

2/4/21/6/10

CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

THEME COMMITTEE 2

STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

**SELF-DETERMINATION/VOLKSTAAT
(BLOCK 5)**

POLITICAL PARTIES SUBMISSIONS

ADDENDUM "A"

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08 August 1995

Mr H.Ebrahim,
Constitutional Assembly,
P.O.Box 15,
Cape Town.

FF SUBMISSION TO THEME COMMITTEE 2

1. Please find attached the FF submission on Self-determination to Theme Committee 2.

Yours truly,

(Senator P.H. Groenewald) Maj-genl (Rtr).
Freedom Front.



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PRELIMINARY FREEDOM FRONT PROPOSAL: THEME COMMITTEE 2 - AFRIKANER SELF-DETERMINATION

JUSTIFICATION FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

1. Several presentations have been made to the Constitutional Assembly regarding the international acceptability of and the justification for Afrikaner self-determination. Some of the important presentations are:

- 1.1 The papers read by prof. A. Venter, prof. John Dugard, prof. A. Raath and dr. T.Maluwa during the in-house workshop on self-determination on 26 June 1995.
- 1.2 The First Interim Report of the Volkstaat Council dated May, 1995 and
- 1.3 The Preliminary Freedom Front Submission on self-determination as presented to Theme Committee 4.
- 1.4 Submissions made to the ANC leadership from time to time.

2. The granting of self-determination to the Afrikaner people should be evaluated from the South African perspective and the Constitutional Assembly should be guided by:

- 2.1 agreements made before the April 1994 elections,
- 2.2 the Interim Constitution,
- 2.3 the submissions made to the ANC by the Freedom Front and
- 2.4 the reports of the Volkstaat Council (VSR). Naturally the FF may not agree with all the recommendations of the VSR.

AGREEMENTS REACHED BEFORE THE APRIL, 1994 ELECTIONS

3. In order to achieve Afrikaner self-determination peacefully, general Viljoen, initially on behalf of the AVF and subsequently as leader of the FF, negotiated the following agreements with the ANC and the NP:

- 3.1 Constitutional Principle XXXIV as incorporated into the Interim Constitution.
- 3.2 the constitutional provisions for the Volkstaat Council (VSR). This was incorporated into the Interim Constitution as Chapter 11A, Section 184A and B.
- 3.3 The Accord of 23 April 1994, attached as Appendix A.

AFRIKANER SELF-DETERMINATION: CONDITIONS

4. The above mentioned agreements stipulate that the following conditions must be met before self-determination could be granted:

- 4.1 “Substantial proven support within the community concerned for such a form of self-determination.” The ANC and the NP agreed that the Provincial vote in the April 1994 elections would determine support for self-determination (Accord of 23 April 1994, subparagraph 4.1). In this election, the FF gained the support of 640 000 voters. It is generally agreed that between 400 000 and

500 000 Afrikaners, mainly supporters of the CP who supported the concept of self-determination, did not participate in the elections. Out of a possible 1 800 000 Afrikaner voters, of which approx. 80% voted, at least 1 million voters supported the concept of a Volkstaat. This is not only "substantial support" but "majority support".

- 4.2 "The principles of democracy, non-racialism and fundamental rights must be adhered to." The FF accepted this condition and it is an integral part of the FF proposal.
- 4.3 "The solution agreed upon must promote peace and national reconciliation." The FF also accepted this condition. The FF is convinced that Afrikaner self-determination is a basic requirement for peace and national reconciliation.

THE UNSIGNED AGREEMENT OF 21 DECEMBER 1993: FINDING A PEACEFUL SOLUTION

5. The ANC and the Afrikaner-Volksfront reached agreement on the way forward on 21 December 1993. Both the ANC and general Viljoen, (on behalf of the Afrikaner-Volksfront) agreed that:

- 5.1 "Both parties *are committed to the development of a non-racial democracy.*"
- 5.2 "Both parties accept that many Afrikaners also have a commitment to the ideal of self-determination in a Volkstaat and that this ideal should be addressed expeditiously, *without delaying the current process of transition.*"
- 5.3 "Both parties reject any political suggestion that would embody racism and failed apartheid policies. The AVF was also unambiguous in its rejection of communism as an acceptable political system."
- 5.4 "Both parties *seek constructive engagement in the political process.*"

- 5.5 "Both parties recognise the danger of serious conflict between members of the respective communities, and the destructive impact such conflict would have on future development and agree that these matters, including the continuing spate of murders of farmers in rural areas, must be addressed collectively as a matter of urgency."
- 5.6 "The AVF, having accepted the ANC's good faith, *has undertaken to actively discourage any action calculated to destabilise the transitional processand to consider participation in the elections as scheduled to be held on 27 April 1994.*"
6. *The FF has not only met every agreement entered into with the ANC and the NP, as stipulated above, but did this in the true spirit of the Accord of 23 April 1994 and the Interim Constitution.*

THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND GUIDELINES FOR THE VOLKSTAAT-COUNCIL

7. In Chapter 4 to the Appendix of the Accord of 23 April 1994, guidelines for the deliberations of the Volkstaat-Council were given. The VSR produced a First Interim Report [May, 1995] but has not completed its mandate. The different modes of self-determination and demands for self-determination on a provincial basis have not yet been fully researched. Thus the FF-proposals lacks these inputs and must be revised once the VSR has progressed with its research to the point where these questions are answered.

COMMITMENTS MADE BY THE ANC AND THE NP

8. The Accord of 23 April 1994, signed by both the ANC and the NP, commits these parties to the following agreements:

- 8.1 "The parties agree to address, through a process of negotiations, the idea of Afrikaner self-determination, including the concept of a Volkstaat." [Agreement 1].
- 8.2 "The parties further agree that in consideration of these matters, they shall not exclude the possibility of local and/or regional and other forms of expression of such self-determination." [Agreement 2].
- 8.3 "Both parties [ANC and AVF] accept that many Afrikaners also have a commitment to the ideal of self-determination in a Volkstaat and that this ideal should be addressed expeditiously." [Unsigned Agreement of 21 December 1993, paragraph. 1.1].
- 8.4 "The ANC, having accepted the bona fides of the AVF, gives its commitment to promote agreements entered into with the AVF." [Unsigned Agreement of 21 December 1993, paragraph. 2.7].

FREEDOM FRONT PROPOSALS FOR AFRIKANER SELF-DETERMINATION

9. Within the framework of the above agreements, the FF proposal is guided by:

- 9.1 the fact that a substantial part of the Afrikaner people is committed to the concept of a Volkstaat and sees it as the only way to protect their identity,
- 9.2 the fact that the Afrikaner people have moved and settled in most parts of South Africa. Thus, there is no single geographic area, limited in size and acceptable to all parties, that can truly conform to the requirements of a Volkstaat in which all the aspirations of Afrikaners could be satisfied. Besides a small geographic area, termed the Volkstaat, institutions and mechanisms must therefor be created in most parts of South Africa in support of Afrikaner cultural interests.

- 9.3 that those Afrikaners outside the Volkstaat should control their cultural and language rights at all three levels of government. This is provided for in the Constitution [Constitutional Principle XI], as well as in the Unsigned Agreement of 21 December 1993 [see paragraph 8.2 above].
10. **Proposal 1: Cultural Self-determination at Local Level.**
- 10.1 Self-determination of a cultural nature must be established as a consequence of elected civic or Community Councils (CC) [Afrikaner- or Burgerrade] at local level. These CC must be the result of voluntary registration of voters within the Afrikaner community. Registration for the Community Councils by voters within the Afrikaner community will also be an indication of support for the concept of Cultural Self-determination.
- 10.2 The CC should be directly elected councils. The most important functions of Community Councils will be to exercise control over:
- 10.2.1 The promotion of cultural matters such as language, own language media, the performing and visual arts, literature, museums, monuments, libraries and other matters of cultural interest.
- 10.2.2 Mother tongue education at all levels.
- 10.2.3 Basic health care, social welfare services and care for the elderly and
- 10.2.4 Community policing.
- 10.3 It is accepted that these CC would supplement Local Authorities which will be responsible for services such as:
- 10.3.1 The supply of Electricity,
- 10.3.2 The supply of water,

10.3.3 Refuse removal, ≡

10.3.4 Roads and local transport.

10.4 The CC should be entitled to an reasonable share of national and local revenue and should have the power to raise additional income from members of that specific community.

10.5 This proposal is in accordance with both Constitutional Principles XXXIV and XI. Constitutional Principle XI stipulates:

“The diversity of language and culture shall be acknowledged and protected, and conditions for their promotion shall be encouraged.”

11. **Proposal 2: Cultural Self-determination at National and Provincial Levels**

11.1 Representation at National and/or Provincial level would be determined by:

11.1.1 The establishment of a geographic territory (the Volkstaat).

11.1.2 The functions and composition of the Senate and

11.1.3 The functions and powers allocated to the Central Government on the one side and the Volkstaat on the other.

11.2 With this in mind, the FF proposes that:

11.2.1 The voters registered on the CC voters rolls, elect one member for each province to represent the Afrikaner community in the Senate.

11.2.2 Other cultural and language groups, as defined by the constitution, should also be given the same

representation if they so desire. This would mean that Traditional Leaders should be represented in the Senate to protect the cultural and language rights of the their community groups and that other cultural and language groups also be given representation; should they so desire. The representation in the Senate could be on a proportional basis. The minimum number of members for a specific bona fide community within a province required in order to be eligible for representation, should be stipulated.

- 11.2.3 Community representation at Provincial level could be considered but in the event of the Volkstaat being established on a territorial basis, provincial representation would not be required.

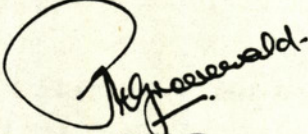
12. **Proposal 3: Territorial Self-determination - The Volkstaat**

- 12.1 The FF accepts the fact that an sovereign Volkstaat cannot be achieved at this stage. Because of the nature of a Volkstaat, a large degree of political autonomy would however, be required.
- 12.2 The creation of a Volkstaat should be seen as a process and this process must be incorporated into the new constitution.
- 12.3 The process should contain the following steps:
- 12.3.1 Step 1. Acceptance of the concept of **territorial self-determination** and agreement on the **process** and the **conditions/requirements** for each successive step. The constitution would have to provide for a constitutional principle that would replace Constitutional Principle XXXIV. This constitutional principle should be formulated in such a way that the relationship thereof with other constitutional principles is clearer. There must be no uncertainty of the fact that the notion of self-determination also includes geographic autonomy.

12.3.2 Step 2. **Negotiating agreement on the initial functions and powers of the Volkstaat Government.** It is accepted by the FF that the Volkstaat will initially be a constituent state and that it would have more or less the same powers as a Province but with the acceptance of the principle that some provinces could have more power than other provinces, i.e. **asymmetric powers.**

12.3.3 Step 3. **Defining the initial boundaries of the Volkstaat.** To define the geographic boundaries of the Volkstaat within the conditions for self-determination, set out in paragraph 4 above, the Afrikaner community would ultimately have to constitute a majority of the population within the Volkstaat. As a result of this requirement, the VSR proposed a geographic area [see page 31 to 35 of the First Interim Report of the VSR - May 1995]. **The VSR has not finalised its report and the proposal on the sensitive issue of boundaries can only be finalised after extensive consultation and negotiations with Provincial Governments and Political Parties.**

12.3.4 Step 4. **Deciding on the ultimate future powers of the Volkstaat and the time frames within which this will be achieved.**


 (Senator P.H. Groenewald) Maj-genl [Rt.]
 Freedom Front, Theme Committee 2.

03 Augusts 1995

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**ACCORD ON AFRIKANER SELF-DETERMINATION
BETWEEN THE FREEDOM FRONT, THE AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN
GOVERNMENT/NATIONAL PARTY**

23 APRIL 1994

TAKING NOTE

of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 200 of 1993 as amended;

and

TAKING NOTE

of the unsigned Memorandum of Agreement between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Afrikaner-Volksfront (AVF), dated December 21, 1993;

and

TAKING NOTE

of Constitutional Principle XXXIV, dealing with the issue of self-determination;

and

SUBSEQUENT

to the discussions between the delegations of the ANC, the AVF, the South African Government and eventually the Freedom Front (FF) -

The parties represented by these delegations record the following agreement:

1. The parties agree to address, through a process of negotiations, the idea of Afrikaner self-determination, including the concept of a Volkstaat.
2. The parties further agree that in the consideration of these matters, they shall not exclude the possibility of local and/or regional and other forms of expression of such self-determination.

3. They agree that their negotiations shall be guided by the need to be consistent with and shall be governed by the requirement to pay due consideration to Constitutional Principle XXXIV, other provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 200 of 1993 as amended, and that the parties take note of the Memorandum of Agreement, as referred to above.

[The Appendix to this Accord contains copies of these documents perused by the delegations.]

- 3.1 Such consideration shall therefore include matters such as:

3.1.1 substantial proven support for the idea of self-determination including the concept of a Volkstaat;

3.1.2 the principles of democracy, non-racialism and fundamental rights; and

3.1.3 the promotion of peace and national reconciliation.

4. The parties further agree that in pursuit of 3.1.1 above, the support for the idea of self-determination in a Volkstaat will be indicated by the electoral support which parties with a specific mandate to pursue the realisation of a Volkstaat, will gain in the forthcoming election.

- 4.1 The parties also agree that, to facilitate the consideration of the idea of a Volkstaat after the elections, such electoral support should be measured not only nationally, but also by counting the provincial votes at the level of:

4.1.1 the electoral district; and

4.1.2 wherever practical the polling stations as indicated by the parties to, and agreed to, by the Independent Electoral Commission.

5. The parties agree that the task of the Volkstaatraad shall be to investigate and report to the Constitutional Assembly and the Commission on the Provincial Government on measures which can give effect to the idea of Afrikaner self-determination, including the concept of the Volkstaat.

6. The parties further agree that the Volkstaatraad shall form such advisory bodies as it may determine.

7. In addition to the issue of self-determination, the parties also undertake to discuss among themselves and reach agreement on matters relating to matters affecting stability in the agricultural sector and the impact of the process of transition on this sector, and also matters of stability, including the issue of indemnity inasmuch as the matter has not been resolved.
8. The parties further agree that they will address all matters of concern to them through negotiations and that this shall not exclude the possibility of international mediation to help resolve such matters as may be in dispute and/or difficult to conclude.
- 8.1 The parties also agree that paragraph 8.0 shall not be read to mean that any of the deliberations of the Constitutional Assembly are subject to international mediation, unless the Constitutional Assembly duly amends the Constitution to enable this to happen.
- 8.2 The parties also affirm that, where this Accord refers to the South African Government, it refers to the South African Government which will rule South Africa until the April 1994-elections.

SIGNED BY:

**GENL CONSTAND VILJOEN
LEADER: FREEDOM FRONT**

**MR THABO MBEKI
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN:
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**

**MR ROELF MEYER
MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT
AND OF COMMUNICATION ON BEHALF OF THE
GOVERNMENT AND THE NATIONAL PARTY**

WITNESSED BY:

PROF ABRAHAM VILJOEN

MR JURGEN KÖGL

April 23, 1994

APPENDIX

Chapter 1

Constitutional Principle XXXIV

1. This Schedule and the recognition therein of the right of the South African people as a whole to self-determination, shall not be construed as precluding, within the framework of the said right, constitutional provision for a notion of the right to self-determination by any community sharing a common cultural and language heritage, whether in a territorial entity within the Republic or in any other recognised way.
2. The Constitution may give expression to any particular form of self-determination provided there is substantial proven support within the community concerned for such a form of self-determination.
3. If a territorial entity referred to in paragraph 1 is established in terms of this Constitution before the new constitutional text is adopted, the new Constitution shall entrench the continuation of such territorial entity, including its structures, powers and functions.

Chapter 2

Chapter 11A: Volkstaat Council

Provision for establishment of a Volkstaat Council

- 184a. (1) The establishment of a Volkstaat Council is hereby authorised.
- (2) The Council shall consist of 20 members elected by members of Parliament who support the establishment of a Volkstaat for those who want it.
- (3) The Council shall conduct its affairs according to rules made by the Council.

Functions of Council

- 184(b) (1) The Council shall serve as a constitutional mechanism to enable proponents of the idea of a Volkstaat to constitutionally pursue the establishment of such a Volkstaat, and shall for this purpose be competent -

- (a) to gather, process and make available information with regard to possible boundaries, powers and functions and legislative, executive and other structures of such a Volkstaat, its suggested constitutional relationship with government at national and provincial level, and any other matter directly relevant to the establishment of such a Volkstaat;
 - (b) to make feasibility and other relevant studies with regard to the matters referred to in paragraph (a);
 - (c) to submit representations and recommendations to the Constitutional Assembly and the Commission on Provincial Government with regard to the possible establishment of a Volkstaat and any matter in connection therewith; and
 - (d) to perform such other functions as may be prescribed by any Act of Parliament.
- (2) The procedures to be followed by the Council in the performance of its functions under subsection (1), shall be prescribed by an Act of Parliament.
- (3) The procedures provided for in this Constitution with regard to the finalisation of provincial boundaries, shall not be construed as precluding the establishment of such a Volkstaat, and in the event of the acceptance of the concept of a Volkstaat, alternative provision shall be made by an Act of Parliament for the finalisation of the boundaries of any affected province or provinces.

Chapter 3

(UNSIGNED - 21 DECEMBER 1993)

**Memorandum of Agreement between
the African National Congress
and the Afrikaner-Volksfront**

The delegations of the African National Congress and the Afrikaner-Volksfront have met on numerous occasions to discuss matters arising from the political transition in South Africa.

1. **These discussions have resulted in the following agreements of understanding:**
 - 1.1 Both parties are committed to the development of a non-racial democracy. They both accept that many Afrikaners also have a commitment to the ideal of self-determination

in a Volkstaat and that this ideal should be addressed expeditiously, without delaying the current process of transition. ≡

Both parties reject any political suggestions which would embody racism and failed apartheid policies.

Proceeding from its perception of the balance of political forces, the AVF has been unambiguous in its rejection of communism as an acceptable political system.

- 1.2 Both parties believe that the objectives stated above are attainable, and that a suitable political solution can be found through a process of negotiations. The formulation of this solution demands commitment founded on a new vision for the future South Africa, supported by its leadership. Both parties seek constructive engagement in the constitutional process. This is a crucial commitment which will help in addressing the entrenched mistrust and antagonism which exists between the supporters of the Afrikaner-Volksfront and the African National Congress.
- 1.3 Both parties recognise the danger of serious conflict between members of their respective constituencies, and the destructive impact such conflict would have on the future development and property of South Africa. Furthermore, both parties have expressed their concern about the unstable social and political environment in the country, the unacceptable levels of political violence in particular regions, and the levels of crime and general crisis in the maintenance of law and order. All these matters, including the continuing spate of murders of farmers in rural areas, must be addressed collectively as a matter of urgency.
- 1.4 Though the two parties do not share a common position on the proposed schedule for the transitional process they have agreed that a strategic agreement, addressing matters of mutual concern, ought to be entered into. This will facilitate the implementation of the transitional process and the conduct of the elections on 27 April 1994.
2. Therefore, given the above mentioned concerns and considerations, the following agreements are now registered:
 - 2.1 South Africa should be the home to all its inhabitants who share a common future, based on peaceful coexistence, economic interdependence and constitutional governance.
 - 2.2 The two parties are determined to find an acceptable and sustainable accommodation

for all in South Africa, bearing in mind the aspiration of the two parties, their constituencies, and other political formations in the country.

- 2.3 Recognising the role both parties can play in restoring peace and stability, they have agreed on the need to establish an inclusive security system as determined by the working group. The purpose of this will be to address all matters of security and stability. They further agree that similar structures could be established for agriculture and other relevant groupings.
- 2.4 They agree that the aspiration of many Afrikaners to govern themselves in their own territory should be addressed. Accordingly they agreed that a joint working group be established for this purpose, bearing in mind the call made by Dr Mandela, Dr Hartzenberg and General Viljoen for a solution which entrenches reconciliation, prevents conflict, and facilitates cooperation among all people. This working group should complete its task and report back to its principals by 20 January 1994.

The working group should examine, among others, the following issues:

- financial and economic viability of such a region and its monetary and fiscal relationship to the rest of the country;
- civil rights of Afrikaners outside the Volkstaat;
- civil rights of non-Afrikaners inside the Volkstaat;
- the nature of the relationship between the Volkstaat and other local, regional and central government/administrative structures;
- the timetable and process of establishing such a Volkstaat in the light of the existing transitional process; and
- the method of determining support on a geographical basis for the idea of a Volkstaat.

Matters of mutual concern should be discussed and addressed in detail for the purpose of formulating recommendations and solutions.

- 2.5 The parties agreed, as part of this process, to send a joint delegation to Switzerland and Belgium to study how the political systems of these two countries work, and to determine whether aspects of these systems may be helpful in the resolution of the South African conflict.
- 2.6 The AVF, having accepted the ANC's good faith, has undertaken to actively discourage any action calculated to destabilise the transitional process. The culmination of this strategic agreement into a final settlement before end January 1994

will enable the AVF and its affiliates to consider participation in the transitional structures and process, as well as in the elections as scheduled to be held on 27 April 1994.

- 2.7 The ANC, having accepted the bona fides of the AVF, gives its commitment to promote agreements entered into with the AVF, including such constitutional and legislative agreements which may be required for their implementation.
- 2.8 Should any party to this agreement at any stage consider the whole or the specifics of the agreement to have been violated, an attempt at mutual conciliation will be made through the facilitators of the process before any unilateral action is taken.
- 2.9 It was decided that a meeting at leadership level will be convened as soon as possible with the view to:
- ratification of this agreement;
 - deciding on the time frame for the above proposed actions, and on a way of achieving legitimacy;
 - mandating and monitoring the task of the proposed working committee;
 - public release of the strategic agreement; and
 - deciding on ways of marketing these agreements, and publicly confirming all undertakings.

Chapter 4

Guidelines for the deliberations of the Volkstaat Council

The following guidelines for the deliberations of the Volkstaat Council were discussed by the delegations:

Self-determination:

The investigation of the different modes of self-determination and the concept of a Volkstaat. This investigation will be reported to the Constitutional Assembly and the Commission on Provincial Government, including manners in which effect can be given to the different modes of self-determination.

The accommodation of demands for self-determination on a provincial basis, through

sub-regional structures within a province as now sanctioned by the amendments to section 160(3) of the constitution, should also be explored.

Proposals for self-determination of local communities through community councils or structures modelled along the lines of similar structures and processes in other parts of the world could be considered.

Citizenship:

Any form of derived citizenship intended for persons residing in a possible Volkstaat will not be racially based and shall be compatible with internationally accepted norms.

Advisory Bodies:

A national advisory body attached to the Volkstaat Council and constituted by twenty five representatives elected by local communities in the different provinces, supporting the ideal of self-determination in a Volkstaat, could be established. In the event of the realisation of a concept of the Volkstaat, this body will represent the respective communities within the Volksraad of such a Volkstaat.

Chapter 5

Unmandated defining statement on the principle of self-determination

With reference to the central concept of self-determination used in the

Memorandum of Agreements
Constitutional Principle XXXIV
and the Accord

the delegations at this stage suffice with the following defining statement, although unmandated:

1. The concept shall in no way be construed as to give support to those fatal racist ideologies of the twentieth century that was based on chauvinistic excessive escalation of identities or even ethnocentrism which bred discrimination, racism and prejudices which on their part brought war, misery and death to many.

Legitimate self-determination instead should be consonant with and indeed flows from the concept of fundamental rights and the constitutional state.

2. The concept of self-determination we therefore could endorse is the universally accepted one that has been expressed in the Charter of the United Nations which serves the purpose of peaceful co-operation between peoples on the basis of mutual respect and recognition of fundamental freedom and basic human rights for all.
3. The legitimate concept of self-determination to us relates to the expressed desire of a substantial community or a people, who has attained through the prolonged experience of a common history, language, culture and often also of land, a sense of cohesion and belonging that universally constitutes the sense of nationhood.

The concept therefore relates to the need expressed by such a community or people to determine its own destiny and to exercise the right to decide policy and practise with regard to political, constitutional, economic, social, religious and educational matters in a way that is consistent with the peculiar expectations and value systems of such a people.

4. We have assumed that the desire for the exercise of self-determination with such a people must be a popular demand beyond reasonable doubt, a fact which may require substantial proven support through an agreed democratic process.
5. Self-determination within a complex pluralistic society based on inclusive democracy has to be negotiated and implemented with due regard to the rights of other citizens sharing the same territory on a permanent basis. Wider democratic processes must also be recognised.

A balance should be negotiated between the desire of such a people for self-determination and the ideal of peaceful well-being of the larger whole of society.

Self-determination will serve the purpose of building the state and not cause the dislocation of the state. It should facilitate peace and not cause conflict.

6. At the same time self-determination for a people constituting a minority should be considered with due regard to and in full recognition of the legitimate expressed expectations of such a people so as to avoid a type of majority domination that may in itself cause conflict or even the disintegration of the state.
7. In our considerations we have recognised various modes of self-determination. It may

involve the negotiation of a territorial entity which may have various degrees of autonomy. This may be augmented by constitutional devices securing various degrees of autonomy over the specific affairs of that community at one or more of the levels of government. We have agreed that the principle of self-determination could be negotiated and applied to suit the demands of each unique situation.

8. The introduction of any form of self-determination through negotiations will need to be accompanied by extensive public information and a raised level of trust.