

African National Congress

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Address by the Secretary General of the African National Congress, Cde. M. C. Ramaphosa, on the current situation.

Messrs Chairperson, leaders and members of the delegations represented here today, members of the Diplomatic missions and international organisations present here as observers, ladies and gentlemen.

The African National Congress is heartened by the fact that almost the entire spectrum of political formations of our country are represented at this Negotiations Planning Conference. We have gathered here with the common objective that Conference decide upon the resumption of multiparty negotiations which would lead to the adoption of a new and democratic constitution for South Africa.

We are heartened that so many representatives have seen fit to gather here united by this common purpose - even though we disagree with many of them on so many issues.

There are compelling reasons why all of us agree to resume multiparty negotiations speedily and to ensure that such negotiations rapidly take our country through, from its current condition of fear, crime, extreme suffering, insecurity, violence and an indefensible socio-political system to stability premised on democracy.

Our country is bleeding from every pore. We have all been outraged by the wanton murder of six children this week at Table Mountain near Pietermaritzburg. May I call upon all of you to stand in silence for a moment in memory of these six innocent victims and the thousands others who have lost their lives in the violence that plagues our country...(silence). Thank You.

In our deliberations it is imperative that each of us proceed from the acknowledgement that we are custodians of the interests of our members, supporters and the people of our country as a whole. This is an awesome responsibility when we consider the magnitude of the problems that beset our country. It is a responsibility that we can only discharge if each of us place the interests of our country above our party political interests. The time is now!

The African National Congress reaffirms its commitment to resolving the problems of our country through peaceful negotiations. Despite the obstacles, despite the confusion that surrounds the process, and, despite the delays that have plagued

the process to date, we believe that through the negotiations process, both bilateral and multi-party, our country has scored important gains.

In particular, Codesa clearly set up a sign-posts on the road from the present order to a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. Together, through intense negotiations we hammered out a viable scenario for transition.

The core of that scenario was the recognition that the surest way to a legitimate and credible democratic constitution is to have it drafted and adopted by the elected representatives of the people in the form of a Constituent Assembly.

Secondly, that neither the present government nor any single formation, party or organisation could preside over the process leading to the elections for the Constituent Assembly. Accordingly, the scenario we evolved envisaged the formation of a multi-party Transitional Executive Council during the first stage, which would ensure that the playing fields are levelled and that there is a climate of free political activity throughout our country. This would enable free and fair elections to be held.

Thirdly, that the elections for the Constituent Assembly would simultaneously enable the formation of an Interim Government of National Unity reflecting the desire of the electorate, and which would govern the country while the Constituent Assembly attends to its tasks.

That the diverse and conflicting formations present in Codesa succeeded in developing this scenario is an achievement that cannot be written off as if it never happened.

Through of a process of bilateral meetings there has been a growing assurance that these sign-posts are rooted on firm soil.

The way in which Codesa evolved this scenario underscores the fact that the conflict in our country cannot be resolved on the basis of the best sounding slogans, decisions to cling to power or desire to build regional fiefdoms.

When we address the question of multi-party negotiations, let us, with all humility, recognise two things: firstly, Codesa is an imperfect instrument and we ought to constantly address its imperfections. Secondly, let us not delude our people into thinking that we can devise a forum which would be free of imperfections.

The achievements that have been recorded to date must become the building blocks for rapid forward movement when we resume multi-party negotiations.

There are certain imperatives that we, who have gathered here today to find a way to resume multi-party negotiations, cannot ignore. There is an overwhelming need

for the process to resume as soon as possible. Any delay, any wavering in our commitment to achieve a negotiated resolution, has the potential of destroying the faith of our people in the very process itself.

Despite the gains that we have alluded to, the changes in our country have not yet led to any tangible improvement in the condition of the lives of our people. It is therefore crucial that the resumed multiparty negotiations should speedily achieve the transition. The time is now!

The hopes of our people are in our hands. The eyes of the world are on us, willing us forward. Each of us will have to answer the question; do we have the political will to place the interest of our country above all else? Are we ready to discharge the responsibility that is placed on us.

We say to all of us gathered here today, we have a job to do. Let us do it now. Let us walk this last mile together.

Thank You.

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PRESS STATEMENT BY M.C. RAMAPHOSA, SECRETARY GENERAL, AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, 6 MARCH 1993, MULTI-PARTY PLANNING CONFERENCE, WORLD TRADE CENTRE, JOHANNESBURG.

The African National Congress emerges from this planning conference with a sense of deep satisfaction that a torch of hope has been lit. We are confident that the way has now been opened for the resolution of the conflict in our country.

This Negotiations Planning Conference has been an unqualified success. Through the hard work and commitment of all parties involved, it has achieved its basic objective which is the immediate resumption of multi-party negotiations.

The announcement that the multi-party forum shall be reconvened not later than 5 April is an indication of the urgency with which the conference approached the looming crisis which faces all South Africans. This sense of urgency raises the hope that all parties and participants do indeed have the political will to place the interest of our country above all else.

The urgency with which we have to address our country's problems demands that the achievements of past negotiations should serve as a constructive foundation for the resumed negotiations we are embarking upon now. In this regard we re-affirm our commitment to the scenario hammered out at CODESA. We remain convinced that a democratically elected Constituent Assembly and the formation of an Interim Government of National Unity and Reconciliation is the surest way to achieve democracy in our country.

We also firmly believe that the resumption of multi-party negotiations will further strengthen the peace process in our country. The cold-blooded killing of six children at Table Mountain on Tuesday this week and the further massacre of ten people in the same area are brutal acts of naked terrorism and must stand condemned by all humanity.

It is now for all of us to prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that South Africa will overcome the shameful legacy of apartheid and that, together, we can create a just and democratic society which can serve the needs of our people and take its full place in the international community.

ISSUED BY : M.C. RAMAPHOSA, SECRETARY GENERAL, AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. 6 MARCH 1993.

The People Shall Govern!

VENDA GOVERNMENT'S CONTRIBUTION

Chairpersons, ladies and gentlemen: our gathering here today is another milestone towards the negotiation process regarding the democratisation of our country. The mood internationally and internally is no less encouraging in this path which we are following.

Internally, our people are anxiously waiting for the resumption of multilateral negotiation. This is demonstrated by what is common course in our country, interalia: the depressed economic situation, unemployment, violence and senseless killings.

Internationally, our acceptance as a fully-fledged member of the international community is just around the corner, provided we act realistically now and not tomorrow. It is therefore imperative that we forge ahead with the resumption of the negotiations, since we deadlocked on the fundamental constitutional principles we understood democratically. We should therefore fulfil the aspirations of our people by resuming negotiations.

Mr Chairman, it is true that in any given situation, problems will arise and therefore, if there be any problems we may encounter, they should be addressed through the negotiation process. Hence there lies a great responsibility on all leaders who are present here.

Mr Chairman, the Venda Government believes that the same responsibility goes hand in hand with the culture of political tolerance which all of us present here should exercise.

The Venda Government believes that any other suggestion of structural adjustment should be left to the negotiation process.

In conclusion, then, Venda Government would like to appeal to all participants present here to avoid mud-slinging and going for one another's throats, so that this conference should not be plunged into convulsion.

I thank you.



SPEECH BY DR D J DE VILLIERS MP, LEADER NATIONAL PARTY DELEGATION
AT THE PLANNING CONFERENCE ON 5 AND 6 MARCH 1993

It is almost one year since we last met here at the World Trade Centre as participants in Codesa II. All the parties that previously participated here have returned and new ones have joined us. We are grateful that more parties with meaningful support are attending this Planning Conference - making it the most representative political forum ever held in our country. That is an encouraging and positive sign giving rise to optimism for the future.

However, we must not forget the hopes, aspirations and enthusiasms that characterised the early meetings of Codesa. There was a spirit of tolerance and understanding - a willingness to make the essential compromises required to find solutions. Impressive progress was made and many working groups concluded significant agreements. I am sad to reflect on how much further we could have progressed over the last year had we continued to work in that co-operative and constructive spirit.

However, Codesa was derailed. The talks collapsed. People felt that the differences should rather be settled in the streets than around the negotiating tables, abruptly terminated Codesa. The presence of all here today is evidence of the pointlessness of such actions. The consequences were dreadful for our country. The economy deteriorated further, confidence declined, violence became chronic and endemic. All South Africans have paid a price.

As we gather here today we have another chance, another opportunity. I trust we have all learned the expensive lessons from the mistakes and frustrations of the past. We dare not fail again - our country and our society simply cannot afford it.

Multi-party negotiations and an early settlement must now be regarded as the highest priority in our country. There are many profound and compelling arguments to support this statement. One could refer to the violence and the devastating levels it has reached in our country. Far too many beastly killers regard the lives of their fellow human beings as not being worth a thought. Armed gangs, warlords and political assassinations are establishing a pattern that has the potential to turn life in South Africa into another Beirut.

We need a political solution to bring an end to the climate of violence that is tearing our country apart. This problem in itself is so serious that it should receive preference above all other matters. We should not stop talking, negotiating, pleading with one another until we have succeeded in reducing the levels of violence and returning peace to our land.

Equally serious is the appalling economic plight in which we find ourselves. The question is whether political parties are really concerned about the millions of unemployed in our country? Do they actually care?

Since the beginning of the recession in 1989 an estimated 300 000 workers have already lost their jobs - and more are in the process of losing theirs. These adverse economic conditions have a devastatingly negative spill-over effect into the socio-economic field. There are growing indications that ever greater numbers of unemployed people are becoming extensively involved in common crime, violence and mass action.

Only the political role players can reverse this negative trend. It can only be accomplished through fundamentally changing the economic and political environment.

If we do not succeed in restoring confidence in our country, the erosion of the productive capacity of the economy could reach a stage where the damage could be permanent and irretrievable.

We need a new positive spirit of confidence and determination to replace the present atmosphere of gloom, doom and despondency. It is essential that political leaders and their parties rise above themselves and broaden their own political agendas to make it possible.

It is imperative that we now join hands in a spirit of shared responsibility to turn the prospects for our future in a positive direction. Our people would not forgive those who obstruct progress towards lasting solutions. The economy demands that each one of us be magnanimous and not drive minor matters to breaking point.

The National Party commits itself to co-operate in the search for solutions. The opportunity offered to us by this conference to bring the negotiating process on track, must be grasped.

EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH DELIVERED BY LUWELLYN LANDERS MP AND NATIONAL CHAIRPERSON OF THE LABOUR PARTY ON FRIDAY - 5TH MARCH 1993 AT THE MULTI-PARTY PREPARATORY CONFERENCE HELD AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE NEAR JOHANNESBURG.

Mr Chairman

On behalf of the Labour Party of SA, it is indeed an honour and a privilege to address this forum today. Allow me also on behalf of the Labour Party welcome to the negotiation forum the new participants whose contribution we certainly look forward to. South Africa, its people and children are looking once more to this forum with great expectations. We dare not fail them.

It is not our intention to relive the past, but we cannot allow this opportunity to pass us by as it did at CODESA 2. If we fail now, this country's future will be in peril. We want to say that the questions of trust and compromise are essential components of this process. For this reason and for the sake of all South Africans we cannot allow the intransigence displayed by the NP Government at CODESA 2 to once again delay the process.

Nobody in this auditorium can deny that South Africa is urgently in need of change. South Africa finds itself in the grip of violence and a crisis of confidence which threatens to destroy the fabric of our society. In this regard, we take this opportunity to express in the strongest possible terms our condemnation of the brutal and cynical killing of six innocent children at Table Mountain near Pietermaritzburg, and convey our sincere condolences to the bereaved parents and families of those who lost their lives. It is the intense desire of this country's people that the violence, killing, murder and mayhem must stop. The cries of the people must be known. The Labour Party is convinced that the sooner general elections are held the sooner the violence will dissipate. We cannot agree with the NP Government's view that as long as violence obtains, elections cannot be held, and we point to the Namibian experience to support our view.

In terms of this country's economy, we appeal to this forum and to the NP government to come clean and provide assurances for South African taxpayers and international investors who look aghast at the reports of fraud, corruption, mismanagement and maladministration. The lack of confidence felt by public servants also requires re-assurance by this forum.

For these reasons, we regard this meeting, and the multi-party negotiating conference that must surely follow it, as a continuation of the negotiation process. In the interest of a speedy resolution of our problems, we take this opportunity to call for the formal re-convening of CODESA.

We further believe that it is incumbent upon all the parties present here to accept that all those decisions already taken by CODESA to be binding on us all. What remains is the completion of the negotiations started in Working Group 2; The consideration of draft legislation which will give legal effect to those decisions already taken and agreed to by Working Group 3 viz the information of a

● Transitional Executive Authority and Sub-councils with clearly defined powers and functions whose main objective will be the levelling of the playing fields in the run-up to the general elections; the restructuring of the state controlled media or the creation of a new and independent state media authority; and, finally, the creation of an Independent Electoral Commission that will oversee and control all aspects of the general elections.

So, what this forum has to do over the next two days is spell out, ^{As} clearly as possible the way forward. The process whereby a new, non-racial and democratic system of government is attained needs to be clearly defined. We believe that the sooner this happens, the sooner peace, stability and prosperity will become a reality, and the sooner the debilitating violence, socio-economic instability, the unemployment and the lack of confidence and lack of optimism can be addressed.

We are of the firm conviction that a revived, renewed and enthusiastic CODESA, intent upon saving South Africa by putting South Africa first, would rekindle the flame of hope that has all but been extinguished.

Janders

DIE KONSERWATIEWE PARTY VAN SUID-AFRIKA



THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT SITUATION AND POLICY STATEMENT BY
THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY AT THE MULTI PARTY PLANNING CONFERENCE
5-6 MARCH 1993

1. INTRODUCTION:

We all want peace and prosperity. Peace in the world, in our region and in our country. As with all responsible organizations, we desire peace and mutual respect between the peoples of Southern Africa. This can only be achieved if we are responsible in recognizing all the realities in South Africa and try to accommodate them. Only then can lasting solutions be found. One of these realities is the existence of the Afrikaner nation.

Our constituency is Afrikanerdom and those of Anglo and European stock who are one with the Afrikaner. We can trace our forefathers back to the 1650's when they arrived in South Africa. That was before most Americans or Australians had set foot in their countries. Therefore we see ourselves as Africans. We are proud to be part of Africa. We know no other home and have no intention of leaving it.

2. ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT SITUATION

There are many reasons why CODESA failed. CODESA's emphasis was on the creation of a unitary type of state with the concentration of power in a strong central government. It did not make any provision for the self-determination of peoples or states who so prefer. Secondly, the process was dominated by certain parties. Futhermore, besides the fact that CODESA was never fully representative, the government and the ANC made bi-lateral agreements and then expected other parties to rubberstamp their decisions. This must not happen again.

Violence, perpetuated by revolutionaries, continues to militarise civil society. This remains a major stumbling block. Violence under a central command structure is substantiated by ongoing intimidation, killings, maimings and the creation of no-go areas, so called liberated zones and corridors. The common denominator in violence is the revolutionary forces, with either APLA/PAC or MK/ANC faces.

This makes proper negotiation impossible. It makes peace impossible. It makes a lasting solution impossible. There can be no "business as usual" approach whilst the perpetrators of violence remain intent on seizing power, and victims of violence continue to retaliate and eventually develop their own programmes of counter violence. There can be no equal treatment for perpetrators and victims of violence. To save the victims the perpetrators must be disbanded.

3. CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES

The Conservative Party is irrevocably committed to the attainment of the freedom of our people in our fatherland under our own government. We lay claim to the right of self determination for the Afrikaner people. In this regard we are in line with modern international trends. We claim this to be a right. We are prepared to negotiate the implementation thereof. We reject any plan to force our people into a unitary state under a single central government. We believe that original power should be vested in our state and that our state government should decide which functions should be delegated upwards to a central coordinating body or downwards to local authorities. We believe that the number of states, their functions, their borders and powers should be negotiated by interested parties in the state, facilitated by a National Multi Party Conference and legislated by the existing South African Parliament. It is for this reason that there is no need for an interim government, an interim constitution or an elected Constituent Assembly. We uphold Christian principles and reject communism.

In the constitutional debate there are parties that propose a single unitary state - with this they will be meeting the demands of one party. There are others that propose a single state with a strong central government with token regions - with this they will be meeting the demands of some parties. We, however, propose self-determination for those who so wish, and a different dispensation for others who so desire, binding them together for the benefit of all in a confederation with mutual acceptance and cooperation. With this open-ended proposal of a confederation we are meeting the needs of all parties.

4. CONCLUSION

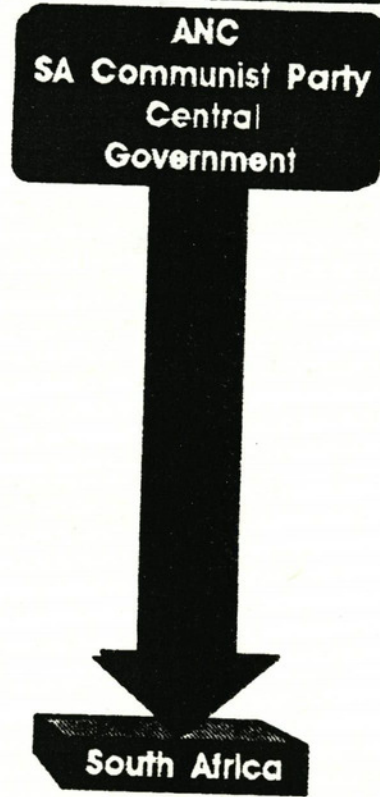
In 1899 our grandfathers were willing to take on the might of the British Empire and fight for their freedom. Therefore we called it our Second Freedom War. It was one of the first African freedom wars against the colonial invaders from Europe. In the three years of the war, we lost 3 900 men on

the battlefield. Towards the end of the war the British, in desperation, put women and children in concentration camps and 27 900 of them died in one year. Of these 22 000 were children under the age of 16 years. This was the price that we were willing to pay for our freedom. Anyone who thinks that he can dominate and govern the Afrikaner nation must bear this in mind.

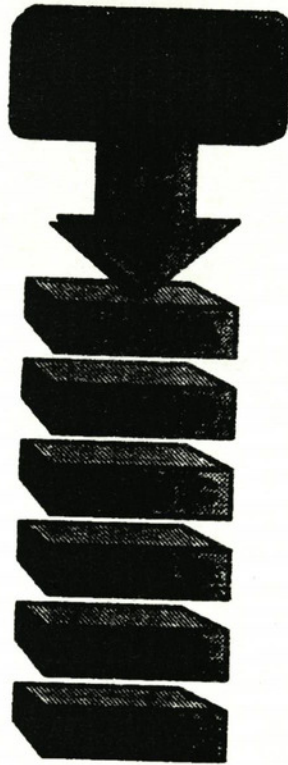
1. Our people are not expendable, but they are indispensable:-
for a democratic system,
for orderly government,
and for a prosperous economy ...
2. Don't expect us to cooperate towards our own destruction.
3. Don't expect us to negotiate ourselves into a position where we have no control over the destiny of our people.
4. Don't underestimate our will to survive in freedom in our own land!
5. Believe us: We are serious!
6. We as a nation have no ship in the harbour!

Our future is here. Here we shall live, and here we shall survive.

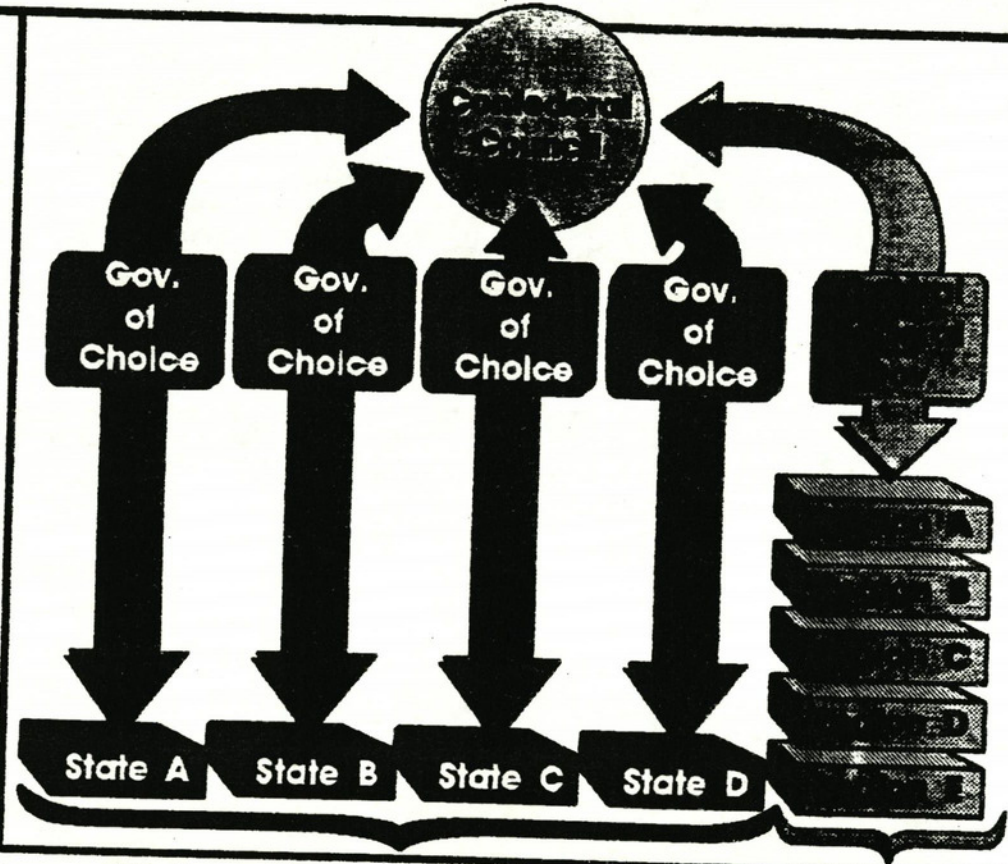
Meeting the Demands of One Party



Meeting the Wants of Some Parties



Meeting the Needs of All Parties (the CP plan)



We Envisage:

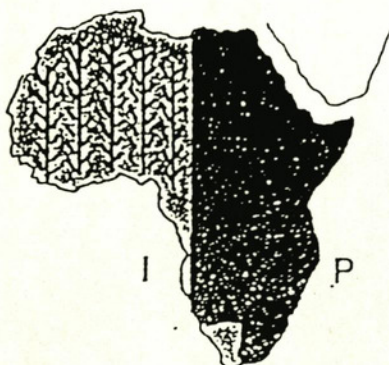
- The establishment of a negotiation forum for those leaders who are sympathetic towards the concept of self-determination
- Negotiating for our own state - even if it is to be smaller than the existing Republic of South Africa
- Working together with other states in a Confederation of Southern African States

We Believe:

- The CP, with its power base of more than a million people to be the only political vehicle capable of realising these ideals for our people
- That various other peoples share these ideals with us of forming a bargaining power base of millions which cannot be ignored

INTANDO YESIZWE PARTY

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KwaMhlanga
,1022



INPUT BY THE IYP AT THE MULTI-PARTY PLANNING CONFERENCE ON 05 MARCH 1993 AT WORLD TRADE CENTRE.

Mr Chairperson and the members of your panel the Intando Yesizwe Party wishes to start its talk with a word of hearty congratulation to all parties and or organizations for being in agreement that nothing but negotiations will eventually transform our Country from its present undemocratic and unacceptable position to the one characterized by democracy, peace, justice and respect for human rights.

This unwritten agreement is clearly reflected in the will of us all to be here today with a single view to try and find an amicable solution to our political problems.

The appeal of my Party to all participating formations at this Conference is that negotiations are not a platform for expressing our own selfish interest vis-a vis the interests of the majority of the people of South Africa. Negotiations should be approached with an open mind and a full sense of responsibility.

Mr Chairperson, South Africa is bleeding from the unbearable violence, political intolerance and racial hatred and mistrust: an abnormal situation indeed. No doubt, the gathering here today is a direct result of this abnormal situation. Our humble appeal is:

Let all participants approach today's talks with a clear view to drive our country out of this abnormal situation into a situation of democracy, peace, tolerance, justice respect for human rights and the one of economic prosperity.

We are not unaware of political differences amongst ourselves as participants, we however want to advise that those differences can never be more important than the establishment of a new democratic order in South Africa. Let us think about the sufferings of our people; Let us think of political deaths we have

seen in our lifetime; Let us think of the economic position of South Africa which is in outright shambles; you name them, and then decide on a way forward.

It is our conviction that the right and relevant way forward will be the one that clearly addresses the following questions:

- * are we as leaders and organizations addressing the actual plight of our people or are we merely concerned about our ego-centric objectives?
- * are our differences worth the death of our society? Where are we taking our country and her people to?

Mr Chairperson there can be no doubt that during Codesa 1 and 2 certain important and hope-giving agreements were reached. There can also be no doubt these agreements are as important for our people and the country today as they were then. It would therefore be irresponsible of us not to build on the basis of such important achievements.

We wish to conclude by pointing out that the political situation between Codesa 2 and now clearly points to an urgent need for all organizations to move forward to a new order as a matter of extreme urgency. It would appear that the more we keep ourselves locked in this old order the more susceptible our country becomes to chaos, agony, and economic embarrassment.

We call upon all participants to endorse our proposal to move forward soon to save our nation in spite of our differences: Our differences cannot be a reason for us to sacrifice democracy, peace, justice, and economic recovery.

THE PURPOSES AND FUNCTIONS
OF THE MULTI-PARTY PLANNING CONFERENCE

GOVERNMENT'S CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSAL
FOR ESTABLISHING REGIONAL GOVERNMENT
AND RELATED CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS

1. BACKGROUND

During the two-day Bosberaad between the SAG and the IFP-KZG, Dr Delpont, Minister of Local Government made a presentation regarding a new Government proposal entitled "Establishing Regional Government in the new Constitution." This proposal was analyzed by an ad hoc sub-committee which met during the Bosberaad in Richards Bay between February 17 and 19, 1993 and again on Friday, February 26, 1993. Dr Delpont, accompanied by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Communication, Mr Roelf Meyer, and Dr Venter addressed a meeting of the Central Committee to present the proposals.

2. GOVERNMENT PROPOSAL

In the Government proposal the regional constitutional dispensation would be drafted in a two-phase process. In the first phase the Multi-Party Planning Conference (MPPC) or the Multi Party Negotiation Forum [MPNF] would draft a constitutional principle embodying the general characteristics of the regional dispensation. The principle that the Government is currently advocating is the principle of subsidiarity and regionalization on the basis of powers exercised by the region either as "exclusive" or as "concurrent" powers. This principle would be expressed in full detail on regional boundaries, structures and powers drafted by a Commission consisting of experts or "wise men".

The principle would be entrenched in the transitional constitution, while the report would be handed down to the CMB which could either accept it with a two thirds majority or refer it back to the commission. As a practical matter, with this process only the "principle" is entrenched while the report which contains the actual powers and boundaries of the regions is a mere advisory recommendation to the CMB. The CMB can reject the Report and request the Commission to draft a new one more to its liking. The Government maintains that the second report would be "final" and can be amended by the CMB only with a two thirds majority of the CMB and of the political representatives of any affected region.

In a previous presentation of this proposal made by Government the entire regional constitutional dispensation would have been entrenched in the transitional constitution as a practical matter (but not as technical matter). In fact, according to such presentation the report of the Commission was to be accepted by the CMB unless rejected by a 2/3 majority of both the CMB and of the political representatives of any affected region (in the new version a 2/3 majority is required to accept the Report).

The proposal relies on the fact that it will lead to the empowerment of the new government in a unitary state, rather than in a regional or federal state. It will be up to the new government and to the CMB to transform the unitary state into a regional, federal or confederal state with the final constitutional dispensation of South Africa. Should they do so, the Government's proposal sets forth a procedure to promote the implementation of the regional constitutional dispensation by means of regional constitutions. This latter process has sufficient flexibility to allow for the formation of an asymmetric system of regional power, for it allows each region to elect to exercise any of its powers by itself or jointly with the central government (exclusive or concurrent jurisdiction).

The Government's proposal is tied to a power sharing agreement which would entitle any political party with more than 10% of the electoral support to share in government on the basis of a formula which may include a rotating chairmanship and special cabinet majorities for decisions related to certain types of governmental functions. This power sharing will last for five years and new elections will be held no earlier than 1999, even if the CMB finalises the new constitutional dispensation prior to that date. However, the implementation of the regional constitutional dispensation may begin right after or even before the adoption of the final constitution with regional elections, if the final constitution is adopted before 1999. The final constitution may or may not have a power sharing clause. In fact, the power sharing provision of the transitional constitution will not carry itself into the new constitution without a specific agreement in this regard.

The Government proposal departs from the final report of CODESA II Working Group III which until now was the very base of the Government's position. According to such report the transitional constitution should contain the entire regional constitutional dispensation of South Africa which could have been changed by the CMB only with the required majorities. Under the terms of this proposal the new government would have been empowered in a regional or federal state rather than in a unitary state.

3. CRITIQUE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSAL

The Government proposal is tied to a power-sharing agreement which the IFP-KZG reject for several reasons. The power-sharing portion of the Government proposal is perhaps its most essential element. Without such an element, the entire Government proposal falls. The IFP-KZG cannot accept the idea of a mandatory power-sharing agreement. Such agreement will make the country ungovernable and unstable and will be very detrimental to the IFP-KZG from a political point of view. The IFP-KZG would be faced with a choice of deciding whether to participate in the power-sharing government or not.

If the IFP came out of elections as a minority party the IFP would decline to participate because such participation would undermine IFP constituencies and would cause the IFP to share the political liability of the political failure of the first post-liberation government. If the IFP came out of the election as a majority party the IFP wants to reserve the right to choose its partners in government so as to ensure that the people of South Africa can be provided with a government capable of delivering the required

services. For this reason this portion of the Government's proposal presents no value and is of no interest to the IFP-KZG and therefore ought to be rejected in its totality.

Moreover the Government's proposal clearly reflects exclusively a regionalistic approach rather than a vision leading to a federal system. The IFP-KZG is not interested in the determining powers of the regions but rather intends to determine the powers of the central government, for the IFP-KZG believes that their residual powers should be left in the member states of a federal system. Similarly, the entire logic of concurrent powers with or without over-riding powers of the central government reflects the structure and the purposes of a regional system and is hardly compatible with a federal system.

There are additional elements in the Government proposal which create major political risks for the cause of regionalism and federalism and for the Inkatha Freedom Party. Under the Government proposal, there would be an election which would empower a new government. Such a new government would be in power in a unitary state rather than in a regional or federal state. After their empowerment the political parties which have gained power would be drafting a new constitution in a Constitution-Making Body [CMB]. The assumption is that they would transform the unitary state into a regional or federal state.

In the Delpont proposal there is no mechanism to compel the CMB to actually transform the state from a unitary one into a federal or regional one. All there is to it is a mechanism that would direct the transformation of the State should a CMB decide to do so. There is the very likely risk that an ANC-controlled transitional government could decide not to implement the portion of the transitional constitution and the report of the Commission related to regionalisation. Simply put, the chapter of the constitution could remain unwritten. Even if written the chapter of the constitution could remain unimplemented. Historically, there are many examples of constitutions adopted in a number of countries which mandate the regionalisation of the State and which remain totally unimplemented and abandoned in the constitutional process which followed the adoption of the constitution.

This risk is unavoidable in the Delpont proposal due to the fact that the regionalisation of the State is left at the end tail of the process rather than being entrenched at the head end of the process. In other words, the regionalisation of the state is not a condition to subsequent steps such as the empowerment of a new government and the drafting of a new constitution. On the contrary, the Delpont proposal contains the wishful thinking that after the process has run its course there will be enough incentive, political motivation and momentum to bring about such an important change.

Hidden in the Delpont proposal there is an additional concern for the IFP-KZG. In the Delpont proposal the powers and boundaries of the regions would be determined in the Commission's report. However, a group of representatives of the regions elected at the CMB would have the final power, along with the CMB, to determine how the powers listed in the Report are going to be exercised in any given region.

Under the scheme it is possible that such representatives would decide that all the powers listed in the Report are exercised as concurrent powers thereby recognising to the Central Government over-riding administrative and legislative powers over the powers of the region. This fundamental decision by a group of regional representatives could turn the regionalisation effort into nothing more than a devolution of powers from the Central Government to local government, which is something that the IFP-KZG has constantly rejected.

In addition, the regional representatives would make this fundamental decision about the structure of the regions in a vacuum. They would not be bound by any inputs received by the KLA or the JEA or by any other social and cultural formations present in the region. It is a totally top-down approach which totally disregards the needs, wants and aspirations of the people in the region and merely relies on the notion of political representation expressed at the time of election of the CMB. From a practical point of view, this process will eliminate any political influence of the KLA or the JEA on anything related to the future of the region right after the time of empowerment of the CMB.

The KLA and the JEA would be reduced to the role of administrative and legislative entities with no political inputs whatsoever into the overall process for the transformation of South African society and in drafting the final constitutional dispensation.

The same goes for the participation of the Zulu nation as such. Nowhere in this process would the Zulu people be represented as Zulus nor would they have any possibility of expressing their needs, wants and aspirations as one of the most relevant and cohesive cultural and social formations of South Africa. The CMB will have no representative charged with the specific task of representing the Zulus.

An additional hidden risk in the Delpont proposal is related to the relation between Central Government and self-governing territories such as the KLA during the time of transition. During such a period, the KLA will continue to be in existence until the time when the new regions are established. However, its relation with the Government will be regulated by the Self-governing Territory Act.

This Act entitles the Government to interfere substantially with the financial and operational independence of KwaZulu. In the Act are many provisions which will entitle the Central Government to put the squeeze on all the operations of the KLA. In addition, the political parties empowering the new government could very well change the Self-governing Territory Act in any possible respect so as to severely limit the current range of authority and jurisdiction of both the KLA and the JEA.

Moreover the Delpont proposal does not provide any mechanisms for the consideration of local governments. This failure is a necessary consequence of the top down approach on which the proposal is based. In a ground up approach the boundaries and powers of a region will be determined with the participation of the region's social and cultural formations. This process would encompass the determination of the boundaries and

powers of local governments. Such determination is essential for the full implementation of the principle of subsidiarity.

Finally the Delpont proposal supports a process of transformation of our society which will be concluded only by 1999. It is the IFP-KZG proposal that this process ought to be completed by the end of 1994 and that the tortuous extension of negotiations throughout a five- year transition will disintegrate the social and economic fibre of our society.

4. THE SEARCH FOR COMMONALITY

We share the Government's vision that South Africa should be divided into regions provided with autonomous powers. However, we have the firm position that this should be accomplished on a federal basis, rather than on a regional basis. We share the Government's advocacy of the principle of subsidiarity. However, we insist that such principle should be read within the framework of federal concepts. We share with the Government the conviction that boundaries and powers of regions should be determined before the empowerment of a new government. We also share the idea that the final outcome of the regionalisation effort might produce "asymmetry" which is a situation in which different regions have a greater or lesser number of powers.

Asymmetry is a situation in which regions or states do not all have the same powers nor do they exercise the same powers to the same extent. On the contrary different regions or states may be granted or choose for themselves greater or lesser amounts of powers or can exercise the same powers to a greater or lesser extent.

However we believe that asymmetry should not be the result of a top-down approach but should be created through the decision-making processes which recognise the inputs of the social and cultural formations in the region. This means that institutions such as the KLA and the JEA must be given a formalised role in the process of determining the powers of the region.

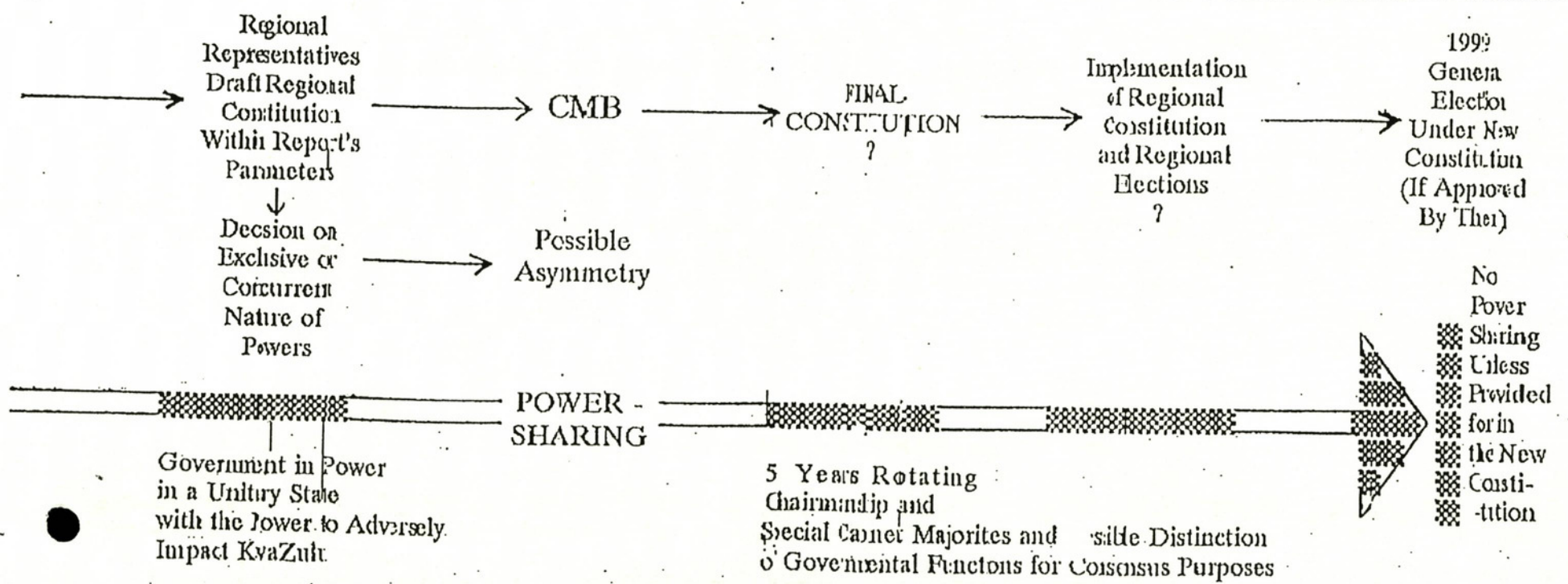
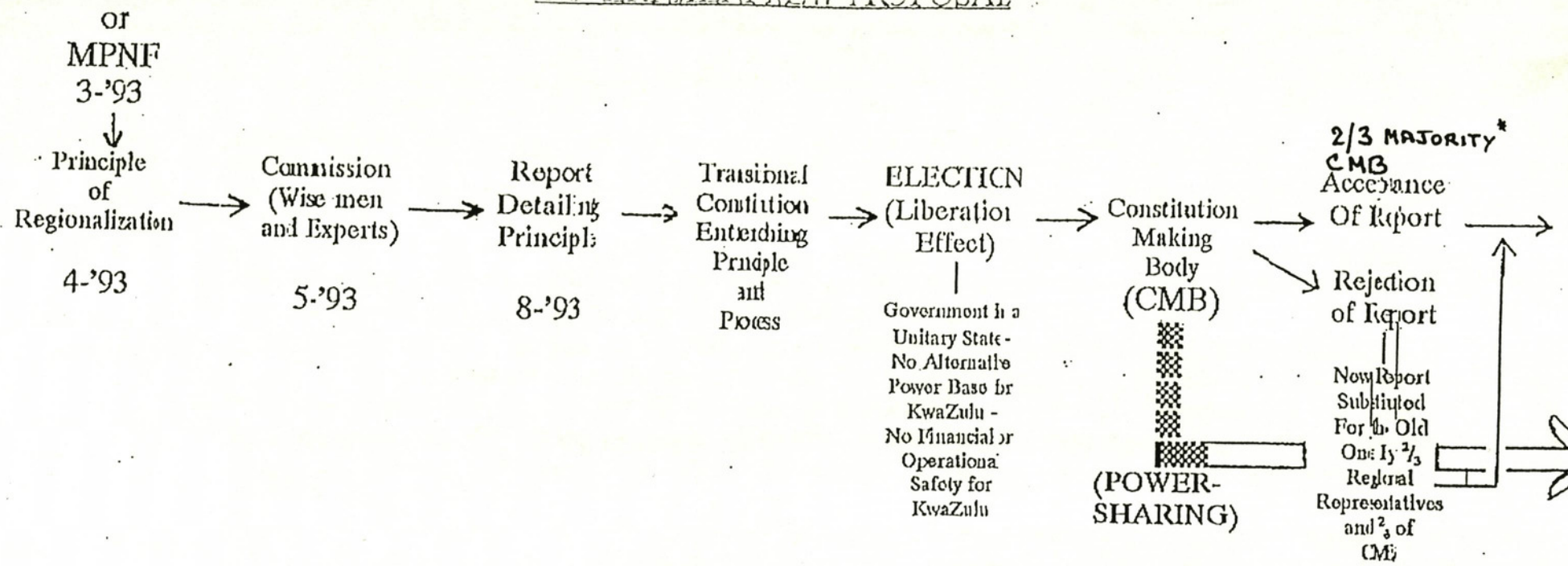
We share with the Government the conviction that no new government shall be in power in South Africa unless a complete set of constitutional references is set in place. This shall include a Bill of Rights, and mechanisms to determine the constitutionality of legislative and administrative actions of the new government. However, our position is that such a frame of constitutional references must be the final constitution of South Africa.

5. POSSIBLE AMENDMENTS TO THE GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSAL

The following are the minimal amendments necessary to bring the government proposal within proximity to the realm of basic IFP-KZG policies and political positions:

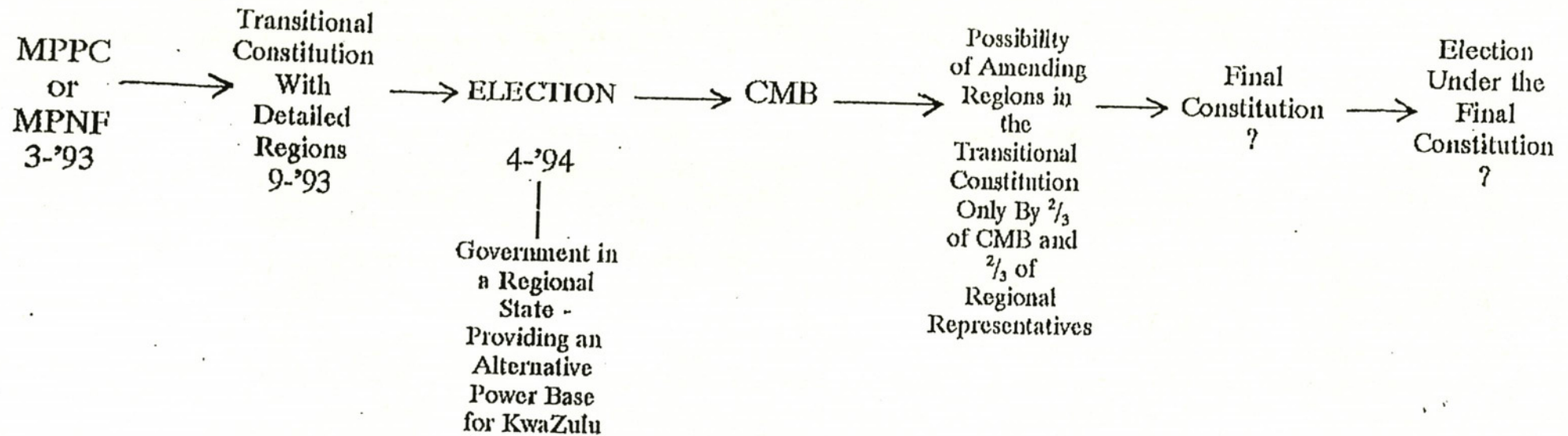
- a) The Commission should determine the boundaries of the regions on the basis of inputs received from democratically represented political formations in the region.
- b) The Commission shall determine the powers of the central government rather than the powers of the regions.
- c) The report of the Commission shall be accepted only with the consent of the political formations of any affected region, which in the case of KwaZulu/Natal would include the consent of the KLA, the JEA and possibly other entities representing the existing cultural and social formations of the region.
- d) The report of the Commission shall bind the CMB and shall be accepted ipso facto. The report could be amended only with the specified majorities as set forth in the government's proposal.
- e) The drafting of regional constitutions shall recognise a formalised role for the political formations of any affected region, which in the case of KwaZulu/Natal would include the consent of the KLA, the JEA and possibly other entities representing the existing cultural and social formations of the region. This means that the regional constitution should be drafted with a ground-up process which must be respected by the CMB.
- f) During the period of transition and until the new regional entities are in power, the position of the self-governing territories and the TBVC states shall be entrenched. This means that the governing legislation could not be modified and that all powers affecting their financial and operational autonomy should be removed and exercised by an independent entity not controlled by the central government.
- g) In order to ensure that the regionalisation of the state does take place, it should be provided in the transitional constitution that failing the enactment of a regional constitutional dispensation as a part of the final constitutional dispensation for South Africa, the regions will be allowed to develop and internally approve their own constitutions and govern themselves accordingly pending the constitutional process aimed at co-ordinating and re-organising the overall constitutional framework.

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* SO MODIFIED IN
NEW PRESENTATION

GOVERNMENT OLD PROPOSAL



Possibility of Power-Sharing
Negotiated in the Transitional Constitution
and in the Final Constitution

Government in Power in a Regional State
with Limited Power to Adversely Impact KwaZulu

IFP

**THE PURPOSES AND FUNCTIONS
OF THE MULTI-PARTY PLANNING CONFERENCE**

LEVELLING THE NEGOTIATING FIELD

a) Disbandment of Umkhonto weSizwe

The Multi-Party Planning Conference should plan once and forever the disbandment of Umkhonto weSizwe. Nobody can expect that we resume negotiations for freedom and democracy in our country under the barrel of a gun and while our leaders and members are being murdered one after the other. The disbandment of the ANC's private army is from all points of view a preliminary issue which must be addressed and resolved prior to the resumption of negotiations.

The Multi-Party Planning Conference should plan the modalities of the disbandment of Umkhonto weSizwe prior to the resumption of negotiations and it will need to address issues such as the relocation and utilisation of MK's personnel, an inventory of arms and ammunition and the surrender of weapons and arsenals, monitoring and surveillance to prevent a reorganisation under different names and structures.

Umkhonto weSizwe should be disbanded. The ANC seems to be negotiating to bring MK under the control of the Transitional Executive Councils. This solution would keep MK's operational ability and preserve the integrity of its command lines and military structures. Any solution to the MK problem must achieve the complete break down of MK's command lines and military units. The solution will have to ensure monitoring and surveillance. In fact, the disbandment of MK will create the problem of monitoring to ensure that MK soldiers are not reorganising themselves in different forms and structures and will also require continuing surveillance to ensure that MK soldiers are otherwise utilised and/or employed and on the circulation of arms in our Country. The IFP and the public at large should be put in a position to verify the effectiveness of the monitoring and surveillance.

b) Transitional Executive Councils

The Transitional Executive Councils [TECs] as envisaged by Government and ANC should be addressed in this context. Their establishment should be the result of multiparty negotiation and should not take place at the initiative of the government on the basis of a string of bilateral negotiations.

As Inkatha Freedom Party is aiming at elections being held under a final constitution for South Africa by September 1994, we need to address the issue of the levelling of the playing field of political competition. This issue is often addressed through the statutory establishment of TECs. We agree that some or other mechanisms such as TECs should be established as soon as possible to address the issue of levelling the playing fields, but we do not agree with the fact that the establishment of the TECs by themselves is sufficient to level the playing fields.

The IFP intends to develop its own proposals for the TECs in opposition to the one drafted by the Government. The IFP's proposal will focus on the tools of judicial and political redress against any action of either the Government or the TECs which prevents the levelling of the playing field or supports the manipulation of the electoral process by the Government or the ANC. Furthermore the IFP proposal will ensure that the role of the TECs is limited to levelling the playing field of political confrontation without becoming the proverbial Trojan Horse to usurp the functions of the South African Government for the benefit of the ANC.

The IFP also intends to ensure that the TECs are not going to become a tool to interfere with the relation between the Government and the self-governing territories whose financial and operational autonomy shall continue to be respected and not interfered with.

The IFP strongly believes that legislation establishing the TECs should be the result of multiparty negotiations at the planning level. In fact it will be of little avail to seek the levelling of the playing fields on the eve of the election when such fields have remained un-levelled during the course of constitutional negotiations. There are important matters, such as access to the media of mass of communications, which immediately affect the bargaining capability of each political formation during the negotiating process and which must be resolved prior to the resumption of fully fledged constitutional negotiations.

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DEMOCRATIC PARTY

**STATEMENT ON CURRENT SITUATION TO BE MADE TO MULTI-PARTY
PLANNING CONFERENCE AT WORLD TRADE CENTRE ON FRIDAY 5th MARCH
1993**

Embargo: Until statement made at conference.

* * * *

The Democratic Party believes that it is desperately important that a negotiation process leading to a new constitution be started now as a matter of utmost urgency, and that this process proceeds to a proper conclusion without any unnecessary delay.

Why is it desperately important? Because the people of South Africa are enduring great suffering. Violence has become endemic in many parts of our country and our economy remains in the doldrums. The problems of unemployment, poverty, hunger, crime and instability are acute.

At this conference, we need to give all South Africans hope for a better future. Hope that peace, prosperity and justice will become part of a South African way of life.

It is our duty to ensure that at all times we put the interests of individual citizens ahead of those of any political party, organisation or government.

We must ensure that this conference is a success and that it is followed by an inclusive negotiations, involving all those committed to a peaceful process of constitution-making.

This process has still to be decided, but the Democratic Party is determined to ensure that at no stage are true democratic values ignored or undermined.

There is an urgent need for progress and for movement towards transition and transformation. However, we dare not jeopardise democratic values on the grounds of haste. Undemocratic practices during transition may well create precedents that endure well into the future.

Regardless of the way in which the negotiation process is started, the new constitution must not be decided upon by representatives drawn from existing structures, most of which are the creatures of a disastrous and discredited era in our history.

A new constitution must be negotiated by an elected constitution-making body. However, that is not enough. After the negotiations have been completed and the compromises struck, any new constitution agreed upon must be referred back to all the people of South Africa for endorsement by way of a referendum. The new South African constitution must belong to the people as a whole and not simply to their political representatives who negotiated it.

There is no guarantee that progress in negotiations will solve all of our country's problems. The Democratic Party is convinced that without progress in the negotiation process, South Africa's problems will be exacerbated and hope for a better future will be lost.

Ken Andrew

National Chairman of the Democratic Party; Co-ordinator: DP Negotiation Team.

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS PLANNING CONFERENCE
(5 and 6 MARCH 1993)

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT SITUATION WITH A VIEW TO RESUME
MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS.

(STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF CISKEI GOVERNMENT)

1. SOME RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE POSITION AT THE CONCLUSION
OF CODESA 2 (MAY 1992)

NONE OF THE PROPOSALS OF THE VARIOUS WORKING GROUPS AT CODESA
2 WAS CONFIRMED IN PLENARY SESSION. ACCORDINGLY NO PARTY IS
BOUND BY CODESA PROPOSALS AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS
NOT BOUND TO GIVE EFFECT (IN LEGISLATION) TO THE RECOMMENDATION
OF ANY WORKING GROUPS OF CODESA 2. THE SLATE IS THEREFORE
CLEAN TO START AFRESH. NEVERTHELESS THE CISKEI GOVERNMENT
WISHES TO RE-ITERATE SOME OF ITS VIEWPOINTS AS FORMULATED IN
WORKING GROUPS AT CODESA.

2. DEVELOPMENTS BETWEEN MAY 1992 AND MARCH 1993

THE MOST SALIENT FEATURE OF DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE PAST YEAR
WAS THE DISCORD BETWEEN INTERESTED PARTIES IN THE NEGOTIATING
PROCESS, CAUSED BY VARIOUS FACTORS, INCLUDING (BUT NOT
LIMITED TO) ESCALATING VIOLENCE ON A NATIONAL SCALE, MASS
ACTION BY SOME PARTIES, REFUSAL BY SOME PARTIES TO ACCEPT THE
PRINCIPLE THAT PRIVATE ARMIES SHOULD BE DISBANDED, ETC.

THIS LACK OF POLITICAL TOLERANCE IS AN IMPEDEMENT TO HONEST AND
SINCERE NEGOTIATIONS. ONLY YESTERDAY THERE WAS AN ATTEMPT TO
DISRUPT PEAC^EFUL PUBLIC CELEBRATIONS BY BOMBING A SUBSTATION IN
BISHO. THE ONLY RESULT BEING TO POLUTE THE ENVIROMNENT - SOMETHING
WHICH WE ARE ALL COMMITTED TO PRESERVE.

A VERY SERIOUS SETBACK TO PROGRESS IN CONSTITUTIONAL NEGOTIATIONS WAS THE GENERAL PERCEPTION THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND THE ANC HAD BY BILATERAL AGREEMENTS (THE FULL AMBIT OF WHICH WAS NOT REVEALED TO THE PUBLIC) SERIOUSLY IMPEDED THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEGOTIATION PROCESS.

THIS WAS PARTICULARLY MANIFEST IN THE ACCORD BETWEEN THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND THE ANC IN SEPTEMBER 1992. THIS PERCEPTION HAS, TO SOME EXTENT, BEEN RECTIFIED SINCE. HOWEVER, SERIOUS SUSPICION AND LACK OF TRUST IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT STILL EXISTS ON THE SIDE OF THOSE PARTIES WHO BELIEVE THAT OPEN, MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS ARE A PREREQUISITE FOR THE SUCCESSFUL CONDUCTING OF CONSTITUTIONAL NEGOTIATIONS. THE BASIS FOR SUCH MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE AGREED ON AND CRYSTALLIZED AT THIS PLANNING CONFERENCE.

THE CISKEI GOVERNMENT BELIEVES, DESPITE THE DEMISE OF CODESA 2, THAT THE ADDENDUM TO THE DECLARATION OF INTENT OF CODESA, TO THE EFFECT THAT SUCH DECLARATION SHOULD NOT BE CONSTRUED AS "FAVOURING OR INHIBITING OR PRECLUDING THE ADOPTION OF ANY PARTICULAR CONSTITUTIONAL MODEL OR OTHERWISE, CONSISTENT WITH DEMOCRACY", IS STILL THE BASIS OF AND THE CORRECT APPROACH TO, CONTINUED CONSTITUTIONAL NEGOTIATIONS.

3. THE WAY FORWARD

IT IS NOT NECESSARY NOR PROPER TO REPEAT HERE (AT A PLANNING CONFERENCE) THE SUBSTANTIVE CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS SUBMITTED IN POSITION PAPERS AT CODESA 2. IT IS SUFFICIENT TO STRESS THAT THE CISKEI GOVERNMENT REMAINS COMMITTED, TO THE VIEW THAT CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS SHOULD NOT TAKE A COURSE WHICH WOULD PRECLUDE AT THIS STAGE, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE FOR SOUTH AFRICA WHICH WOULD SAFEGUARD THE PROTECTION OF REGIONAL INTERESTS. IN THIS REGARD THE CISKEI GOVERNMENT IS OPPOSED IN PRINCIPLE TO ANY NEGOTIATIONS THAT WOULD OR COULD LEAD TO ALL OR SOME OF THE FOLLOWING RESULTS:

- 3 -

- (i) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERIM EXECUTIVE;
- (ii) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERIM PARLIAMENT BEFORE THE,,
CRYSTALLIZATION AND ENTRENCHMENT IN THE EXISTING
CONSTITUTION OF SUCH SAFEGUARDS AS WOULD ENSURE THAT A
CONSITUTIONAL VACUUM IS NOT CREATED BETWEEN THE PRESENT
AND AN ULTIMATE CONSTITUTION;
- (iii) THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ANY STRUCTURE OR MODE OF ACTION
WHICH WOULD OR COULD LEAD TO A NEGATION OF REGIONAL
INTERESTS IN SOUTH AFRICA;
- (iv) THE ADOT^PION OF A TIME-SCALE FOR ELECTIONS IN SOUTH
AFRICA WHICH WOULD ENABLE A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY TO
GIVE FREE REIGN TO ITS WHIMS IN A VOLATILE POLITICAL
COMMUNITY.

THE CISKEI GOVERNMENT ACCORDINGLY CALLS ON THIS PLANNING
CONFERENCE TO DETERMINE WAYS AND MEANS OF ENSURING THAT THE
NEGOTIATION PROCESS SHOULD CONTINUE ON SUCH BASIS AS WOULD
AVOID THE PITFALLS SKETCHED ABOVE AND ENSURE THE PROTECTION
OF REGIONAL INTERESTS, WHATEVER FORM THE ULTIMATE CONSTITUTION
MAY TAKE.

IN CONCLUSION, THE CISKEI GOVERNMENT CALLS ON ALL PARTICIPANTS
TO MAKE AN UNEQUIVOCAL COMMITMENT TO PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION, AND
TO RENOUNCE WITHOUT RESERVATION THE ARMED STRUGGLE AS AN
ALTERNATIVE TO NEGOTIATIONS.

**SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE PREPARATORY MEETING FOR MULTI-PARTY
NEGOTIATION PLANNING CONFERENCE HELD AT THE WORLD TRADE
CENTRE, KEMPTON PARK, 5 & 6 MARCH**

Mr Chairman, leaders of political parties and movements, esteemed traditional leaders of the people, distinguished observers from international organisations, members of the diplomatic corps, ladies and gentlemen.

This day will be indelibly imprinted in the history of our country as the first day when we, as the born leaders of our people, are given an opportunity for the first time to participate in the negotiation process, since we and our people waged war against colonial rulers as far back as the 16th century. We therefore pride ourselves as the oldest structure which ever existed in the continent and I may dare say in the whole world. We believe that this conference is entrusted with an awesome responsibility of laying a firm foundation for multi-party democracy. Our people for centuries now have been yearning for Democracy, Peace and Justice for all.

Before the advent of colonial rule in this country the traditional leaders were rulers of the people. They were vested with powers of the state, ie, legislative, administrative and judicial powers. The rule of traditional leaders, contrary to popular belief, was and is still the most democratic form of government. We often refer to a chief as a Chief-in-Council in our vernacular language "Inkosi Yinkosi Ngabantu". The communities participates freely at all traditional meetings (Imbizo). The principles of democracy are firmly entrenched in our traditional communities and that is why the institution of traditional leadership has survived all the evil systems ever since the advent of colonial rule to-date. We agree with Father Fiber when he says "Men may come and men may go but I (Traditional Leadership) go on forever". To put it more pertinently, political parties and movements will come and go, but the people and their institution will remain for ever.

Our history teaches us that traditional leaders fought with their people in defending their land. King Hintsa was brutally murdered by British Colonialists, Inkosi Maqoma died in Robben Island, Kings Faku, Langalibalele, Centywayo, Dinizulu all suffered the similar fate. We may go on and on mentioning the valuable contribution of traditional leaders in fighting against oppression and their involvement in the liberation struggle.

We are therefore proud that at last after our relentless struggle we and our people, being the persons from whom the land and political power were taken, are involved in the negotiation-process leading to a creation of a new order. Mr Chairman the experience in Africa has taught us that traditional leaders cannot be elbowed out or put in a lumber room. We can now say without any fear that this forum is all inclusive and we should all (Black and White) with sincerely start building a new country. A country we should all be proud of. What we and our people want is a Democratic country where all the people should live - where all people should fairly share its natural resources - where all people should live together as brothers and sisters. We need a country free of prejudices of the past. We should all work towards achieving ideals of democracy and justice for all. You may label the state as unitary, federal or whatever.

● acknowledge the progress gained through the negotiation process and we thank all those who worked tirelessly in order to achieve a peaceful political settlement for our beloved country.

The prevailing socio-economic climate, particularly the ongoing corruption in Administrations, poverty, starvation and an ever-escalating rate of unemployment and lawlessness call upon all of us being responsible leaders of the people to install an interim Administration of National Unity, Reconciliation and Reconstruction. This is the only structure that will be credible to all South Africans.

We implore all peace-loving South Africans to participate in this process in order to avoid any intencine civil war that may emerge. Let us all therefore negotiate in good faith and take interest of the country above our party political ambitions. This country needs our collective wisdom. The land of our forefathers is already adversely affected by the blood of thousands of our innocent people. We fear that unless you heed to our humble request this land will be full of graves and no people.

In conclusion Mr Chairman on belief of the Cape Delegation of Traditional leaders I wish to assure you all that we will do everything in our powers to make valuable contributions during this transition phase. We believe that a climate conducive to free political activity is of vital importance.

We trust that God of our Forefathers will bestom wisdom to all the delegations here present so that we could reach a peaceful settlement acceptable to all. That is what the people want and expect from all of us - we dare not disappoint them.

ENKOSI.



MULTI-PARTY PLANNING CONFERENCE: PARTICIPATION OF AVSTIG

The Afrikaner Freedom Foundation (Afrikanervryheidstigting/ AVSTIG) wants to participate as full member to the Multi-party Planning Conference as a political party with proven support.

This necessitates some (I) analytical evaluation of the concept "political party" as used within this context as well as (II) proving significant support.

I

In a broad (political) sense a party could be described as a group of people organised for political involvement. Although established democracies tend to regulate the activities of participating parties by means of registration, legal control and partaking in certain legislative structures, this narrow meaning should not be dominant in our context.

In the first place we have consensus on the point that South Africa is not yet an established democracy and in the second place, some of the major role players today will not qualify if the broader meaning of "party" was not applied.

On this basis it would be impossible to exclude AVSTIG from being a party.

The question seemingly less clear cut but more important, would be the difference between political and non-political parties; between a political party and other sorts of interest or pressure groups.

A difference could clearly be made between groups aspiring to be actively involved in government (legislative and executive), and willing to take part under its own name in elections to that effect on the one hand, and groups trying to influence government policy without formally participating in the election and composition process on the other hand. This would for example be the difference between a political party and a trade union.

Arguing within the framework of a national negotiation forum, a political party's aspiration should at least have a definite regional intent for being of national significance. Not every local political party - even within the broader definition - would thus qualify for participation.

- * As AVSTIG has a definite goal to bring about a sovereign state for Afrikaner people within Southern African context; and
- * As AVSTIG foresee the establishment of fully democratic government within such a state; and
- * As AVSTIG's proposal for such a state has implications on the demarcation of regions within the RSA; and
- * As AVSTIG's proposal has a bearing on some problems central to South Africa's national politics; and
- * As AVSTIG is eager to negotiate its ideas in order to form part of a peaceful transitional process in the RSA; and
- * As AVSTIG has submitted its proposals to Codesa; and
- * As AVSTIG participates in the VOLKSTAATRAAD, a group of Volkstaat organizations with the objective to be the state founding body, and
- * As AVSTIG claims sympathy on a broad national base;

There could be no doubt that AVSTIG qualifies for being a "political party" of the sort that should be considered for admission for this meeting.

II

As far as proving AVSTIG's support is concerned, it is again in the same position as some other major and minor participants today: it is part of a new South African political scene and could not be tested by any election or referendum to date.

Nonetheless:

* AVSTIG's proposals are based on more than four decades of research done by SABRA, while adding a constant flow of publications on different themes to what is yet available. (For example the "Vryheidsreeks" of which two parts were submitted to the South African Law Commission.)

* AVSTIG found general recognition within the South African political scene, for example in bilateral talks with the South African government, the ANC, members of COSAG, business leaders and political observers. Its proposals are received all the more positive when it is understood not as an alternative to the negotiated settlement we all hope for, but as part of it.

* AVSTIG found international recognition and has firm relations with the Embassies of Germany, Great Britain, the USA, France, Belgium and Israel amongst others and representatives meet guests as well as journalists from these states on a regular basis. Representatives also visited Europe at multiple occasions and was well received by political leaders on cabinet and parliamentary level, political and scientific foundations and groups and business leaders.

* AVSTIG initiated the first full fledged volkstaat town of ORANIA, which attracts attention of national and international radio and television, papers and magazines, and is visited by thousands of Afrikaners every year. It also brings about lots of other unorchestrated settlement within the designated area.

In the light of the preceding information and arguments, AVSTIG has the confidence to assert itself as a political party with proven support which should be taking part in this Multi-party Planning Conference.

MESSAGE OF THE LEADER OF THE AFRIKANER-VOLKSUNIE, MR. ANDRIES BEYERS
TO THE MULTI PARTY PLANNING CONFERENCE: 5-3-1993.

We represent a portion of the Afrikaner people, who desperately desires their self determination in a federal state of a new dispensation.

For too long our people's striving for reasonable self determination has not been discussed in main stream politics and negotiations. But today is a proud day for our party, because today everyone can appreciate our success in bringing a significant portion of Afrikaners to the table of negotiation.

On the contrary, this day may in future be regarded as a sad day for our people. Because, if our justifiable cause is going to be ignored by other parties, this day may in future signify an error on our side to build our hopes on the process of negotiation. We committed ourselves to all party negotiations because we firmly believe that we will succeed in our endeavor to bargain for the acceptance of our proposals as an amendment to the political programmes of our adversaries present here today.

We are leading freedom loving Afrikaners to the assumption of the irrefutable reality that our self-determination can only be realized if it is formulated and structured in such a way as to be in no instance whatsoever to the unjust detriment of other South Africans.

Modern Afrikaner nationalists have come to terms with all internationally accepted political norms and standards. We have renounced all forms of racism and statutory race discrimination. We pray that all parties will utilize this Planning Conference to commit themselves to peaceful negotiations and to the renouncement of political violence. We are of the opinion that the weapon of a justifiable cause is far more effective in the bargaining process than to try to promote an unjust cause by threats and acts of violence.

Being strong supporters of regionalism, we favour more or less homogeneous regions with the highest possible degree of self-determination. We regard a regional constitutional structure with strong regional governments as a prerequisite for lasting order and stability.

For that reason we support the viewpoint that it is of the utmost importance that the powers, functions and borders of regions must be agreed upon during the all-party talks and be entrenched in the first constitution. Therefore we request that regional government must enjoy preference on the agenda when all party talks commence. In this instance we must confine ourselves to sound planning. We must refrain from escaping the thorny issues and leaving it to be resolved by future committees or bodies. To be successful, our decisions must gain the consent and support of the people at ground roots level.

If the aspirations of minority groups are going to be ignored, we will fail in our endeavour to create a democratic New South Africa. Therefore the all party talks must concentrate on the issue of protection of minority groups.

In those talks we will prove that our proposal for a federal state in which there will be a concentration of Afrikaners, which region is not meant to be an exclusive Afrikaans region, represents a viable and fair deal which deserves the sympathy of all South African parties.

In our region every person will be equal before the law, will enjoy equal citizenship and voting rights, and will be protected by a negotiated act of Fundamental Rights that will be accepted in the process of negotiations. We will urge all parties to accommodate the reasonable aspirations and ideals of modern Afrikaner nationalists as an amendment to their political programmes. This will ensure Afrikaner nationalists to become the defenders of a new dispensation.

The possible misappreciation of our reasonable cause will result in the chasing of Afrikaners into the arms of militant groups and boycott organisations. That will not be in the interest of peace in our fatherland.

Recent developments give me hope that my party's decision to bring our cause to the table was the right decision. In our bilateral talks, it became clear that still more leaders are regarding our cause as reasonable and justifiable.

We regard the recent statement by the ANC leader, that he has sympathy for forms of Afrikaner self-determination, as of the greatest importance.

We pray that our Heavenly Father will grant us the opportunity to enter the new dispensation as proud and grateful Afrikaners whose reasonable striving is accommodated. We are ready and prepared to reconcile with all peace loving parties. The time has come for a historical compromise between Afrikaner nationalists and all other groups.

Vandag begin 'n nuwe era in die geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika en ook van die Afrikanervolk. Die onderhandelingsproses bied aan vryheidsliewende Afrikaners 'n historiese geleentheid om hul regverdige saak te bevorder met die doel om dit te laat bevestig as 'n deel van die skikking wat bereik moet word.

Ons glo dat die veelparty-onderhandelinge moet begin en dat die diepgevoelde begeerte wat op grondvlak bestaan, naamlik die keuse tot sterk en outonome streekregering, as 'n saak van dringende prioriteit in die onderhandelingsproses aangespreek word.

The time has come for strong leadership and statesmanlike behaviour that will resound throughout the future centuries.

MULTI-PARTY PLANNING CONFERENCE

**Submission by Joe Slovo on behalf of the South African Communist Party
(SACP)**

5 March 1993

We politicians have all had our say. It is time now for the **PEOPLE** to have **THEIR** say.

For the past three years we politicians have spoken to each other, at each other, and past each other. We have been in bilaterals and multilaterals. Out there, beyond the walls of the World Trade Centre, there is a growing impatience with our speechifying.

It is really time now for the **people** to have **their** say.

And the most immediate and direct way for the people to have their say is, of course, through an election. Let the people elect their representatives to draw up a constitution that they will be able to call **their own**.

An election will be a moment of truth for all of us, without exception. It will tell us whom we represent, and whether we count for anything at all. An election will show clearly why it is that some of us here are in no hurry to make progress in negotiations.

In moving rapidly, now, towards one-person-one-vote elections, we will show those forces who have unleashed the violence in our country that they cannot stop the movement towards democracy with an escalating body-count. But if we falter now, we will encourage ongoing carnage.

In moving forward, we must try to get as broad a consensus as possible. But, if some amongst us want to hold the process hostage, then - with or without them - we must proceed. We cannot allow history to be stopped by the road-block of personal ambitions and narrow, sectoral power-play.

We must move rapidly towards elections. But these must be (and they must be seen to be) fair. This means that conditions for free political activity have to prevail **everywhere** including the areas under the control of some who are present at this gathering.

I am absolutely convinced that across an extremely wide ideological spectrum, from free marketeers to communists, believers and non-believers, there is an emergent national consensus - in fact, a national impatience. The great majority of South Africans, black and white, want a new, non-racial constitution, they want a multi-party democracy, they want a justiciable Bill of Rights, and, above all, they want progress.

In moving towards a new constitutional dispensation, the SACP is not talking about a "communist" constitution, or an "ANC" constitution. We want a South African constitution. We want a united South Africa that respects the diversity of cultures, of languages and, indeed, of political beliefs.

SPEECH BY MINISTER R P MEYER, MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND OF COMMUNICATION, MULTIPARTY PLANNING CONFERENCE, WORLD TRADE CENTRE, 5 MARCH 1993

Last year in May we also assembled here. But today there is no despair, but hope and rejoicing. Today the South African Government is highly gratified at what is happening at the World Trade Centre.

What is happening here is proof that patriotic, peace-loving South Africans can stand together and together say that a stable future can only be achieved through negotiation. It was nothing but realism that compelled everyone to return to the negotiating table.

The great lesson is that there is no alternative to negotiation - not violence, not threats and demands, not boycott actions. We have no future but a negotiated future. And no one may ever again try to frustrate, delay or derail the negotiations.

Today's Multiparty Planning Conference required extensive preparation. Once again we find ourselves in a period of negotiations. It has been the Government's point of view all along, however, that the interruption of the negotiation process in May last year was unnecessary. Since then the Government has unremittingly done everything in its power to get the process under way again.

Bilateral talks were held across a broad front with divergent political interest groups. Frequently the Government found itself in the cross-fire, having to reconcile sharply opposing points of view, and act as a facilitator between parties with strongly conflicting standpoints.

The mere fact that we are here today, is the result of reconciliation and compromise regarding the process. As far as other issues are concerned, serious differences still exist between parties.

Obviously, in the course of the discussions a possible common approach to important issues was also explored. In some cases common ground has been found, and in others differences were merely more clearly defined.

As a result of this, the process of multiparty negotiations will undoubtedly be promoted. It is hoped that this will also prevent deadlocks from arising so easily again.

It is the Government's standpoint that such bilateral discussions must indeed continue, even during multiparty negotiations. This can help on an on-going basis to eliminate obstacles and hitches.

The main point, however, is that we have to take a decision here on the resumption of multiparty negotiations. This decision cannot be postponed.

A forum is necessary that is streamlined, that includes all political parties and political organisations with proven support.

No matter what can be said about the process thus far, no matter what criticism there may be, all this is subordinate to the essential need to get the multiparty forum going again, here and now.

The people of South Africa, and those of the international community who concern themselves with the prosperity and progress of South Africa, will be watching our actions on these two days, and what is to follow, with great expectations. It is the duty of all of us to act as befits adults and professionals. If we fail, we will expose ourselves to derision in the eyes of our own people and the world in general.

Marginal issues now have to make way for what is really important. The time of pettiness is past. Now is the time to forge ahead constructively.

It is the Government's serious conviction that we must make the most of this opportunity. The general security situation in the country, our deteriorating economy, increasing questioning by South Africans whether there is any sense in this process - all of these factors, and many more, compel us urgently to make a success of this process.

We cannot afford decline and anarchy across the country. This would lead South Africa into situations such as those in Somalia, or Angola, or other countries. We can also not allow order and stability to be taken hostage by small gangs of reckless power-seekers, or revolutionary tyrants.

The Government believes that we will be able to keep to the broad time scales proposed by the State President last year in November. But then a great deal of work will have to be done by all of us, to ensure that elections for a Government of National Unity can take place in a year's time.

Many prayers have surely been said that these two days, and the proceedings that are to follow, will be successful. Let us prove to ourselves, to all the people of our country and to the international community, that through negotiations we can create a better future for ourselves, that we have the ability, and that we can take South Africa along the high road.

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**THE PURPOSES AND FUNCTIONS
OF THE MULTI-PARTY PLANNING CONFERENCE**

**THE DETERMINATION OF THE FORM OF STATE AND NEGOTIATION
OF THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICA**

a) Background

There is a ripeness and an urgency to the determination of the form of state and for the negotiation of the process of transformation. The Government has submitted a proposal or regionalization inclusive of power-sharing and other interim arrangements which substantially diverts from the process recommended by CODESA II Working Group III. This proposal has been actively negotiated with the ANC which according to the NEC's resolution dated February 19, 1993 seems to have accepted the fundamental principles of the Government's proposal. These recent developments have put on the table with urgency and importance both the issue of the form of state and the issue of the process of transformation. At this point these issues must be determined as a preliminary matter and prior to the resumption of fully fledged negotiations.

b) Negotiation of the Process

The Multi-Party Planning Conference shall determine the new process. The Multi-Party Planning Conference should not be a place where we are called to merely rubber stamp the agreements on the process and the time frame reached by the ANC and the Government during the last six months. For this reason a Multi-Party Planning Conference must have the power to determine the way forward and to restructure the process of transformation.

This means that before beginning to negotiate the substance of the future constitution for South Africa, there must be an understanding on the process which will produce it, and on the necessity, or lack thereof, of interim arrangements such as power-sharing in a government of national unity. At this stage the issue of a transitional constitution and a Constituent Assembly (or other constitution drafting body) shall be negotiated and resolved.

We stand by the rejection as presently envisaged of a transitional constitution, transitional power-sharing arrangements and a Constituent Assembly.

The IFP has proposed a process for the drafting of the final constitution for South Africa which does not require interim arrangements. This process will allow the finalisation of the transformation of our society by September 1994.

According to the IFP proposal the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum should agree on a set of constitutional principles which would be handed down to a group of experts who would implement them in a fully-fledged constitutional draft. This draft would be returned to the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum for approval or rejection in its entirety, and once approved it would be submitted to popular ratification by referendum. An election would follow the referendum and a new government for South Africa would be empowered under the new constitution.

The IFP wishes to note that the Constituent Assembly need not be a legislative body, nor does it require a transitional government and a transitional constitution. An Act of

Parliament could allow the election of a Constituent Assembly with the exclusive task of drafting the Constitution in accordance with the principles expressed by the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum and no later than July 1994. While the Constitution is being drafted the present government would continue to be in power.

Our proposal for a process to finalise the new constitution for South Africa requires a preliminary determination on the form of state. Our proposal has significant advantages over the proposals of the Government and the ANC/SACP alliance which have a number of elements in common.

It becomes essential that the Government and the ANC/SACP are willing to reconsider the entire process of transformation of our society and be open to accept different proposals and strategies and accept that the process becomes a preliminary matter for negotiation to be resolved before we enter negotiations on aspects of the new constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

c) Form of State and Ground-up democracy building

The task of the Multi-Party Planning Conference shall be to entrench once and for all the issues related to the form of state or distribution of power. We have expressed on many occasions, and COSAG has endorsed our position, that it is not reasonable to negotiate who should draft the constitution and how the constitution should be drafted until and unless there is a determination on what type of constitution is to be drafted. We want to force all parties to express their vision on the two fundamental issues of federalism and pluralism.

It is the IFP position that the Multi-Party Planning Conference shall agree that a federal and pluralistic state should be erected.

At this stage the Multi-Party Planning Conference shall also determine a set of parameters and guidelines to allow the democratic process of ground-up democracy building. In fact, many regions of our country have expressed the intense political desire to erect themselves into statehood within a South African federal system. We do not believe that the process of transformation of our society should be controlled exclusively from centralised multi-party negotiations, and we have often taken the position that there must be an interaction between democratic transformations taking place at regional level and the negotiating process at central level.

We have indicated that as long as the process of erecting regions into statehood respects a pre-agreed set of constitutional principles and relies on the will of the people, such processes should be registered and encouraged by negotiations taking place at central level. Accordingly, it should be the responsibility of the Government to organise referenda to allow the people of the regions to express themselves on constitutional drafts prepared by their elective representatives or by special regional Constituent Assemblies convened for such purposes.

This shall especially apply to the final ratification by referendum of the Constitution of the State of KwaZulu/Natal approved by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on December 1, 1992. The organisation by the Government of a referendum for the final ratification of the Constitution of the State of KwaZulu/Natal is a mandatory condition of our negotiations.

As the Multi-Party Planning Conference positively resolves the issue of federalism, it shall produce a set of agreed essential constitutional principles to be used to guide the ground-up democracy building processes. This is to say that if such processes at local level respect the principles set forth by the Multi-Party Planning Conference the resulting state constitutions shall be registered and respected by the negotiating process at central level. In this respect the Multi-Party Conference will be "planning" the ground-up democracy building processes.

In the December 10 Memorandum to the State President, the Inkatha Freedom Party tabled for the consideration of all parties a set of constitutional principles which should guide the ground-up democracy building processes.

The IFP has proposed the establishment of a Commission on regionalisation which will have the purpose of interfacing the ground-up democracy building process with negotiations at the central level.

This Commission will have two tasks:

- 1) Attend to and supervise the process of ratification of the Constitution of the State of KwaZulu/Natal as adopted by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.
- 2) Assist political formations in developing constitutional proposals to identify the boundaries and the powers of new regions for South Africa in addition to KwaZulu/Natal.

The Commission will also assist the planning or negotiating forum to develop and approve the set of constitutional principles mentioned earlier which are to be used to guide and lead the formulation of constitutional proposals embodying the powers and boundaries of the new regions.

The Commission will receive the complete constitutional proposals which have been finalized through its assistance and which embody the powers and boundaries of any given region. A deadline will be set to complete these drafts. It will be the task of the Commission to verify the compliance of these constitutional proposals with a set of constitutional principles developed by the negotiating forum in cooperation with the Commission. Once the Commission has verified that the constitutional proposals comply with such principles, it will seek the negotiating forum's permission and guidance [advise and consent] to attend and supervise the submission of such constitutional proposals to popular approval by free and universal fair referendum within the concerned region. Alternative proposals could be submitted to referendum, and the people will decide which one they prefer. This can be easily achieved even in the case where the proposals cover different territories.

Given the unique characteristics of the region of KwaZulu/Natal the ratification of the Constitution of KwaZulu/Natal will be main-streamed. The process described above is designed to ensure that the boundaries and powers of the regions are identified and decided by the concerned interests in a contest which still allows the central forum of negotiation to assess their reasonableness with reference to social, economic, demographic and historic considerations as well as in view of the interests of other regions.

All referenda will be held on or before December 1, 1993, so as to allow the finalisation of the regional constitutional proposals prior to the completion of the drafting of the final constitution of South Africa.

It needs to be stressed that the Commission will be promoting the popular approval of regional constitutions which from a technical and legal stand point will have only the status of very influential and authoritative proposals: they would not be laws. Therefore, these regional constitutions ratified by the people at the end of a process piloted by the Commission will not be binding on the constitution drafting process. However, undoubtedly they are going to have a very determining political influence on the nature and the wording of the final constitution of South Africa. In fact, it would be politically unlikely and unwise to ignore the democratically expressed sovereign will of the people.

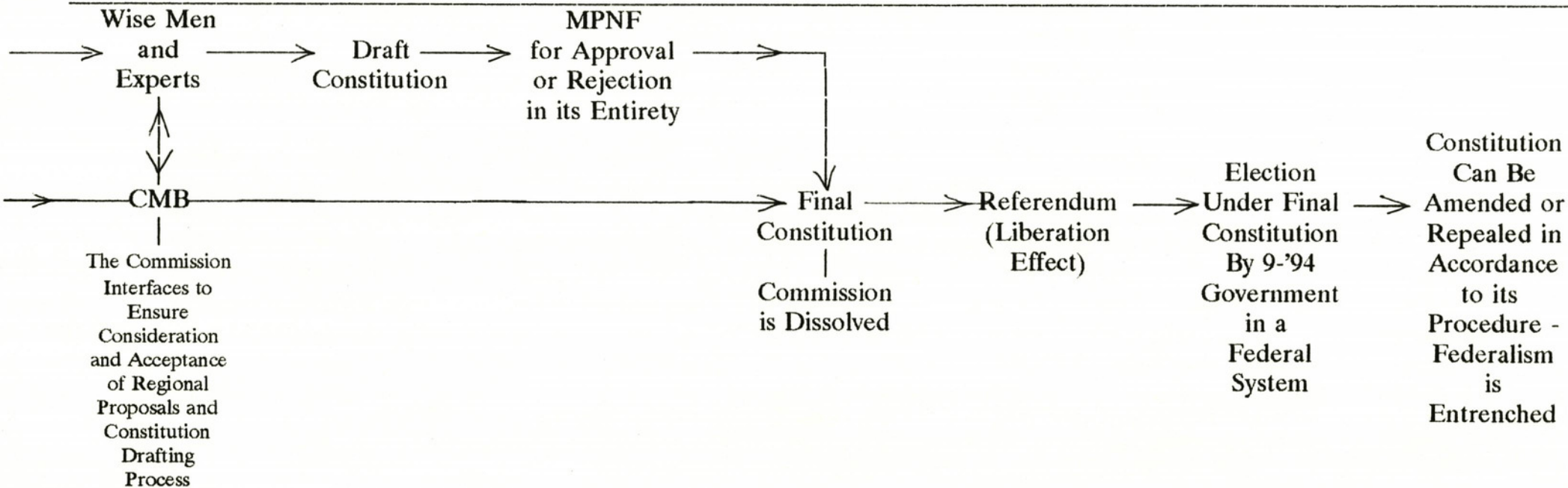
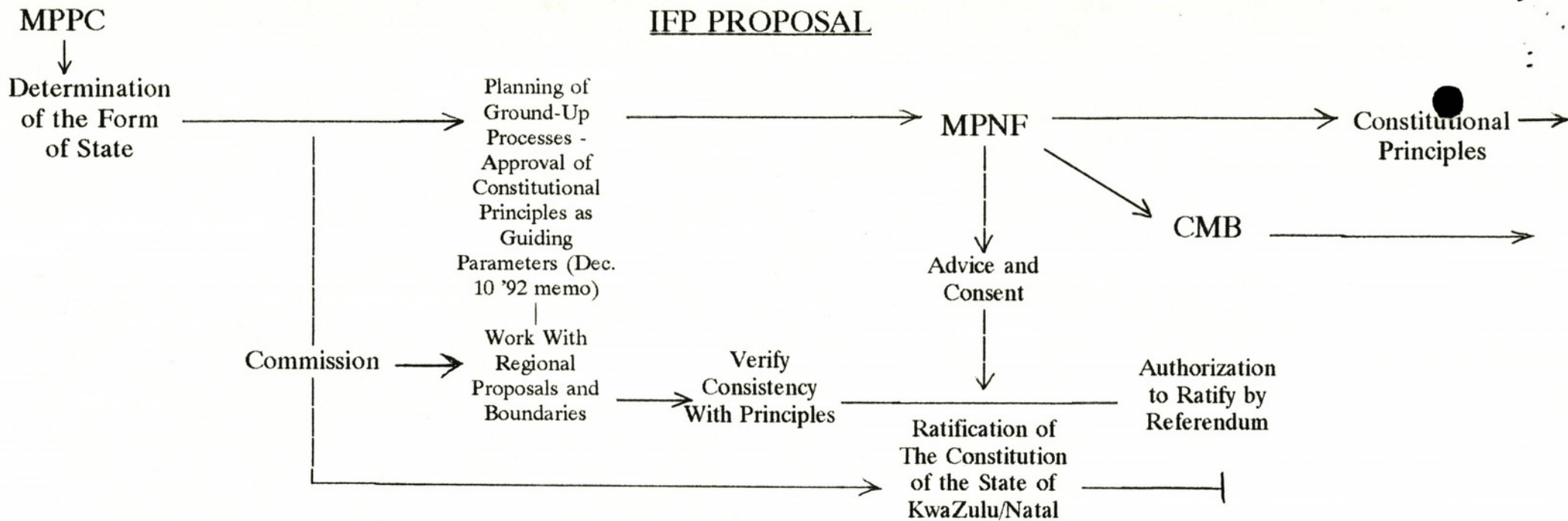
A further advantage of the IFP proposal is that it requires and justifies no type of power-sharing arrangement. It also ensures that the transitional process in South Africa is completed by September 1994, without a lengthy, excruciating and uncertain transition which would wear away the economic and social fibre of our society. The IFP proposal does not preclude that the first democratic government of South Africa be formed as a government of national unity, if the majoritarian political party so wishes.

Additionally the IFP proposal could allow both for symmetry and asymmetry in the resulting constitutional dispensation of South Africa. The IFP proposal registers the fact that not all regions are at the same starting point. On the contrary, the region of KwaZulu/Natal has gone ahead and finalised a proposal through a democratic process which now needs to be completed. The recognition that different regions have different needs and are at a different stages of maturity on the path of autonomy and possible statehood means that some regions may not be able or willing to finalise the process and they will need to be provided for through the process of negotiation at central level and in the drafting of the constitution of South Africa.

The IFP proposal obviates all the institutional and political risks associated with the proposal for regionalisation advanced by the Government.

The attached graphic describes the IFP proposal both with reference to the constitution drafting process relying on the use of a group of experts, as well as with reference to the possibility that an elected CMB be empowered for the exclusive purpose of drafting the new constitution for South Africa.

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THE VOLKS UNITY COMMITTEE (VOLKSEENHEIDSKOMITEE)'S PROPOSALS AND DEMANDS IN RELATION TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

1. The Volkseenheidskomitee was born out of the urgent need to create unity amongst the Boer-Afrikaner nation with the object of obtaining our freedom as a ethno-cultural group, in their own fatherland under their own government. Several conferences were held which were attended by a large number of representatives from different Afrikaner organisations. The following task was given to the Volkseenheidskomitee by those present at one of these conferences, held on 1 May 1992 :

"To encourage and to mobilise the Boer Afrikaner nation with a clearly defined strategy in all applicable walks of life, to establish themselves as a free nation with own territory, with the already defined area as a starting point, so that they may come into their own to the glory of God"

OUR AIM

2. In terms of this task, we claim the right to put our position to whoever might be affected by it and who might be interested in it. Our task also includes the instruction to focus attention on the results of the ignoring of our nation's demand of an independent and sovereign fatherland.

3. While we claim an own fatherland for the Boer-Afrikaners, a ethno-cultural group, we acknowledge the right of other nations to choose a constitutional form of their own. At the same time we strive towards interstatal co-operation in Southern Africa and in the international sphere.

NEGOTIATIONS

4. As a result of the unpleasant and unsafe conditions in which all population groups find themselves at present, it is vitally necessary that a political solution is found as soon as possible, and this, preferably by means of negotiations. Negotiations must take place in such a manner that it is also acceptable for the Boer-Afrikaner to take part. Negotiations for the transition to a new constitutional dispensation in South Africa must make provision for the acknowledgement of a sovereign state for the Boer-Afrikaner nation and any other nation that might so choose as one of the non-negotiable principles.

ALTERNATIVE ACTIONS

5. If the proposed constitutional development process does not take our reasonable claim into account, then we are obliged to call on our people to :

5.1 Not to take part in the renewed process of disenfranchisement of the Boer-Afrikaners in a so-called democratic election process, in terms of which other nations will destroy the voting power of Boer-Afrikaners in their own territory.

5.2 To expose the hypocrisy of the so-called democratisation process in South Africa which is aimed at the replacement of our present electoral system with one whereby the reality of ethnicity, cultural diversity and the democratic right of nations, as spelt out in the prologue to the constitution of the RSA, is not recognised.

5.3 Refuse to take part in the planned electoral process and thereby not to legitimise it.

5.4 Take timely and applicable steps to ensure the freedom of the Boer-Afrikaners in their own state.

Complete details of the Volkseenheidkomitee's position will be expounded at later suitable occasions.

Issued by the executive of the Volkseenheidkomitee :

Dr W L Grant (Chairman); Prof A D Pont (Vice Chairman);
Dr W J G Lubbe (Vice Chairman); Maj Gen P H Groenewald (ret); Dr P J Kotze;
Prof C J J Basson; Mr A J de Beer; Mr J J Groenewald; Mr A Stoltz;
Mr P F Bruwer; Mr C Wagner; Prof W A Pretorius; Mr J G M Richter;
Mr B H A van den Berg; Mr J P Reynecke; Mr D F B de Beer; Prof J J Pienaar.



DIE VOLKSEENHEIDSKOMITEE SE STANDPUNTE EN EISE TEN OPSIGTE VAN DIE STAATKUNDIGE ONTWIKKELINGSPROSES IN SUIDER-AFRIKA

INLEIDING

1. Die Volkseenheidskomitee is gebore uit die dringende behoefte om die eenheid van die Boere-Afrikanervolk te bewerkstellig met die oog op die verwesentliking van ons kultuur-etniese volk se vryheid in sy eie vaderland onder sy eie owerheid. Verskeie volkseenheidsberade is gehou waar 'n groot aantal verteenwoordigers uit verskillende Afrikanerorganisasies teenwoordig was. Die volgende opdrag is deur aanwesiges op die Eenheidsberaad van 1 Mei 1992 aan die Volkseenheidskomitee gegee:

"Om met eenduidige strategie die Boere-Afrikanervolk op alle toepaslike lewensterreine te begeester en te mobiliseer ten einde hom as vrye volk op eie bodem, met die aangeduide gebied as uitgangspunt, tot sy reg te laat kom tot eer van God Drie-enig."

AANSPRAAK

2. Aangesien ons hierdie opdrag het, maak ons aanspraak daarop om ons standpunt aan diegene vir wie dit mag aangaan, te stel. Ons opdrag sluit ook in om die aandag te vestig op die gevolge van miskenning van ons aanspraak op ons eie onafhanklike en soewereine vaderland.

3. Terwyl ons aanspraak maak op 'n eie vaderland vir die Boere-Afrikaner, 'n kultuur-etniese volk, erken ons dat ander volkere ook die reg op 'n staatsvorm van hul eie keuse het. Terselfdertyd strewe ons na interstaatlike samewerking in Suider-Afrika en in internasionale verband.

4. Gesien die huidige benarde en onveilige omstandighede waarin alle bevolkings-groepe hulle tans in hierdie land bevind, is dit dringend noodsaaklik dat 'n politieke oplossing so spoedig moontlik, en verkieslik by wyse van onderhandeling, gevind word. Onderhandelinge moet geskied op so 'n wyse dat dit ook vir die Boere-Afrikaners aanvaarbaar is. Onderhandelings vir oorgang na 'n nuwe bedeling in Suid-Afrika moet as een van die nie-onderhandelbare vertrekpunte voorsiening maak vir die erkenning van 'n soewereine staat vir die Boere-Afrikaners en ander volke wat dit verkies.

ALTERNATIEWE OPTREDE

5. Indien die voorgename grondwetlike ontwikkelingsproses nie ag slaan op ons redelike aanspraak nie, is ons voornemens om ons volksgenote op te roep om:

- 5.1 nie deel te neem aan die stelselmatige vernietiging van die selfbeskikkingsreg van die Boere-Afrikaners in 'n sogenaamde demokratiese verkiesingsproses nie waarin volksvreemdes toenemend die stemkrag van die Boere-Afrikaner in sy eie gebied waardeloos maak.
- 5.2 die skynheiligheid van die sogenaamde demokratisering van Suid-Afrika aan die kaak te stel insoverre ons bestaande stemstelsel oorboord gegooi en vervang word deur 'n stelsel wat nie die werklikheid van kultuur verskeidenheid, etnisiteit en die demokratiese regte van volkere, soos in die aanhef tot die grondwet van die RSA bepaal, eerbiedig nie.
- 5.3 die wettiging van die beoogde verkiesingsproses te voorkom deur nie daaraan deel te neem nie.
- 5.4 tydige en toepaslike stappe te doen om die vryheid van die Boere-Afrikaners in hul eie volkstaat te verseker.

Volledige besonderhede van die Volkseenheidskomitee se standpunte sal by gepaste geleenthede voorgelê word.

Uitgereik deur die Dagbestuur van die Volkseenheidskomitee:

Dr. W.L.Grant (Voorsitter), prof. A.D.Pont (Ondervoorsitter), dr. W.J.G.Lubbe (Ondervoorsitter), genl. maj. (Afg) P.H.Groenewald, dr. P.J.Kotzè, prof.C.J.J.Basson, mnr A.J.de Beer, mnr J.J.Groenewald, mnr G.Stoltz, mnr P.F.Bruwer, mnr C.Wagner, prof. W.A. Pretorius, dr J.G.M.Richter, mnr B.H.A.van den Berg, mnr J.P. Reyneke, mnr D.F.B.de Beer, prof. J.J.Pienaar.

STATEMENT BY THE UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT PRESENTATED
TO THE MULTI-PARTY PLANNING CONFERENCE
HELD ON 05 MARCH 1993
WORLD TRADE CENTRE

ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT SITUATION

When last we met we carried the hope and anxieties of the many and we failed. We did not fail because we schemed behind smoke filled room, we did not fail because we were not committed to carrying South Africa from the apartheid hangover, we failed because any realistic person who is serious about ushering in a new South Africa has to face the challenges of success and drawbacks. If we failed, we disappointed not only our people and the World, questions arise as to what we were doing all along when the negotiation process has stalled and there was a state of uncertainty? Indeed, during the dry white season of our summer, we were busy assessing all vistas of our political situatedness as to whether all the work done thus far has been carried out in vain. It is strange, Mr Chairperson, to note that during our spell in limbo, everyone of us realized the need for the resumption of Multi-Party talks. The U.P.F. would like to argue that both unitary and federal characteristics of government are more than accommodated in the three tiers of government, national, regional and local levels.

United People's Front is convinced more than ever before that we have to bring the hopes, dreams and anxieties of people to fruition. The U.P.F., dear friends, agrees that to a very large extent areas of regional government system, checks and balances, traditional leadership and the voting system have been sufficiently addressed. The gains that were made during the past encounters both formally and informally have to be sustained. It is the U.P.F.'s conviction that no one should stand on the path to a democratic South Africa. To this end, the U.P.F. would like the process of transition, levelling of the playing fields, and elections to be ushered in an atmosphere of peace and stability.

This will ensure freedom to propagate party political policies, to recruit members without fear.

The U.P.F. maintains that all actors previously involved in the negotiation process at the World Trade Centre had consistently maintained that Codesa was the proper forum to carry South Africa to a new dispensation. They also challenged those who were refusing to participate in the Codesa process to come in and state their positions. Even long after Codesa has stalled voices continued to be heard calling for the resumption of Codesatalks. The U.P.F. was surprised when certain actors amongst the Codesa participants unpredictably called for the abandonment of the very Codesa they so previously promoted as the most democratic forum South Africa has ever invented. Is it not proper to question as to whether one can have his cake and eat it? The U.P.F. is highly grateful to see some of our countrymen who have not been part and parcel of previous Multi-Party discussions in our midst today in the spirit of reconciliation and nation building and hope that their participation will carry our country to new heights.

Let us therefore take South Africa to a new era of participatory democracy, equity, fairness and justice.

Mahlangu M.J. - Secretary-General

UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT

**ADDRESS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE TRANSKEI MILITARY COUNCIL -
MAJOR H.B. HOLOMISA AT THE MULTI-PARTY PLANNING
CONFERENCE HELD AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE- KEMPTON PARK
ON THE 5TH AND 6TH MARCH 1993.**

Mr chairman, members of the International Community here present, leaders of delegations, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.

This morning we re-convene at this multi-party planning conference to find a way forward out of this dark abyss of hate and destruction which has bled our economy's energy paralysed our physical being and warped our morality.

A great deal of progress was made in the CODESA proceedings. That the talks stalled is the measure of the depth in which apartheid and sectional privilege are rooted in our country. Try as they did delegates and political pundits could not exercise the malady to cling to solve vestiges of power and continue to veto the decisions of the majority- hence the wrangle about special majorities that were intended to be written into our constitution.

Hopefully, the numerous bi-lateral talks that have taken place between various parties, in particular between the government and the leading political parties in this country will have narrowed the points of difference on the crucial issues. More important is the apparent understanding that these matters be left to the constitution making body to ponder over.

Mr chairman, the future of posterity is in our hands. We need to build our country on the firm foundations of peace and a strong economy. If we cannot overcome the present constitutional impasse our country will be doomed. I accordingly have the honour to move that this conference adopts the following resolution. The resolution reads as follows:

RESOLUTION ON THE NEED FOR THE RESUMPTION OF MULTI-LATERAL NEGOTIATIONS.

We, the parties, organisations and administrations assembled in this the Multi-Lateral Negotiations Planning Conference:

BEING FULLY CONSCIOUS of the responsibility we individually and collectively bear for the well being of our country;

BEING DESIROUS that the problems of our country should be resolved peacefully through a process of negotiation;

REALISING that the economic upliftment of the country depends on the peaceful resolution of the country's problems, particularly the constitutional crisis (impasse);

FULLY AGREEING that the resources of the country need to be preserved, developed and improved for the benefit of all the people of this country and for future generations;

ACCEPTING that all the people of this country and the whole community of nations throughout the world look at us to move the country forward towards a non-racial, non-sexist and fully democratic future;

NOW RESOLVE TO commit ourselves, individually and collectively to the resumption of multi-lateral negotiations within the next month in order to move as speedily as possible towards the attainment of our primary objective, which is the drafting and adoption of the new democratic Constitution for South Africa.

**PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS
OF AZANIA**



POLITICAL ASSESSMENT

**STATEMENT AT THE PREPARATORY
MEETING ON 5-6 MARCH 1993**

PAC POLITICAL ASSESSMENT.

The legitimate all round struggle of the people of Azania the international response to our call for the condemnation and eradication of apartheid and the changed international political climate contributed to the demand for the democratisation of the political system in our country. We are meeting here today to decide on how that democratisation process should begin and ultimately end.

Democracy, by definition, means the widest possible participation in determining the method of government and system under which the vast majority mutually agree to live under. We represent the vast majority and must now decide the modalities of establishing the new democratic and non-racial order in our country.

In the considered view of the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania 1992 began with much euphoria. However, it ended with violence escalating, the attempt at multi-party talks replaced with a series of bilateral talks amongst different political players, and the growing involvement of the international community. The escalating violence is still with us and requires an acceptable political solution to finally end it. Therefore, we have the responsibility of finding that democratic political solution as soon as possible. Every day we delay we are forced to dearly pay with African lives.

It should be reiterated here that the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania is committed to ending violence in this country. It is moreover acknowledged that the PAC is not involved in the senseless carnage that has swept the country in the past three years.

The successive Congresses of the PAC resolved that all forms of struggles must be sustained until there is an all party Transitional Authority in place. The PAC is prepared to discuss mutual cessation of all hostilities as called for in the UN Consensus Declaration of December 1989.

One of the prominent characteristics of the past year was the series of bilateral talks. These bilateral talks could only prove useful if they were aimed at establishing a genuine and

more representative multi-lateral forum. We sincerely hope that this gathering today is the result of these bilateral attempts to establish a genuine multi-lateral forum unfettered by previous agreements.

Last year also saw the growing involvement of the international community. The United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Commonwealth, the European Community and others are now here. It will be recalled that the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, from the outset, called for pro-active international involvement in resolving the conflict. We welcome their presence in the country and want them to play a pro-active role in the democratisation process.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania has consistently maintained that the core problem in the country is the drawing up of the new non-racial democratic constitution and related to that is who should draw it up. From the outset the PAC called for the establishment of an elected Constituent Assembly, emphasising that the new non-racial democratic constitution can only be drawn up by an elected body. Those democratically elected will have a mandate to decide the future and form of the country, including redressing the land question, injustices and economic imbalances.

Consequently the principal focus of this gathering must be to devise a forum which would facilitate the establishment of a sovereign Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of one person one vote with all Azanians over the age of 18 voting on a common voters' roll in a unitary state. This should be our primary objective.

If that primary objective has consensus, and we think it should, then we should also accept that our task is to deliberate on the formation of the facilitating forum.

The era in our country when apartheid held sway is over. However, apartheid has still to be eradicated and democratic institutions established. Our future lies in democratic solutions. The regime has no credentials to act as a mid-wife to the birth of genuine democracy in our country. The genuine representatives of the people, together with the international community, are the best equipped to usher in genuine democracy.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, which has campaigned for a more representative forum, notes with great satisfaction that we are meeting here today to address the need for a new more representative forum.

Today history has brought us here. We can either rise to the occasion or slide into anarchy. We are confident that future generations will judge us with veneration.

Thank you !

XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Preliminary remarks and assessment of the current situation - 5/6 March 1993 at the World Trade centre.

Messrs Chairpersons

The economist John Kenneth Galbraith has noted that events frequently are subject to the tyranny of circumstance the observes "In daily political discussion we think it greatly important whether an individual is of the right or of the left, liberal or conservative, an exponent of free enterprise or of socialism.

"We do not see that, very often, circumstances close in and force the same action on all - or on all who are concerned to survive". We the Ximoko Progressive Party believe that these words are particularly appropriate to the very circumstances in which South Africa presently finds itself.

The Ximoko Progressive Party is deeply concerned at the slide of South Africa into anarchy and chaos and the general malaise which attends ~~the~~ present state of limbo between the old world, as it were, which is clearly dead, and the New Future, as yet, apparently unready to be born.

We are particularly concerned at the catastrophic and worsening economic situation as we are at the drastic erosion of the rule of Law and the perpetration of crime in the name of political expediency. Hunger and deprivation stalk the nation and our youths look to us to determine their future. We believe that a rapid return to multiparty negotiation and the resolution of the present impasse has now become a major determinant of the survival of a civilized society in our country. We regard the success of this conference as absolutely crucial to the future of this country and would wish to appeal to all parties to ensure that success is achieved at all costs during these days of crucial debate. This, messrs Chairpersons, implies that each of us will have to approach this conference with an open mind and avoid setting preconditions which destroy the very essence of democracy and negotiations. It is only ~~the~~ the spirit of give and take that we can hope to achieve something and I appeal to all to abandon posturing or the seeking of political party advantage.

The Ximoko Progressive Party has had reservations regarding the wisdom of protracted bilateral negotiations as a vehicle for achieving the desired ends. We have publicly and openly expressed our reservations. Whilst recognising the need for networking at all levels to speed ~~up~~ the process on its way, nevertheless, the danger exists in the process of creating suspicions of duplicity and secret pacts, which undermine confidence in the integrity of

parties to such arrangements - confidence which in itself is vital to the negotiating process.

We in the Ximoko Progressive Party have consistently propagated adherence to the principle of inclusivity in the matter of constitutional negotiations. On the basis that the essence of democracy lies in government by the consent of the governed, we reaffirm our belief that all South Africans should be afforded the opportunity of participation in the process of sculpting a democratic non-racial South Africa.

In structuring formal multi-party negotiations we shall be sensitive to the need to afford all viewpoints the opportunity of fair debate. We believe that much useful work was done by CODESA although it may be argued that Codesa was not as representative of the full spectrum of stakeholders as one would have liked. It would be tragic indeed, in our view, if a new process now to begin were to encounter the same difficulties.

Yet we are faced with a time frame dictated by our circumstances. We cannot sacrifice the future of our country to prevarication. We consider it vital that inclusive multi-party negotiations are resumed without delay - that these discussions review the progress made by Codesa and its working groups.

In conclusion, we the Ximoko Progressive Party commit ourselves unequivocally to the search for peace, prosperity, social order and justice through negotiation.

We deplore violence and violent means and regard them as entirely inappropriate to the achievement of civilized ends when the alternative of negotiation exists.