what the ANC says it is going to do they are also rooted in my perception of what the ANC is as an organisation.

There is a world-wide phenomena of people wanting so very much to believe that the ANC has put aside unreasonableness for the politics of reconciliation and conciliation.

That might be the intention of the best that there is in the ANC. I am always aware, however, that revolutionary organisations throughout the world have never struggled to establish a system in which other political Parties can form a government. Revolutionary organisations struggle to establish themselves as governments.

This perception of the ANC as such a Party is strongly reinforced by what the ANC has said and done in the past, and indeed what it is saying and doing now.

The ANC still keeps a private army on the ready. Umkhonto we Sizwe is intact. Its military camps are intact. Its military personnel are intact. Its high command is intact. It has the arms and ammunition to make war.

Only relatively recently, Dr. Mandela himself said that if things went wrong, the armed struggle would be resumed. Mrs. Winnie Mandela has called out the intention of the ANC to "go back to the bush" and she has said that the present involvement of the ANC in negotiations was only another form of the same ANC struggle.

We still live with the very ugly aftermath of past ANC revolution and war propaganda. The consequences of this propaganda are still there at the ANC grass root level. Much of the violence that is taking place in South Africa now must be traced to propaganda for violence which the ANC specialised in. It popularised the slogan: "Every combatant a patriot and every patriot a combatant." It widely spread the ideal of turning the armed struggle into a people's war which civilians would spread across social and residential boundaries.

Everywhere militarism is there in one form or another in black grass root society because the ANC put it there.

I am fearful of the combination of the consequences of past ANC propaganda and the call for mass action politics in which shows of power and demonstrations of power replace the process of peaceful persuasion.

It seems so tragic to me that I have to talk thus the very week after the last of the cornerstones of apartheid has been demolished. The scrapping of the Population Registration Act has enormous consequences and it is these consequences which we should be picking up and building on.

People do not stop to think what it really means. With the scrapping of the Population Registration Act legal distinctions cannot be made between Black and White. Nor can constitutional distinctions be made between them. There is no way in which apartheid can now be resurrected.

The scrapping of this Act and the scrapping of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts really finally destroys apartheid. It is true we do not have the vote. It is true there is still the enormity of the Black/White economic divide. It is true that the vast millions of Blacks who live in squatter areas and sprawling shanty towns do so because apartheid was what it was.

To put it colloquially, there are still many little apartheid foxes running around the vineyard which will have to be dealt with.

There is now going to be a straight, hard race between a process in which Black, White, Indian and Coloured come together to normalise South Africa and a competing process in which Blacks are amassed and rushed into the politics

of continuing confrontation so that there can be an all-powerful winner in winner-takes-all politics.

In this race against time the crucial factor is going to be the rate at which economic expansion takes place. A growth economy producing jobs and spreading the benefits of the free enterprise system, will secure the process of discovering the best that there is because it will make the best that there is more available to everybody.

Continued economic stagnation and growth of unemployment and the inability of the present \* government to roll back the frontiers of poverty and the horrendous backlogs that there are in social, welfare, health and educational facilities for the poorest of the poor, will hamper progress in the fields of negotiation.

More poverty and less hope of anything else will produce more anger among people who have increasingly less to lose.

Less poverty will establish more hope and provide for the process of vertical mobility in society which will offset the worst that there is in deprived communities.

It is therefore for me vitally important that you, Mr. Prime Minister, continue to campaign for the scrapping of sanctions against South Africa. It is vitally important that massive injections of investment capital come to South Africa, together with the technology and the management skills that come with foreign investment.

It is now time that the world turned to back Mr. F.W. de Klerk in unequivocal terms. We do not have to guard against apartheid being resurrected. We do not have to guard against Mr. de Klerk reneging on his undertakings. He has done the deed. He must be rewarded. :

It will be very helpful if Britain now made the most strenuous possible efforts to woo members of the Commonwealth into sharing the view that apartheid is so doomed and Mr. de Klerk has already done so much by way of really fundamental reform that international relationships between Commonwealth members and South Africa can be normalized.

I was totally appalled when Senator Gareth Evans, the Foreign Minister of Australia, toured South Africa and became embroiled in Party politics, and ended up making a massive R4 million cash injection to favor the ANC.

The ANC is not in the driving chair of change. Neither is Mr. de Klerk for that matter. No political Party is directing affairs in South Africa. There is a vast institutional process at work generating a groundswell demand for reform amongst ordinary people. Nowhere in all of Africa, or anywhere in the Third World, would any country have been more predisposed to the development of a

multi-Party democracy after racist minority white rule than is the case in South Africa. ,

Inkatha Freedom Party is totally committed to bringing about a multi-Party democracy. As I mentioned earlier, we are committed to making sure that the first government after apartheid is established by a multi-Party majority.

It is the pursuit of democracy that must be rewarded. No one political Party must be treated as a coming victor. There are no victors in South Africa; there are no vanquished and the ANC will certainly not form the first government after apartheid.

Pouring millions into the ANC under the impression that it will form the first government and must now be assisted to do so properly, is a travesty of political justice.

In the end, we must recognize that money buys things and a lot of money buys a lot of things. If there are Parties running neck and neck in election campaigns, it is the money that will tip the scales in favor of one or another. It is vitally important that Inkatha Freedom Party be given the support it needs to help it gather the support that there is for it at grass root level. As a Party we just cannot cope with the demand from people calling for us to organise them, to establish them in Branches and to employ them in the politics of negotiation.

There is an enormous call now for the production of multi-Party literature. There is an enormous call now to take initiatives in the battle for hearts and minds which is taking place and to prepare people for a multi-Party democracy in the future. That will not come after the first elections. Preparation for democracy must come before the first elections. It is now that the IFP needs very substantial support. What you, Mr. Prime Minister, say about the IFP and how you react towards it, is fundamentally important in gathering the support that we need.

I am therefore asking you, Mr. Prime Minister, not only to undertake to do all that is possible to swing the Commonwealth behind the British stance on South Africa, but also to employ your good offices in the European Economic Community for our benefit.