HESE MINUTES ARE CONFIDENTIAL AND RESTRICTED TO MEMBERS OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE AND THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE HELD AT 15H40 ON MONDAY 21 JUNE 1993 THROUGH TO FRIDAY 25 JUNE 1993 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

PRESENT

R Cronje

C Eglin

PJ Gordhan (Chairperson by rotation)

FT Mdlalose RP Meyer

MC Ramaphosa

J Slovo Z Titus M Webb

D de Villiers (incoming Chairperson of the Negotiating Council)

T Eloff (Administration) G Hutchings (Minutes)

1. Moment of Prayer/Meditation

A moment of prayer/meditation was observed by all members.

2. Welcome and Attendance

- 2.1 All members were welcomed.
- 2.2 Apologies were noted on behalf of B Alexander for non attendance.
- 2.3 Apologies were noted on behalf of C Ramaphosa for late arrival.

3. Ratification of Agenda

The agenda was ratified with the following amendments:

- 3.1 The addition of an Item 6.4 to read "Representation on Planning Committee";
- 3.2 The addition of an Item 6.5 to read "Sufficient Consensus".

Minutes

- 4.1 The minutes of 3 June 1993 were adopted with the following amendment:
 - * Item 5.3.3.1 to read "It was noted that the Planning Committee would recommend the acceptance of the establishment of the IEC in principle to the meeting of the Negotiating Council".
- 4.2 No matters arising out of the minutes of 3 June 1993 were noted.
- 4.3 The minutes of the meetings of 14 June, 15 June, 17 June and 18 June 1993 were noted and would be dealt with at a future meeting of the Planning Committee.

5. Substantive Issues

5.1 SA Government/PAC Reportback:

- 5.1.1 R Meyer had nothing further to report on this issue to the Planning Committee and the status quo remained.
- 5.1.2 Discussion and debate then followed around the possible non-adoption of the Declaration on Cessation/Suspension of Hostilities, Armed Struggle and Violence by the PAC.
- 5.1.3 It was agreed that the SA Government/PAC Reportback should be dealt with separately from the Declaration.
- 5.1.4 It was suggested that the Declaration be dealt with after the discussion of the Third Report of the Technical Committee on Violence.
- 5.1.5 A Press Release from the PAC was referred to in which it stated conditions under which it would abandon the armed struggle. It was agreed to call J Seroke of the PAC into the meeting and have a discussion on this issue, during which:
 - * The media reports stating that the PAC would not adopt the Draft Declaration should be referred to:
 - * The Statement by the President of the PAC giving three conditions for the suspension of the armed struggle should be referred to, it should be pointed out that item c was obtainable in terms of the Draft Declaration;
 - * The PAC should be requested to clarify its position.
- 5.1.6 J Seroke was welcomed to the meeting. The above points were put to him. After discussion and debate the following was agreed upon by

J Seroke with the Planning Committee:

- * That the agenda for the meeting of the Negotiating Council on 22 June would be structured to ensure that the Report of the Technical Committe on Violence would be dealt with before the Draft Resolution. In this way certain concerns and requirements of the PAC with regard to implementation would be met:
- * The Draft Declaration would then be dealt with and should therefore be acceptable to all parties in the Negotiating Council;
- * Thirdly, the Draft Resolution which embodies in its resolving part the elements of "unfinished business" between the SA Government and the PAC would be dealt with by the meeting.
- 5.1.7 A plea was made to the meeting to not make this information public.
- 5.1.8 It was suggested that if any participant does not adopt the Draft Declaration, this issue should be dealt with separately as a matter of procedure. The Chairperson of the Negotiating Council should advise that this item should be added under procedural issues should this arise.
- 5.1.9 It was suggested that a written report on the bi-lateral meetings and any unfinished business should be prepared by the SA Government as a reportback for the Negotiating Council meeting of 22 June 1993.
- 5.2 Structuring and order of the discussion of Reports from Technical Committees:
 - 5.2.1 The Sub-Committee was welcomed and gave a report back on the work of the Technical Committees.
 - 5.2.2 After discussion and debate, draft agendas for the Negotiating Council meetings of 22 June, 23 June and 24 June 1993 were agreed upon (see Addendum A, B and C).
 - 5.2.3 It was noted that members of the IMC Technical Committee wished to attend a three day conference in which the entire broadcasting industry would be participating. The Technical Committee requested that the IBA Draft Bill be tabled in time at the Negotiating Council so that the Draft Bill could be discussed at the conference. Furthermore, an enquiry was made as to whether it would it be acceptable for any member of the Technical Committee to participate in the conference as a speaker or participant in the discussions. After discussion the following was agreed:

- That the Technical Committee members should not participate in the conference in this capacity; but that they could participate in individual capacities, on condition that the Draft Bill under discussion in the Technical Committee was not commented on in any way;
- That the Sub-Committee verbally notify the Technical Committee in this regard.
- To recommend to the Negotiating Council that two weeks from 22 June 1993 was sufficient time for submissions on the IBA;
- 5.2.4 It was agreed to recommend to the Negotiating Council that its meeting of 23 June 1993 commences at 14h00 and lasts until 22h00. Planning Committee members were free to express their opposition, if any, to this recommendation if they so wished.
- 5.2.5 It was agreed to recommend to the Negotiating Council that when the Technical Committees on the IMC and IEC are dealt with, no discussion on the draft Bills should take place, but only on the principle agreed.
- 5.2.6 It was suggested that the question of voter education on a multi-party basis be addressed when dealing with the Technical Committee on the IEC. Furthermore, that discussion on the principle should occur in the Negotiating Council and that the matter be referred to the Technical Committee. A document on this issue was distributed (see Addendum D). It was agreed to discuss this matter at a future meeting of the Planning Committee.

5.3 Commission on the Delimitation/Demarcation of States/Provinces/Regions:

It was noted that there was nothing new to report under this Item.

6. **Procedural Issues**

6.1 **Media Arrangements:**

It was noted that there was nothing new to report under this Item. It was agreed to remove this item from the agenda until there was something to report.

6.2 **New Participants:**

- 6.2.1 A report was given by the Sub-Committee and the following was noted:
 - 6.2.1.1 A meeting had been held with Avstig during which the

following had been agreed upon:

* That Avstig did not consider itself be a political party;

* It considered itself to be a political organisation, but is in the process of considering whether or not it should become a political party and participate in the next election.

The Sub-Committee recommended that their application be turned down. This was agreed upon and the recommendation would be forwarded to the Negotiating Council.

- A meeting had been held with the African Democratic Movement and their application was still under consideration.
- 6.2.1.3 It was recommended that because the United Asian Party did not reply to the questionnaire their application be turned down. This was agreed to and the recommendation would be forwarded to the Negotiating Council.
- 6.2.2 It was agreed that PJ Gordhan, as the current Planning Committee Chairperson, would report on this issue in the meeting of the Negotiating Council on 22 June 1993.

6.3 Traditional Leaders:

- 6.3.1 It was noted that no report was as yet available on the issue of the Natal Traditional Leaders.
- 6.3.2 A brief report on the status quo was submitted to the meeting by the Administration (see Addendum E). After discussion it was agreed to request the Administration to contact each of the Traditional Leader Delegations to ascertain what progress, with regard to the composition of their delegations, had been made. The Administration should report back to the Planning Committee and the matter would then be further dealt with.

6.4 Representation on the Planning Committee:

A request from the PAC that J Seroke replaces B Alexander in the Planning Committee on a temporary basis was discussed briefly (see Addendum F). It was agreed that this matter stands over until the next meeting of the Planning Committee.

6.5 Sufficient Consensus:

It was agreed to recommend to the Negotiating Council the formation of an ad-hoc committee to deal with this issue. It was agreed to recommend the following composition for the ad-hoc committee to the Negotiating Council:

- * PJ Gordhan (Convenor)
- * K Gouws
- * B Kgositsile
- * F le Roux
- * M Webb

It was further agreed to recommend that the ad-hoc committee be assisted by the Sub-Committee.

6.6 The Proposal from the Conservative Party: (see Addendum G)

- 6.6.1 It was noted that Item 3 of the Proposal had been referred to the Planning Committee for consideration.
- 6.6.2 After discussion it was agreed to recommend the following to the Negotiating Council:
 - * That when a Planning Committee recommendation or proposal is put before the Negotiating Council, the meeting adjourns for a sufficient amount of time to allow for adequate discussion of the recommendation/proposal. If the Negotiating Council was of the opinion that the issue did not require an adjournment, it could take a decision in that regard.
- 6.6.3 It was noted that the Planning Committee should time adjournments carefully and more accurately. The Planning Committee should furthermore not be seen as a structure that was usurping the function of the Negotiating Council.

Administrative and Financial Matters:

7.1 Financial Report:

It was noted that the Report was not yet available.

7.2 PAC Request for Funding: (see Addendum H)

- 7.2.1 After discussion it was agreed that as all participants receive an ex gratia amount of R2500, the request be turned down.
- 7.2.2 It was noted that if the above grants had not yet been paid out to participants, it should be done so immediately, with backdated effect from 1 April 1993.

7.3 Letter from the Fire Protection Association of Southern Africa:

The request in the letter was noted and agreed to (see Addendum I).

7.4 Request for meeting with Co-Chairs of the Communications Committee:

After discussion it was agreed to mandate the Sub-Committee to meet with the Co-Chairs of the Communications Committee. The Sub-Committee should report back to the Planning Committee in this regard.

7.5 Letter from the Women's Coalition: (see Addendum J)

After discussion it was agreed that:

- * Their misunderstanding about the representation of women on the Negotiating Council should be clarified;
- * It was the view of the Planning Committee that there is adequate representation to ensure an adequate input in respect of the gender perspective on the various issues discussed;
- * Documentation would be made available to the organisation (in the same manner as to the media):
- * The Administration was requested to liaise and facilitate with the women delegates on the Negotiating Council on this issue.

8. Meetings Schedule

- 8.1 After discussion it was agreed to provisionally accept the meetings schedule as is (see Addendum K).
- 8.2 It was agreed that the Administration, with the assistance of the Sub-Committee, prepares a proposal for the Planning Committee in relation to

preparations necessary for the Negotiating Forum and that this be circulated to members in the course of the day on 22 June 1993.

- 8.3 It was agreed that invitations to observers, and other guests, should be issued.
- 8.4 It was agreed that the Administration proceed with the normal arrangements for Negotiating Forum meetings.

The meeting adjourned at 18h35.

The meeting reconvened the morning of 23 June 1993 with L Landers present as the current Negotiating Council Chairperson.

9. **AVF Demonstration:**

- 9.1 It was brought to the attention of the Planning Committee that the AVF was planning a demonstration at the World Trade Centre on 25 June 1993.
- 9.2 After discussion it was agreed that R Cronje and Z Titus, on behalf of the Planning Committee, acquire as much information on the above planned demonstration and report back to the Planning Committee in this regard.

10. Logistics for the Negotiating Forum

It was agreed to discuss this issue when the Planning Committee reconvened.

The meeting adjourned at 14h30.

The meeting reconvened at 20h25.

11. AVF Demonstration

- 11.1 A report back was given by R Cronje to the meeting. It was noted that the AWB would form part of the AVF Demonstration.
- 11.2 Various questions were put to the Planning Committee and the following was noted:
 - 11.2.1 That the Head of the Multi-Party Security, via the Administration, keeps the Planning Committee informed on any new developments with regard to the AVF Demonstration and on security arrangements.

- That the request from the AVF to address the Negotiating Council be refused.
- 11.2.3 That the AVF's request that five members from its delegation hand over its memorandum should be agreed to. The AVF had requested that its memorandum be handed over to representatives of the SA Government Delegation. The AVF should be made aware of the relevant point in the Guidelines for Demonstrations in this regard.
- 11.2.4 That peace monitors should be informed about the planned demonstration.
- 11.2.5 Enquiries should be made from participants in the Negotiating Process as to whether anyone was aware of any further planned demonstrations for 25 June 1993.
- That the organisers of the planned demonstration were aware of the policy with regard to weapons. Concerns were expressed in this regard.
- 11.2.7 Liaison should continue between the Administration and the SAP on this issue.
- That it should be conveyed to the organisers of the demonstration that the free flow of traffic to the World Trade Centre should not be blocked.

12. Negotiating Forum meeting of 25 June 1993

- 12.1 It was proposed that the meeting of the Negotiating Forum be postponed until Friday 2 June 1993. After discussion it was agreed to put forward this proposal as a recommendation from the Planning Committee.
- 12.2 It would be further recommended to the Planning Committee that the Negotiating Council should meet on Friday 25 June 1993 and on the afternoon of Monday 28 June 1993.

13. Meetings Schedule

- 13.1 It was agreed that the Planning Committee reconvene at 09h00 on 24 June 1993.
- 13.2 It was agreed to recommend to the Negotiating Council that its meeting of 24 June 1993 commence at 10h00.

The meeting adjourned at 21h00.

The meeting reconvened at 09h00 on Thursday 24 June 1993.

14. Security Arrangements with regard to the AVF Demonstration of 25 June 1993

- 14.1 Discussion was held on this issue.
- 14.2 A progress report on the AVF Demonstration was given to the Planning Committee by R Cronje. It was noted that a representative from the AVF was available to meet with the Planning Committee from 09h30. The issue of weapons was also raised.
- 14.3 A set of revised Guidelines for Demonstrations was distributed. (See Addendum L). After discussion it was agreed to revisit this issue once members had had some time to study the document.
- 14.4 It was agreed that R Cronje, Z Titus and the Administration meet with the AVF representatives and during the discussion state that the Guidelines for Demonstrations should be adhered to.
- 14.5 Concerns were expressed as to what would happen if the guidelines are not adhered to by members of demonstrations.
- 14.6 It was agreed that there should be an explicit assurance from the police that the entrance to the World Trade Centre would be kept free from any blockages. This would be the responsibility of the SAP.
- 14.7 It was agreed that R Cronje, Z Titus and the Administration meet with the SAP to find out how they would enforce the conditions under which permission for the demonstration were agreed upon and find out what contingency plans the SAP had. A report back should be given to the Planning Committee in the course of the day. It was further agreed that R Meyer also engage in talks with the SAP in conjunction with R Cronje and Z Titus.
- 14.8 It was suggested that the Planning Committee meet with a senior member of the SAP to get clarity on certain issues.
- 14.9 It was noted that the Transvaal Rural Action Committee also planned a demonstration for Friday 25 June 1993.
- 14.10 It was agreed to report to the Negotiating Council briefly on the situation and note that a more detailed report would be presented to the Negotiating Council during the course of the day.

- 14.11 It was suggested that meetings be held with the AVU and the KP on this issue. It was noted that discussions had already occurred with a member of the KP.
- 14.12 It was suggested that the contingency plan of Multi-Party Security be distributed in the meeting of the Negotiating Council. No agreement could be reached on this issue, and it was agreed to revisit this issue in the course of the day.

15. Management of the Negotiating Council meeting of 24 June 1993

- 15.1 After discussion it was agreed that the meeting of the Negotiating Council would proceed as follows:
 - * Firstly, Self Determination and the Report on Confederalism;
 - * Secondly, the three outstanding constitutional principles still to be resolved;
 - * Thirdly, the Sixth Report of the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues.
- 15.2 It was agreed to allocate time from 16h00 to 19h00 to the Technical Committee on Fundamental Human Rights as this Technical Committee would not be available for the meeting of the Negotiating Council on Friday 25 June 1993.
- 15.3 It was agreed that the TEC and its Sub-Councils should appear on the agenda of the Negotiating Council for 25 June 1993.
- 15.4 M Webb noted his opposition to the Sixth Report of the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues.
- 15.5 It was agreed that the Planning Committee should begin to apply their minds as to how constructive progress could be made by the Negotiating Council for the Negotiating Forum meeting planned for 2 July 1993.

The meeting adjourned at 10h30.

The meeting reconvened at 14h25.

16. AVF Demonstration

16.1 Various questions, as prepared by Z Titus, to facilitate the discussion on this issue were put to the Planning Committee (see Addendum M). During discussion the following was noted:

- 16.1.1 Item 2.2 refers; That leaders of the AVF Demonstration have direct access to representatives of the SA Government.
- 16.1.2 Item 5 refers; It was agreed that the answer to this request should be negative.
- 16.1.3 Item 6 refers; It was noted that the AVF members would be requested to leave their weapons in their vehicles.
- 16.1.4 Item 7 refers; It was agreed that this was the responsibility of the organisers of the demonstration. It was noted that the AWB was an official part of the AVF Demonstration.
- 16.1.5 Item 8 refers; It was noted that a meeting between the SAP and the Transvaal Rural Action Committee was scheduled to take place. A suggestion by the SAP that this demonstration be prohibited was not agreed to.
- 16.1.6 Item 9 refers; It was suggested that each delegation is given four unique and distinctive ID cards.
- 16.1.7 Item 10 and 11 refers; It was suggested that these items fall under the responsibility of the SAP.
- 16.1.8 Item 12 refers; It was agreed that Peace Monitors should be informed.
- 16.1.9 Item 14 refers; It was agreed to distribute the necessary information to the Negotiating Council. Z Titus and the Administration were requested to draft a condensed version for the Planning Committee to consider.
- 16.1.10 Item 15 refers; The revised Guidelines for Demonstrations were agreed upon and would appear on the agenda of the Negotiating Council meeting under "Procedural Issues" for adoption.
- 16.1.11 Item 16 refers; It was agreed that the Sub-Committee and the Administration take responsibility for this item.
- 16.1.12 Item 2 refers; It was agreed that the Guidelines for Demonstrations should be strictly adhered to in this regard and would form the basis of the response to this item.
- 16.1.13 Item 2.4 refers; It was agreed that the Sub-Committee look into this issue and report back to the Planning Committee.

16.2 It was agreed that R Cronje, Z Titus and the Administration prepare a report on behalf of the Planning Committee for the Negotiating Council. It was agreed that this would be dealt with under "Administrative Matters" on the agenda.

17. General Issues

- 17.1 The Administration was requested to clarify as to whether the Technical Committee on Fundamental Human Rights in the Transition was available to present its report to the Negotiating Council. A reportback should be given informally to PJ Gordhan, the current Planning Committee Chairperson.
- 17.2 It was noted that a written report on bi-lateral meetings between the SA Government and the PAC would be distributed at the meeting of the Negotiating Council by the SA Government. R Meyer was requested to get the agreement of the PAC on the factual content of the report to attempt to limit the debate on this issue in the Negotiating Council.

The meeting adjourned at 14h40.

The meeting reconvened at 19h30.

18. AVF Demonstration

- 18.1 It was noted that with regard to the issue of weapons, a "gentleman's agreement" had been reached with the SAP in this regard. This entailed that the AVF would co-operate with the SAP in this regard.
- 18.2 It was noted that the AWB had not applied to hold a separate march and was an official part of the AVF Demonstration.
- 18.3 It was noted that generally there was a feeling that this issue was under control.

19. Meeting of the Negotiating Council to be held on Friday 25 June 1993

It was agreed that the following items would form part of the agenda of the Negotiating Council:

- * The Fourth Report of the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues;
- * Constitutional Principles;
- * The Fifth Report of the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues;
- * The Report of the Technical Committee on the TEC and its Sub-Councils.

The meeting adjourned at 20h00.

The meeting reconvened at 08h30 on Friday 25 June 1993. It was noted that MJ Mahlangu was present at the meetings of the Planning Committee in the course of the day as the current Chairperson of the Negotiating Council.

20. AVF Demonstration

- 20.1 It was agreed to retain the principle that no members of demonstrations address meetings of the Negotiating Council.
- 20.2 General Oberholzer of the SAP gave a progress report to the Planning Committee and the following was noted:
 - * That he was not in favour of allowing the Demonstrators onto the World Trade Centre premises as they were requesting;
 - * That members of the Demonstration were getting confrontational;
 - * Agreements by the AVF were already being violated and the situation was steadily getting worse.
- 20.3 During the discussion the Planning Committee received reports that various delegates were being assaulted and abused. The Planning Committee requested a guarantee from the SAP that no more delegates would be treated in this way and that the SAP and the SADF should do everything in their power to ensure the safety of the delegates. At this point L Landers of the Labour Party notified the Planning Committee that a Labour Party delegate had been assaulted and could identify her assailant.
- 20.4 It was suggested that delegates should enter from another entrance and that the exit from the highway should be closed off and delegates redirected.
- 20.5 It was agreed that either General Oberholzer or his representative remains to keep the Planning Committee informed of the situation.
- 20.6 A request for reinforcements was made.
- 20.7 As discussion was continuing, the Planning Committee was notified that the Demonstrators had broken through the fence/gate of the World Trade Centre and were making their way towards the building. The Sub-Committee was mandated to assist in whatever way possible with the developing situation.

The meeting adjourned at 09h20 due to the escalation of events. This was the start of the attack on the Negotiating Process.

The meeting reconvened at 12h40 to receive the memorandum from the representatives of the AVF.

- 20.8 The following members of the Planning Committee accepted the memorandum (see Addendum N) on behalf of the Multi-Party Negotiating Process:
 - * PJ Gordhan as the current Chairperson of the Planning Committee
 - * R Meyer

Also present was T Eloff on behalf of the Administration.

- 20.9 The following members of the AVF Demonstration handed over their memorandum:
 - Cor de Jager
 - * F Hartzenberg
 - * T Langley
 - * C Viljoen.
- 20.10 After the handing over of the memorandum and various comments from T Langley, F Hartzenbeg, PJ Gordhan and R Meyer, the meeting adjourned at 12h55.

The meeting then reconvened at 13h30 to receive a memorandum from representatives of the Transvaal Rural Action Committee.

- 20.11 The following members of the Planning Committee accepted the memorandum (see Addendum O) on behalf of the Multi-Party Negotiating Process:
 - * PJ Gordhan as the current Chairperson of the Planning Committee
 - * R Meyer
 - * M Maharaj

Also present was T Eloff on behalf of the Administration.

- 20.12 The following members of the Transvaal Rural Action Committee Demonstration handed over their memorandum:
 - * M Mahlala
 - * R Meyer
 - * O Pacha
 - * P Sithole
- 20.13 After various comments from members of the Demonstration, PJ Gordhan, M

Maharaj and R Meyer, PJ Gordhan thanked them for their memorandum and for the way in which their demonstration was conducted. Furthermore an apology was made to the members of the Demonstration for any inconvenienced experienced by them due to the events that took place earlier on in the day. Assurances were given to the Transvaal Rural Action Committee that its document would be dealt with by the Planning Committee. The meeting was adjourned at 13h45.

20.14 It was noted that M Maharaj and a representative from the SA Government went to address the Transvaal Rural Action Committee Demonstration.

The meeting reconvened at 14h00.

21. Events of this Morning

- 21.1 It was agreed that a Planning Committee report should be prepared for the Negotiating Council meeting.
- 21.2 It was agreed that a draft resolution should be prepared in condemnation of the events that occurred. Furthermore, that the resolution should note that, because of these events, the negotiating process should be accelerated and not derailed. It was agreed that C Eglin prepares a first draft. Furthermore, to recommend to the Negotiating Council that a neutral multi-party Commission of Inquiry should be established and that this issue be referred back to the Planning Committee to take the matter further.
- 21.3 It was agreed that the meeting of the Negotiating Council should proceed and that participants be given an opportunity to make statements on the issue. It was suggested that, if possible, the various groupings in the process should co-ordinate amongst themselves to try and limit the number of speakers. It was agreed to amend the agenda of the Negotiating Council to accommodate this item.
- 21.4 It was noted that the SAP wanted to take possession of the video tapes of the SABC which captured on film all the events that took place in the Negotiating Council Room during its occupation by members of the AVF Demonstration. It was agreed that the video tapes should remain in the possession of the Administration and should be stored on the premises and not be handed over into the custody of the SAP. It was agreed that the SAP should make a written application if they required a copy of the video tape.
- 21.5 It was agreed to recommend to the Negotiating Council that the memorandum from the AVF does not become part of the official documentation of the Negotiating Council as a result of the manner in which it was presented.

21.6 The Administration was requested to liaise with Captain E van Eck to ensure delegates' safety as they leave the premises of the World Trade Centre at the close of the day's business. A report back should be made to the Planning Committee in this regard.

The meeting adjourned at 13h55.

CHAIRMAN

DRAFT AGENDA FOR THE MEETING OF THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL TO BE HELD ON TUESDAY 22 JUNE 1993 AT 09H00

Chairpersonship - D de Villiers assisted by PJ Gordhan

- 1. Moment of Prayer/Meditation
- 2. Welcome and Attendance
- 3. **Ratification of Agenda** (please note that minutes of the meetings of 17 and 18 June 1993 will be distributed today and ratified tomorrow)
- 4. Substantive Issues
 - 4.1 Report from the Technical Committee on Violence:
 Continuation of discussion of the resolution flowing from the Third Report of the Technical Committee (cf. p21 of the Agenda and Documentation pack of 15 June 1993)
 - 4.2 Draft Declaration on Cessation/Suspension of Hostilities, etc. and draft further resolution
 - 4.3 Report from the Technical Committee on the Independent Media Commission:
 4.3.1 Decision in principle on the establishment of an IMC (draft resolution put by the Planning Committee)
 - 4.4 Report from the Technical Committee on the Independent Electoral Commission:
 - 4.4.1 Decision in principle on the establishment of an IEC (draft resolution put by the Planning Committee)
 - 4.5 Presentation of the Report of the Technical Committee on Fundamental Human Rights during the Transition
 - 4.6 Presentation of the Report of the Technical Committee on the Amendment or Repeal of Legislation Impeding Free Political Activity and Discriminatory Legislation

5. Procedural Issues

- 5.1 New Participants
- 5.2 Procedures and Sufficient Consensus
- 6. Administrative Matters
- 7. Meetings Schedule
- 8. Closure



DRAFT AGENDA FOR THE MEETING OF THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL TO BE HELD ON WEDNESDAY 23 JUNE 1993 AT 14H00

Chairpersonship - L Landers assisted by PJ Gordhan

- 1. Moment of Prayer/Meditation
- 2. Welcome and Attendance
- 3. Ratification of Agenda
- 4. Minutes
 - 4.1 Adoption of the minutes of the meeting of the Negotiating Council of:
 - 4.1.1 17 June 1993
 - 4.1.2 18 June 1993
 - 4.2 Matters arising out of minutes of meetings of the Negotiating Council of:
 - 4.2.1 17 June 1993
 - 4.2.2 18 June 1993
 - 4.3 Minutes to be noted
- 5. Substantive Issues
 - 5.1 Reports from the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues:
 - 5.1.1 General Constitutional Principles, including Self Determination
 - 5.1.2 Reports on instructions given to the Technical Committee on thursday 17 June 1993
 - 5.1.3 Fourth Report of the Technical Committee
 - 5.1.4 Fifth Report of the Technical Committee
 - 5.2 Discussion of Report of the Technical Committee on Fundamental Human Rights during the Transition
- 6. Procedural Issues
- 7. Administrative Matters
- 8. Meetings Schedule
- 9. Closure



DRAFT AGENDA FOR THE MEETING OF THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL TO BE HELD ON THURSDAY 24 JUNE 1993 AT 09H00

Chairpersonship - PJ Gordhan assisted by MJ Mahlangu

- 1. Moment of Prayer/Meditation
- 2. Welcome and Attendance
- 3. Ratification of Agenda
- 4. Substantive Issues
 - 4.1 Further discussion on the Reports of the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues
 - 4.2 Further discussion of Report of the Technical Committee on Fundamental Human Rights during the Transition
 - 4.3 Presentation and discussion of report of the Technical Committee on the TEC and its Sub-Councils
- 5. Procedural Issues
- 6. Administrative Matters
- 7. Meetings Schedule
- 8. Closure

POSITION PAPER: VOTER EDUCATION

1. INTRODUCTION

In view of the agreement amongst ail parties that a democratic election should take place as soon as possible, and given the fact that the overwhelming majority of South Africans have not previously participated in national elections, an urgent need exists for an official, intensive, country-wide, non-partisan and objective voter education programme managed on a multi-party basis.

2. OBJECTIVE

To timeously plan and execute or supervise a country-wide, nonpartisan and objective voter education programme in order to ensure maximum participation in, and to promote a climate for, free and fair elections.

3. PROPOSALS

Given the extreme urgency of the question of voter education, it is proposed that this MPNP assume responsibility to initiate and conduct or supervise such a voter education programme, to be taken over by the independent Election Commission once it has been established.

4. PROGRAMMES

- 4.1 At least the following items can be considered for the voter education programme:
- eligibility to vote
- voter identification
- voting procedures
- political tolerance and voter behaviour
- responsibility to vote
- where and when to vote
- publication of the election results
- after the election

- 4.2 The following topics can also be considered as part of the voter education programme:
- democracy as a lifestyle
- democracy and forms of government
- democracy and the economy
- democracy and property rights
- democracy and trade unions
- democracy and human rights
- democracy and political parties
- democracy and elections
- democracy and employment
- democracy and housing
- democracy and parliament
- democracy and the media
- democracy and education

5. METHODOLOGY

In order to ensure maximum penetration, both the programmes should be of a multi-media nature and provide for different literacy levels.

6. AUTHORITY AND LOGISTICS

The voter education programme should be conducted under the auspices of the MPNP. The Negotiating Council should take the initiative in this regard.

7. FUNDS

Public and private funds will be required to conduct a voter education programme. The Government accepts its responsibility in this regard.

8. TIME-SCALES

Planning for the voter education programme should commence immediately.

9. INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

- 9.1 A multiparty delegation should approach the international community to canvas funds for voter and democracy education.
- 9.2 Optimal use should be made of international expertise available in the fields of voter and democracy education.
- 9.3 A representative group of international observers should be involved in the monitoring the programmes.

10. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

In order to ensure free and fair elections, voter education programmes should satisfy the following requirements:

- Compliance with a code of conduct for voter education, drawn up and applied by the MPNP.
- All organisations, except political parties, should be adviced to conduct their voter education programmes under the auspices of the MPNP.
- All voter education programmes should be non-partisan, objective, accurate and explanatory, without in any way impinging upon the voter's rights to freedom of choice and decision.
- All potential voters should have unhindered access to voter education programmes.

EFHPF02B



ADDENDUM E

REPORT FROM ADMINISTRATION TO THE PLANNING COMMITTEE ON THE MEETING OF 21 JUNE 1993

TRADITIONAL LEADERS

The Negotiating Council, in its meeting of 7 May 1993, agreed to the following recommendations of the Planning Committee:

1. The principal of provincial representation should be maintained for the time being, but the problems around the representivity of existing delegations should be addressed in consultation with and a manner acceptable to all concerned. This issue should be discussed in the meeting of the Negotiating Council and, if necessary, be referred back to the Planning Committee.

ABBENDUM F



PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS (P.A.C.) OF AZANIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY

PO BOX 25245 FERREIRASTOWN 2048 TEL (011) 836-0407/42/57 FAX (011) 838-3705

YOUR REF:

OUR REF:

The Chairperson
Planning Committee
Multi Party Negotiating Process

Sir

RE: THE REPLACEMENT OF CDE BENNY ALEXANDER IN THE PLANNING COMMITTEE

The members of the Planning Committee are appointed in their personal capacity with due regard for balanced representavity, which means, representavity of different views.

Cde Alexander has become unavailable for the next few weeks and the Negotiating Process should have completed its preparatory functions by the time of his return.

We are proposing the name of Cde Jaki Seroke, the Political head of the PAC to take his place.

We refer to the precedent set in a Planning Committee replacement with regard to the need for balanced representavity and we request the Planning Committee to formally request the Negotiating Council to approve of the change.

Yours sincerely,

CLARENCE MLAMLI MAKWETU

PRESIDENT CM\mgp

ADDENDUM G

Pne Conservative Party proposes:

That the procedure of the Negotiating Council be altered, to the effect that

- 1. The Negotiating Council give delegates adequate time to discuss and negotiate
 - 1.1 proposals by delegates;
 - 1.2 recommendations by Technical Committees and recommendations by the Commission on the Delimitation of the SPR's;
 - 1.3 All reports, statements and similar documents that come before the Negotiating Council;
- That no report of the Technical Committee or Commission be tabled before the
 preceding report has been exhaustively discussed, and the principles contained therein
 have been adequately considered by the Council.
 - 2.1 That the Planning Committee refrain from rushing the negotiating process to the extent that too little time remains for real negotiation.
 - 2.2 That the Planning Committee create a positive atmosphere for negotiations.
- 3. That the composition of the Planning Committee be altered to the effect that every delegation be granted the right to seat one delegate on the Planning Committee.
- 4. That the Negotiating Council adjourn for at least thirty minutes before discussing any proposals by the Planning Committee.

.....

ADDENDUM H

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS (P.A.C.) OF AZANIA

PAC HEADQUARTERS

PO BOX 25245 FERREIRASTOWN 2048 TEL (011) 836-0407/42/57 FAX (011) 838-3705

CUR REF

29 JUNE 1993

CHIEF ADMINISTRATOR
MULTI PARTY NEGOTIATING FORUM
WORLD TRADE CENTRE
KEMPTON PARK

Re:

APPLICATION FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

As pointed out earlier, in order to enable us to participate fully and effectively, we would need assistance to pay the following staff:-

- (a) 4 delegates to all Negotiating Council meetings;
- (b) One administrator in our office;
- (c) One typist;
- (d) Two security people;
- (e) Two clerks;
- (f) Four experts;
- (g) Communications officer.

We will need these experts to be with us at all times. In fact, one of these experts has been assisting us from the beginning of April 1993 - See copy of letter dated 25th June 1993 we received from one of the experts, Professor Dion Basson.

Furthermore, we were made to understand that the financial assistance will be back-dated from the beginning of April 1993.

Whatever financial assistance you make available to us, we propose that the total available amount should be made payable to the PAC, and the PAC would pay the relevant staff members and experts.

Please let was have your response at your earliest convenience.

WILLIE SERITI

FAXINILER LETTER

TO: MR W SERITI

Legal Secretary

PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA

Fax number: (012) 323 7022

FROM: PROF DION BASSON

Fex number: (012) 486 387

DATE: 25 JUNE 1993

Dear Mr Seriti

I hereby confirm that I have been asked to not as one of the legal and constitutional advisors on the support staff of the PAC to the Multi-Party Negotiating Process since the beginning of April 1993 and in this regard have completed various working documents that were used in the negotiating process. I have also been attending on days of the meetings of the Negotiating Council.

I also confirm that a daily fee of R 1000,00 or any other reasonable fee to be agreed between myself and the PAC will be charged. An hourly fee that seems reasonable will be a fee of R 150,00 per hour.

I do hope that you will find this to be in order.

With kind regards

Sincerely

DION BASSON

I MUDUSOUA



FIRST INTERNATIONAL FIRE ENGINEERING CONFERENCE

ORGANISED FOR THE INSTITUTION OF FIRE ENGINEERS
\$4 BRANCH



AND THE FREPROSECTIONAL SOCCLEOON OF SOUTHERN A FRACE

Our Ref:

: FG 930231

Date:

:4 June 1993

]

The Chief of Administration Multi-Party Negotiation Forum World Trade Centre P.O.Box 307, ISANDO 1600

Attention Dr Eloff

Dear Sir's

UNCONDITIONAL POLITICAL ASSISTANCE TO FIRE GOLD '93,: FIRST INTERNATIONAL FIRE ENGINEERING CONFERENCE AND EXHIBITION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: DURBAN EXHIBITION AND CONVENTION CENTRE: OCTOBER 19 TO 21, 1993.

It is a great pleasure to inform you that the International Committee "Confederation of Fire Associations Conferences" (COFAC) approved to place South Africa on the 1993 slot of the International Conference Calendar. The COFAC committee was established with the view to co-ordinate the Fire Related conferences around the world, in order to guide delegates to the nominated "International conference" of the year.

The Institution of Fire Engineers is a United Kingdom based Institute established in 1918 and Incorporated in Scotland in 1924, with branches in more than 60 countries around the world. The object for which the Association is established is:-

"To promote, encourage, and improve the science and practice of Fire Extinction, Fire Prevention and Engineering and all operations and expedients connected therewith, and to give an impulse to ideas likely to be useful in connection with or in relation to such science and practice to the members of the Institution and to the community at large. In furtherance of the above object and ancillary to it the Association may:-

Enable members to meet and to correspond, and to facilitate the interchange of ideas respecting improvements in the various branches of the said science, and the publication and communication of information on such subjects."

For the purpose of registration the number of members of The Institution is declared unlimited

Such persons as shall be admitted in accordance with the Articles and no others, shall be members of the Institute and be entered on the Register as such, according to their classes.

CONFERENCE SECRETARY, FIRE GOLD '93, P O BOX 50070, WIERDA PARK, 0149, REPUBLIK OF SOUTH AFRICA

AND THE FIRE PROTECTION ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Any person may become a member of the Institute who according to the class in which he is placed, shall be qualified and elected as hereinafter mentioned and shall agree in writing to become such member, and shall pay any entrance fee prescribed and the first subscription accordingly.

A member shall also pay the appropriate entrance fee and subscription upon transferring from one class of member to another class.

The compilation of COFAC is made up out of the following:

- a. The Institution of Fire Engineers with all Branch Member Countries. (IFE)
- b. The Federation of British Fire Organisations (FOBFO)
- c. The Asian Association of Fire Chiefs. (AAFC)
- d. The Japanese Association of Fire Chiefs (JAFC)
- e The International Association of Fire Chiefs of the USA (IAFC)

In view on the International isolation the country has suffered, it has taken many years to convince the International Community that South Africa is worthy to be considered back in the International arena and consent to hold the event in South Africa has only been granted in 1989 in Hong Kong. The Institution of Fire Engineers (South Africa) Branch first had to prove that South Africa has the infra structure to stage such an event.

The criteria for consideration was that the Conference must be close to the Exhibition in order for the delegates to pay a visit to the exhibition during tea- and lunch breaks. The second consideration is that the accommodation to be in close proximity, to allow delegates to walk if preferred and that a safe environment be provided to the International guests. The third and final condition is that the conference be admissible to all races, colour, sex or creed who is interested in the saving of lives and the betterment of the environment.

The present political exposure the media is providing about South Africa, is not very well received in the rest of the world. The views expressed are that the present political situation does not do justice to the profession. We understand the concerns expressed, but would like to emphasise that we see fire engineering as a matter affecting the life safety of every one and therefore a non-political issue. We have been marketing the conference as such, and it will indeed be practised, as an occasion to contribute something positive in the process of solving SA's problems, rather than contributing nothing by boycott actions.

As far as uncertainty regarding the situation in October 1993 is concerned, we believe that in spite whatever the turmoil in SA may or may not be, the strength of the country and the negotiating forum is such that sufficient stability should prevail to enable this envisaged conference to be a success.

The conference and exhibition has been promoted by personal visits to most of the leading countries of the world to date and more than 10 000 personal letters has been sent to International delegates and it has been publicised in more than 60 international magazines world wide.

AND THE FIRE PROTECTION ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Subject to the political climate, we are planning to receive approximately 1500 delegates to the conference and approximately 500 supporting members to the exhibition. It has been calculated that if we receive 1500 persons in total the income to Durban will exceed R1 125 000.00 in hotel accommodation and about the same sum in shopping sales.

The delegate fees are not included in the calculations, as most of it will be absorbed in the planning of the conference, but the total income to South Africa through tourism could exceed the amount of Rm 5.

The organisation Fire Gold '93, for the Institution of Fire Engineers, and the Fire Protection Association of Southern Africa has already spent more than R250 000.00 in the promotion of the event to date.

As it is the first time that South Africa be permitted to stage such an event, and the fact that the International calendar has been completed to the year 2000, we want to make this the most prestigious event ever to be held on this continent. The intention is to show the world that we can take up our rightful place and to be identified as leaders.

We respectfully appeal to the Multi-party Negotiation Forum for its approval in making this event a success for South Africa in agreeing to sign a letter of undertaking to support the event. We would like to forward a copy the letter to all International delegates to indicate to them that the politicians agree that life safety fire engineering is non-political and cares for the interest of all the peoples of South Africa.

A example of the letter of undertaking is attached for your convenience

We are sure that you will agree with us that this is an opportunity we must not allow to slip past us.

We trust that you will give this matter your favourable consideration

Yours faithfully

Col Daniel J. Jordaan Pr Tech (ENG.)
CONFERENCE AND EXHIBITION SECRETARY

Multi-party Negotiating Forum World Trade Centre P.O.Box 307 ISANDO 1600

Dear Sir's

Your faithfully

FIRE GOLD '93, FIRST INTERNATIONAL FIRE ENGINEERING CONFERENCE AND EXHIBITION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: DURBAN EXHIBITION AND CONVENTION CENTRE: OCTOBER 19 TO 21, 1993.

We the undersigned members of the Multi Party Negotiating Forum herewith provide our unconditional support to Fire Gold '93.

We underwrite the Conference and Exhibition to be non-political and undertake within the constraints of the available limitations to provide you a welcome and safe visit to South Africa

We thank you for your consideration to attend Fire Gold '93 in Durban from October 19 to 21.

Signatories of the Multy-Party Forum					

ATIONA

Suita 3609 . Carlton Office Towers . Commissioner Street . Johannesburg . 2001 P.O. Box 62319 • Marshalltown • Tel: (011) 331 5958/9 • Fax: (011) 331 5957

17th June 1993

ATTENTION: MR. THEUNS ELOFF

FAX NO.: 3972211

Dear Mr Eloff

The Women's National Coalition has noted with concern the fact that many far reaching decisions are being made at the Multi-Party Forum which we feel need to be considered as regards its impact on women. The need for scrutiny of such decisions was acknowledged through the appointment of the Gender Advisory Committee at CODESA. The subsequent presence of women delegates in the Negotiating Council and Forum serves a different purpose. We consider it essential that a coordinated response to the issues being discussed, as regarding their impact on women, should be possible.

To achieve this we need to have direct access to the information emanating from the discussions. We therefore request your consideration of the following: -

- 1. that the Women's National Coalition receives all information made available to the Media and /or
 - that the Women's National Coalition appoints a person as an observer to the negotiations to liaise directly with the Women's National Coalition.

It will be greatly appreciated if you could respond favourables to these requests as soon as possible .

Yours sincerely

NORA BOTHA PUTY SECRETARY GENERAL

REVISED PROPOSED SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

21 JUNE 1993

Planning Committee Negotiating Council Negotiating Council Negotiating Council NEGOTIATING FORUM	Monday 21 June 1993 Tuesday 22 June 1993 Wednesday 23 June 1993 Thursday 24 June 1993 Friday 25 June 1993	15h00 - 18h00 09h00 - 18h30 09h00 - 18h30 09h00 - 18h30 10h00 - 18h00
Planning Committee Negotiating Council Negotiating Council Negotiating Council	Monday 28 June 1993 Tuesday 29 June 1993 Wednesday 30 June 1993 Thursday 1 July 1993	14h00 - 18h00 09h00 - 18h30 09h00 - 18h30 09h00 - 18h30
Technical Committees to do detailed work	Monday 5 July 1993 to Tuesday 13 July 1993	
Planning Committee Negotiating Council Negotiating Council	Wednesday 14 July 1993 Thursday 15 July 1993 Friday 16 July 1993	15h00 - 19h00 09h00 - 18h30 09h00 - 18h30
Planning Committee Negotiating Council Negotiating Council	Monday 19 July 1993 Tuesday 20 July 1993 Wednesday 21 July 1993	15h00 - 19h00 09h00 - 18h30 09h00 - 18h30

Please note:

The adjournment times of the Negotiating Council meetings as stated are target times, which will only apply if the agenda has been completed, subject to the final decision of the meeting.

PLANCOMM/DOCUMPNT/SCHED 14 July 1993

REVISED PROPOSED GUIDELINES FOR DEMONSTRATIONS

24 JUNE 1993

1. Background:

The Multi-Party Security Force at the World Trade Centre is an impartial force, aimed at the protection and safety of all parties represented in the Negotiating Process. It exists to assist in maintaining the security of the World Trade Centre and to ensure the safety of all persons within the premises. The South African Police are responsible for safety outside the premises of the World Trade Centre.

2. The Right to Demonstrate:

The Negotiating Council acknowledges the fundamental right of free speech and expression and therefore the right to demonstrate peacefully. The Negotiating Council therefore acknowledges the right of all individuals and groups to express their views with regard to the negotiating process. This is especially true because of the fact that the process should be open and transparent. For these reasons, the Negotiating Council does not support the prohibition or banning of demonstrations but is of the view that they should be managed in accordance with the guidelines set out below, and in consultation with all concerned.

3. Guidelines for Demonstrations:

In the light of the above, the Negotiating Council establishes the following guidelines:

- All demonstrations should take place at the gates of the World Trade Centre. This arrangement is necessary because some demonstrations consist of large numbers and many vehicles/buses may be used and these can not safely be accommodated within the boundaries of the World Trade Centre. Furthermore, parking within the premises is reserved for all persons involved in the Negotiating Process.
- 3.2 Demonstrators should not block the free flow of traffic into the World Trade Centre grounds.
- 3.3 Demonstrators should not stone or damage buildings, vehicles or any other property in the vicinity of the World Trade Centre.
- 3.4 No weapons will be allowed either outside the gates or on the premises of the World Trade Centre.
- 3.5 The Multi-Party security would welcome dialogue between itself and heads of

- demonstrations. Any reasonable request regarding facilities at the gate, will be considered with the view of making conditions at the gate as comfortable/hospitable as possible.
- Multi-Party security should assist leaders of demonstrations in forwarding memoranda through Administration to the relevant people concerned. In this regard, parties whom the demonstrators want to meet, should be notified. If such a party does not want to meet the demonstrators, the memorandum should be received by the Head of Administration, who should ensure that the memorandum is subsequently handed to the relevant party.
- 3.7 By agreement of all the parties, delegations of demonstrators wishing to hand over a memorandum is restricted to three (3) persons who may enter the premises to hand over such a memorandum.
- 3.8 The relevant participants in the Negotiating Council will, when a demonstrating party is connected to such participant or when a substructure of such participant is demonstrating, assist the Administration in ensuring that these guidelines are adhered to and that peace and order is maintained.

AVF/AWB DEMONSTRATION PLANNED FOR 25 JUNE 1993

- 1. Shouldn't we be informed beforehand about the content of the demands so as to anticipate their handling? (See application for authority to hold the demonstration.)
- 2. The AVF would like to address the Council and be given a response:
 - 2.1 Should this be allowed and what will the consequences be for the future if this is allowed?
 - 2.2 What should the Government's role be in this regard?
 - 2.3 What will happen if the AVF is not satisfied with Council's responses?
 - 2.4 What role can the AVF members serving on the Council play in ensuring that there will be no friction tomorrow?
- 3. How many AVF members should be allowed inside the premises in order to hand over the memorandum?
- 4. Who will accept responsibility on the part of the demonstrators for their control and discipline? Should any form of undertaking be entered into?
- 5. Should the demonstrators be allowed into the premises?
- 6. How do we handle the possession of firearms? (N.B.: The latest reaction from the Police.)
- 7. Who will co-ordinate the activities as between the AWB and AVF?
- 8. How do we handle other demonstrations?
- 9. What should be done to ensure that the delegates' access to the World Trade Centre will not be impeded (N.B. identification, etc.)?
- 10. How do we control the traffic flow?
- 11. How do we cope with parking problems?
- 12. Should we call in peace monitors?
- 13. Shouldn't we have a joint discussion with the police, organisers, etc., before Friday?
- 14. Should a revised and shortened version of the "contingency plan" be made available to Council members?
- 15. What views do we have on the latest set of guidelines?

What should World Trade Centre security do to ensure that the Planning Committee is fully briefed at all times?

VERSOEKSKRIF VAN DIE AFRIKANERVOLK

Ons, as verteenwoordigers van die Afrikanervolk, stel hiermee die volgende aan u:

- 1. Ons volk glo:
 - * dat die drie-enige God volkome beskik oor die bestaan en lotgevalle van volke:
 - * dat ons vaders deur Hom na hierdie land gelei is met die doel dat ons volk Hom in hierdie land sal dien;
 - * dat Hy vir ons 'n bestemming beskik het;
 - * dat ons geskiedenis sy seën en tug weerspieël;
 - * dat ons in nederige gehoorsaamheid en verantwoording ons voor hom verootmoedig en voor hom moet buig.
- 2. In die lig van bogenoemde onderneem ons volk:
 - * om God as volkome oppermagtig te erken en Hom uit dankbaarheid vir sy genade te eer en te dien;
 - * om volgens Bybelse eise van sedelikheid te lewe;
 - * om vrede, vryheid en welsyn te bevorder;
 - * om die vaderlandsbodem te bewaar;
 - * om trou en offervaardigheid tussen volksgenote te bevorder:
 - * om vreedsame verhoudings met ander volke na te strewe.
- 3. Maar -- ons volk verwerp:
 - * 'n Onverdeelde eenheidstaat waarin die verskillende volke een nasie onder een owerheid moet word;
 - * ons verwerp enige oorheersing deur 'n vreemde regering of enige staatkundige bestel wat nie voorsiening maak vir die volledige vryheid en selfbeskikking van ons volk in sy eie vaderland nie;
 - * Daarom verwerp ons die bepaling van 'n verkiesingsdatum deur hierdie onderhandelingsliggaam voordat daar ooreengekom is oor die vorm van toekomstige state:
 - * ons verwerp 'n een-mens-een-stem verkiesing in 'n eenheidstaat;
 - * ons verwerp 'n tussentydse oorgangsraad of 'n oorgangsregering;
 - * ons verwerp gesamentlike beheer oor die veiligheidsmagte en die opname van MK en APLA in die SAW en SAP.
- 4. Ons volk eis die reg:
 - * om 'n vrye volk te wees;
 - * om sonder inmenging van buite onsself in ons eie vaderland te regeer;
 - * om sonder inmenging van ander ons eie grondwet op
 te stel en ons eie Volksraad en Regering te kies;
 - * om dan in vrede met ander state saam te werk in 'n konfederasie van state ten einde so 'n magsblok in Suider-Afrika te vorm:
 - * om ons identiteit te bewaar;



* om ons voortbestaan met alle geregverdigde middele te verdedig;

* om ons eie gemeenskapslewe in te rig.

* om in vrede en veiligheid in 'n vaderland van wet en orde te leef;

* om die Kommunistiese rewolusie te stuit en terroristebasisse te vernietig.

5. Omdat die huidige regering geen mandaat het om te doen waarmee hy tans besig is nie:

* eis ons 'n verkiesing of 'n referendum vir al die kiesers van die Volksraad binne realistiese stemgebiede. Dit moet handel oor die vraag of hulle verkies dat hulle stemgebied moet deel vorm van 'n soewereine onafhanklike Afrikanervolksrepubliek of nie:

* ook sodat bewys kan word dat die regering nie namens die Afrikaner kan praat of onderhandel nie.

6. Daarom sê ons:

* Dat sommige ander partye in die onderhandelingsproses duidelik nie die Afrikanervolk se erns met hierdie saak besef nie;

* Ons stel dit onomwonde dat daar geen langtermyn vreedsame oplossing in Suid-Afrika gevind kan word sonder dat die Afrikanervolk se eise geakkommodeer word nie:

* Aangesien ons voor God en medemens oortuig is van die regverdigheid van ons aanspraak op selfbeskikking:

* Sal ons nie rus voordat ons vryheid in ons eie vaderland volkome bevestig is nie;

* Ons roep ons ganse volk op tot die vryheidstryd -om met alle geregverdigde en beskikbare middele ons
vryheidsideaal te verwesenlik;

* Ons sal doen wat nodig is om die vryheid van ons volk in sy eie vaderland te verseker;

* Tot hierdie stryd is ons verbind, as dit nodig is, selfs tot die dood toe - mag God ons daarin in sy groot genade help.

KEMPTONPARK - WERELDHANDELSENTRUM 25/6/93 pm

送茶

BY RURAL COMMUNITIES SEEKING RESTORATION OF THEIR LAND AND TO THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING FROCESS 25/6/37

brunt to the aparthetid land policies, demand our right to the land.

Back to our land! Land for the landless!

We demand that the land of those who were forcibly removed by the apartheid government be returned immediately. This is not a demand for land reform, it is simply a demand for restoration -- for the undoing of one of the worst wrongs of apartheid, for a levelling of the playing field. We demand that we are allowed to return to the graves of our arcestors, as our traditions call us to do. No other land can be compensation for what we have lost.

We demand that the millions of our people who were left landless through the Land Acts and the economic ravages of apartheid be given real access to land. Apartheid has left most of our people without their own land — in the homelands, on the white farms, as tenants and labour tenants. It is not enough to say that they can buy land — apartheid has impoverished people, and we need to be given assistance, as the white farmers have been assisted for so many decades.

We need additional land. Our communities are growing. Even the few who were lucky enough to hang on to a piece of land find that they cannot survive any more, that plots are getting smaller. A new South Africa will not be truly free, unless people are able to purchase additional land. We demand that the services of the Land Bank, the marketing boards, the cooperatives and all other institutions be re-shaped to meet the needs of all South Africa's people, not only a small minority.

Farmworkers and labour tenants must have their rights

Farmworkers have a right to security of tenure, either through ownership or legislative recognition of their rights, on the land which they now occupy, and on which they work.

Provision must be made for famrworkers to have access to ferming land on the farms on which they now work.

In the case of abandoned farms or absentee farmers, farmworkers have the right to remain and work these farms, and receive support to do this. One farm, one farmer! No farmer should be allowed to have more than one farm.

Farmworkers demand a right to be recognised as farmers - themselves, and to have the opportunity to own and work land in a land reform process. We are the ones who actually till the land, who tend the crops, who hard the cattle -- we are farmers!



Termworkers that have been evicted from farms they have been li e on and working for generations are given an opportunity to farm land of their own.

Many farmworkers were members of communities that were forcibly removed in the past. Our right to reclaim land as part of those communities must be recognised.

Women living on farms must have a right to all of the above.

Restoration of land a priority

We demand that the issues of restoration and land reform be addressed urgently. There can be no freedom without land. The multi-party forum needs to commit itself to restoration before a new constitution is drawn up. A land reform policy must be drawn up in consultation and involvement of affected communities and organisations. We call for the formation of a Land Forum in which these issues can be negotiated by the major role-players.

We call for a moratorium on the sale of state land -- End unilateral restructuring!

The De Klerk government must immediately stop all unilateral. restructuring of land matters. We demand a moratorium on the sale of state land. We demand that the government cease setting up unrepresentative advisory structures to deal with land matters. We demand the immediate repeal of legislation allowing for the transfer of state land to the homelands.

This legislation is being bulldozed through the tricameral parliament despite massive opposition from those affected.

We need a Land Claims Court, away with ACLA

The Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (ACLA) is slow, unrepresentative, and toothless. In more than a year of operating, it has given back land to only two rural communities. We need a Land Claims Court which is representative of the people who live on the land. We need a Court that can take decisions.

We need a speedy process -- when we were removed, no one came to us to negotiate the terms in lengthy legal processes -- why can't the process be reversed just as speedily? The government claims it has no money for land redistribution -where did it get the money for forced removals?

Re-occupation is the alternative

The rural people of our land are known for their patience. However, our patience is not endless. If the negotiators do-not address at least the minimum demand of restoration urgently, the only course of action left to our communities is to return to our land. Let them remove us again! We would rather die on our land, than to live away from it! The graves of our ancestors are our title deeds, and we will return. MAYIBUYE!!