

MEMORANDUM FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE VICE-PRESIDENT OF ZAMBIA  
LEVY MWANAWASA

BY MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, CHIEF MINISTER OF KWAZULU

AND PRESIDENT OF INKHATHA FREEDOM PARTY

LUSAKA, ZAMBIA, 17TH AUGUST 1993

HIS OPPORTUNITY OF

SSING CURRENT YOU. THE WHOLE  
IS NOW RUNNING TOWARDS

ARPPROSCH OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

AS THOUGH IT WE TO

SOUTH AFRICA RIGHT.

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TLEUENCTIESL 1T AL

THAT WE CAN DO TO ESTABLISH @& DEMOCRACY WITH AS

AS. POSSIBLE, WILL LEAVE US WITH A&

â\200\234RPING THE SUPPORT FOR WHAT WE ARE DOING AS

We wlll have to be very careful in.our  
ENSURE THAT WE END UP WITH &  
WILL TO

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CTOR OF THE PORPULATION FROM THE GOVERNMENT IT

WE WILL ONLY HAVE  
LEVELS OF

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SOUTH AFRICAN  
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IENATES SOMETHING LIKE HALF WHITE

FORMIDABLE

POPULATION AND IT ALIENATES

RIGHT AND FAR

WHAT WE RE

IN COMMON IS A CONSTITUTION WHICH EMPOWE

CONSTITUENT THE COUNTRY'S

LY WHICH WILL

MAKING WE WILL NOT AGREE

OF

SERVITUDE TO COLONIALISM AND

SO WE NOW HAVE TO FIGHT EACH OTHER

ABOUT WHO IS GOING TO WRITE THE CONSTITUTION.

EVERYTHING

WHICH I HAVE EVER STRIVEN IS OFFENDED BY THIS

MOTION. WE

NOT MAKE THE WRITING OF THE CONSTITUTION AN ARENA

IN WHICH WE GRAPPLE FOR PARTY POLITICAL POWER TO E

TOTAL CONTROL OF THE

INSTITUTIONAL PROC

CONSTITUTION THAT SUITS OUR OWN POLITICAL



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THAT IS WHAT ANC IS DOING. THEY WANT TO GO TO THE POLLS TO  
& MANDATE TO BE THE PARTY WHICH WILL WRITE THE CONSTITUTION.  
K oA CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WHICH WILL, THEY SAY, BE GUIDED BY

-NEGOTIATED CONSTITUTIONAL PRINC AND THEY WaNT

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY THEY CONTROL THEN TO GET ITS WAY,

DEADLOCK BREAKING MECHANISMS BUILT INTO AN INITIAL TRANSITIONARY

CONSTITUTION WHICH WILL ENABLE TO GO THROUGH MOTIONS OF

SEEKING CONSENSUS, GENERATE THE DEADLOCKS WHICH CaN NOT BE RESOLVED

WITH THE ORDINARY AND SPECIAL MAJORITIES PROVIDED FOR TO BRING

ABOUT CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES. ONCE THE DEADLOCKS HAVE BEEN

REACHED THERE = WAYS TO HOLD ANOTHER ELECTION WHICH COULD YIELD

SIMPLE MAJORITY WHICH POUID RT ADE - NOYO TO WRITE

TITUTION WITH OUT LET 14ï¬\202[T!EhTJ?Fï¬\201r 2!

YöNO TO - THIS S SWELE NOT BE PARTY TO THE IMPLEMENTATION

A NEW

OF

SUCH A CONSTITUTION. I WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN ELECTIONS TO

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&  
ESTABLISH & GOVERNMENT UNDER IT. MILLIONS OF SOUTH AFRICANS OF ALL  
COLOURS WILL JOIN ME IN OPPOSING IT IN EVERY POSSIBLE WAY.

UP TO NOW, THE MOST DIFFICULT ISSUES HAVE BEEN ROLLED FORWARD, BUT  
TOWARDS THE END OF THE NEGOTIATION RUN THEY HAVE TO BE FACED. THE  
NEGOTIATIONS NOW IN PROGRESS ARE THEREFORE CHARGED WITH BOTH THE  
PROMISE OF FINALITY BECAUSE WE ARE NEAR THE END, BUT ARE ALSO  
REALLY CHARGED WITH TENSIONS SINCE THE MOST DIFFICULT ISSUES ARE  
ALWAYS EXPLOSIVE IN NATURE.

THE PRESENT PHASE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY IS  
PROBABLY THE MOST DYNAMIC PHASE THROUGH WHICH WE HAVE EVER

TRAVELLED. WE ARE SHAPING NOT ONLY A POLITICAL SYSTEM, BUT WE ARE  
SHAPING A WHOLE WAY OF LIFE, AND NEVER BEFORE HAS THERE BEEN SO

MUCH AT STAKE FOR THE MAIN PLAYERS AS THERE NOW IS.

I AM NOT OBJECTING TO THE INTERIM CONSTITUTION WHICH IS  
EMERGING FROM THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS TO ACHIEVE MY OWN PARTY

POLITICAL ENDS. I AM OBJECTING TO IT BECAUSE IT WILL BE DISASTROUS

FOR SOUTH 1 1 HAVE NO FEAR WHATS \200\230R THAT THE IFP COULD

ELECTION S THE SRIRST \LECTTONWILL

GREAT SHAKE-DOWN FOR SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICE TR WLy

THE WHO"S WHO IN POLITICS, AND WHO WILL M TN

THEM

AT WILL.,. AS I AM IN FIGHTING EOR

AT

ADVANCEMENT OF THE IFP AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A& TRUE DEMOCRACY .

AMD OF COMMON INTEREST.

IF ANYTHING, I am MORE CONCERNED ABOUT ESTABLISHING & DEMOCRACY I  
WHICH ALL PARTIES HAVE THE EQUAL DEMOCRATIC AND CONSTITUTIONAL  
OPPORTUNITIES TO APPEAL TO BE ELECTORATE, AND TO FORM A  
GOVERNMENT, THAN I AM IN SEEKING IMMEDIATE GAINS FOR THE \200\234IFP. .1

CERTAINLY SEE NO SENSE IN SEEKING IMMEDIATE GAINS AT THE EXPENSE OF  
MEDIUM AND LONGER TERM DEMOCRATIC STABILITY.

IT IS WITHIN THIS THINKING THAT I WANT TO CONVEY TO YOU, YOUR  
EXCELLENCY, MY ABSOLUTE DETERMINATION TO HELP BRING ABOUT A FEDERAL  
SOUTH AFRICA, THERE CAN BE NO TRUE DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA AS &  
PLURAL SOCIETY IF REGIONALISM, AND THE DIVERSITY OF OUR SOUTH  
AFRICAN CULTURAL HERITAGE, IS NOT TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.



FOR MaNY DECADES IT WAS BLACK SO0UTH AFRICAâ\204çS DREAM TO ESTABLISH AN  
ALTERNATE UNITARY SYSTEM TO THAT OF THE WHtCH  
ALSO RESTED ON A UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE SYSTEM. EXPERIENCE  
ACROSS AFRICA, AND MORE LATTERLY EXPERIENCE IN THE USSR AMD EAST  
Has MADE IT ABUNDANTLY CLEAR THAT EVEN THE MOST POWERF  
AMD CETRALISED OF GOVERNMENTS, WITH THE MOST FORMIDABLE SECURITY  
APPARATUS AT THEIR COMMAND, HAVE BEEN QUITE OF FORCING  
UNIFORMITY AND CONFORMITY ON POPULATIONS WITH & HIGH DEGREE OF

DIVERSITY AND PLURAL SOCIETIES.

WHATEVER CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS ARE REACHED, AND WHOEVER  
GOVERNS AFTER APARTHEID, NO GOVERNING PARTY WILL BE ABLE TO ENSURE  
THE POOR, WILL HAVE aAnNY REaALLY MEANINGFUL IMPROVEMENT

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GOMERNMENT "DOES , COULE BE-VERY FORMIDABLE -INDEED,

WHICH LED TO A CIVIL WAR SITUATION COULD MAKE

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MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA, CHILDÂ® PLAY

I WILL NOT, UNDER ANY

NEW UNITARIAN GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICHA 1TCH WILL

WRITE ITS OWN CONSTITUTION AFTER

OR AMEND & TRANSITIONAL CONSTITUTION IN WHATEVER

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AND STRUCTURES

RICAN CRISIS CONTINUING WELL

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WE NEED IN SOUTH  
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