

**MEMORANDUM FOR DISCUSSION WITH MR JOHN ASPINALL  
AND MR DAMIAN ASPINALL  
BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU  
AND PRESIDENT OF INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY**

ULUNDI : 23 DECEMBER 1993

---

Mr Aspinall, I welcome you to Ulundi, and I also welcome Damian to Ulundi. You have been a really true friend to His Majesty, to me and to the people of KwaZulu, for many, many years. You have understood what is in the heart of the nation, and you have identified with our yearning to make our contribution to democracy in which we as Zulu South Africans will be prepared to be governed as we will be governed.

You have understood that ours has never been a narrow sectarian or ethnic focus. You have understood that we have always fought for a federal South Africa in which the Zulu people will treat everybody with total equality before the law and the constitution in the region in which history and their forefathers have placed them.

You have also understood that the Zulu nation, in putting South Africa first, will be totally intolerant of any attempt to deny them their God-given right of self-determination. The Zulu culture is a culture forever, and we in the land and in the idiom of our ancestors will die rather than subject our children, and their children after them, to communist or any other future in which there will no Zulu cultural and religious self-expression.

When you look at current day events, at the heart of the matter there is the ANC's obsession and total determination to crush the Zulus and to so diffuse Zuluness throughout South Africa that they can govern over the land of the Zulus. Also at the heart of the matter, is the South African Government's political partnership with the ANC/South African Communist Party Alliance to bring about an ANC government in which Mr de Klerk and some of his colleagues will have a role to play.

They have not had the guts to stand up and search for Afrikaner self-expression in a way such as we are doing for Zulus. They have had no faith in the South Africanism which I know is there, and which will finally rout out the alienness in the South African Communist Party's dominance in the ANC. Instead of standing up to be counted when the ANC walked out of CODESA II, Mr de Klerk ran after Mr Mandela, fawning almost, to get him to agree to a series of SAG/ANC/SACP bosberaads.

It was in these bosberaads that the National Party sold its political soul for a pottage of a limited number of years of power-sharing. Such is the power of man's ego that Mr de Klerk, having announced the demise of apartheid, could do nought but continue in a driving cab with Mr Mandela at the wheel, regardless of what Mr Mandela's destination was or is. He could not face doing the right thing, and risk everything in backing that right thing, just in case he could not succeed.



I have said an absolute no to a two-phase constitutional process in which the ANC would inevitably end up writing this country's constitution.

I say, not because the ANC has support which is so wide spread that it is invincible, that the ANC will inevitably win the election at the national level because it alone has the money to buy the weapons and to train people in subversion necessary for very large scale intimidation.

I also say 'inevitably' because Mr de Klerk was fool enough to hand the election on a platter to Mr Mandela by making the first ever Black election the last act of the ANC's liberation struggle. The election is not going to be about anything other than the right of the ANC to come home to form a government and to write a constitution.

I have said no to participation in an election under a constitution which is incomplete, and in the final analysis leaves regionalism as a fresh maiden put out to be raped. Unless regionalism is entrenched in our very next constitution it shall never flower into federalism. As the constitution now stands there will be standardised constitutions for all regions, and there will be no amendments to regional constitutions without the approval of a central parliament.

It is not only the structures of governments at regional level which are wrong, it is also the kind of governance that will take place under them. The Regional Civil Service will be dominated by a National Civil Service Commission. The right to raise money for governance through taxes and levies can only be expressed again with the approval of a central parliament. Regional peace keeping and policing forces will be dominated by national command structures.

There are many other damning features of the constitution but I only point to those which, alone on their own, justifies my rejection of the constitution.

Mr Aspinall, I have never been in politics because I had a need for popularity and a centre-stage existence. Everything I have done in my whole political life has been done because I stand by principle in what I do, and I reject expediency.

I have spurned popularism in my rejection of the armed struggle. I have spurned popularism in my rejection of sanctions. I have only been obedient to my conscience and the voice of my people in IFP Annual General Conferences.

I say that this constitution which was adopted yesterday is wrong for South Africa. It is wrong for democracy. It is wrong for black people. I know that once you have taken the step of opposing a constitution itself you have moved firmly out on a road along which it is inevitable that the politics of people will be radicalised every step they take down that road.



When people say to me that I should enter elections and fight for a better constitution from within Parliament, I wonder whether Kenneth Kaunda was right when he said participation in an unjust government - with the hope of reforming it from within, is like hoping you can change the nature of a crocodile from within its stomach.

At my people's request I took hold of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and secured the people's rights to oppose apartheid. I, however, adamantly refused to participate in any constitutional steps with the South African Government because Mr Mandela was in jail and the ANC was banned. I took this stand regardless of the fact that I rejected what the ANC was doing. I took this stand because I recognised their right to oppose apartheid in the way they thought best. I gave them the democratic right to differ with me and I defended their right to do so.

I expect nothing less from the ANC now. The fact that I will not get what they owe me is irrelevant to what I do. All I am saying, Mr Aspinall, is that the road ahead will be rough because the ANC and the South African Government have joined against me in a way which in my understanding of morality, is quite unspeakable.

I really hope that you, Sir, and your friends and your acquaintances that you can influence, will stand behind me in what I now have to do. I am not going to stand idly by while the ANC connives with the South African Government to take control of the destiny of the Zulu people. The struggle ahead of us is yet to unfold.

-----0-----

\*5773