

MCH 91-74-3-10

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BASIC POLITICAL VALUES FOR THE SURVIVAL OF THE AFRIKANER.

I. INTRODUCTION.

1.1. The aim of this memorandum is to discuss briefly the most important basic values of the Afrikaner. Such values will be decisive for a political model, while it would, by implication, exclude certain other models. The aim of the memorandum is not to discuss political models or the strategy that would lead to an acceptable model, although the desirability of orderly and peaceful movement towards a new political system is obviously recognised.

Proposals for the future political model can therefore be tested in terms of the conditions set out below:

1.2. The conditions must also be regarded as the most basic ones without which the Afrikaner cannot survive as Afrikaner. There will always be aspects which may be desirable and preferable but not necessarily essential for the meaningful future existence of the Afrikaner or the white man. We must guard against endangering the future of the Afrikaner as such by

over-accentuating preferences and desirable aspects. A healthy well-balanced realism is required.

1.3. The survival of the Afrikaner is coupled with the survival of the white man and therefore many of these conditions are also applicable to the survival of the white man.

2. GENERAL AIMS AS BASIC CONDITIONS:

2.1. The following aims must be seen as prerequisites for further political conditions, and are therefore also basic conditions for the survival of the Afrikaner. They include the following:

- to maintain the independence of the Judiciary and equality before the law;
- to maintain law and order;
- to maintain Christian values and civilised standards, while recognising and protecting the freedom of religion and worship;
- to improve the happiness and spiritual and material prosperity of all;
- to respect and protect human dignity, life and property of all;
- to respect, enhance and protect the self-determination of population groups.

2.3. The following prerequisites for survival are supplementary to the above:

- the recognition and protection of language and cultural rights;
- private ownership;

freedom of conscience;

- freedom of speech and the statement of opinions.

These requirements are valid in respect of all population groups and can therefore be described as basic human rights and receive a legally binding form.

2-4- The above national aims and prerequisites which are also fair and just, are accepted as basic conditions for the survival of the Afrikaner. Should there be no other impediments, such a system, or process which can realise such a system, should be generally acceptable.

2.5. The political implications of the above, against the background of the prerequisite of non- domination by one group (which will be discussed later) are that, in terms of new processes, it must not be possible to change this without the approval of the majority of whites. It is true that some of the above conditions are Western Christian standards which are not necessarily acceptable for all other people in the country. Should they wish to deviate from these, this must take place within their group affiliation (Compare 1.8.7.)

2.6. Separate residential areas are presently desirable in the light of law and order. Subjective emotions can become such a hard reality that by ignoring it, the order can be disrupted. Therefore it is possible that in future this will become a necessity without it becoming a condition as such for survival of the Afrikaner.

2.7. Culture-orientated mother-tongue education in own schools with a Christian character is to the Afrikaner, a prerequisite for

is meaningful future existence.

2.8. It is necessary in order to prevent later confusion, to emphasise certain aspects regarding the above conditions. Everyone must interpret the terminology in the same way.

2.8.1. Apart from the necessity that these prerequisites apply to all population groups and individuals, it must be borne in mind that group interests may cross over colour barriers. An example here is language rights. The use and enhancement of and the education through the medium of Afrikaans is e.g. not only the right of and in the interests of the Afrikaner (it certainly is not in the interests of all whites) but in the interests of all persons who use Afrikaans as mother tongue.

2.8.2. Although language and cultural rights of groups are of cardinal importance, the borders are not so strongly defined that this must be applied in the development of all structures. The constitution, in defining "own affairs" (decision-making re matters which are of interest only to a certain group, by that group) accentuates the fact that they hold this right because of the acknowledgement of the general situation. Therefore the constitution also refers to own affairs which can be decided on "subject to general legislation and general policy"; and also that no affair, should one group decide on it and this decision in fact affects the interests of other groups, can be classified as own affairs. There must therefore be consciously guarded against interpreting language and cultural rights (within context of own affairs) so broadly that exclusive white control over matters which also affect other groups, are not retained in the new processes. It is therefore also important that we must not play off own affairs against general affairs.

2.8.3. The best methods whereby rights can be maintained, is an assurance of non-interference by the government. Should a certain organisation therefore wish to remain "white" the government must not force it to change its requirements. The accepted principle of devolution of power specifies that certain decisions must be taken at the lowest level possible and as close to those people who will be affected by them as possible.

2.8.4. Whereas private ownership is an important prerequisite for the survival of the Afrikaner and the white man, it may not be as important for blacks, in the light of their particular values and traditions. Private ownership also involves the private ownership of factories, commercial undertakings, financial institutions, etc. and implies that markets are used in order to take important economic decisions (As opposed to a socialist system where the state owns the property and also makes the economic decisions) Blacks are also in general antagonistic regarding markets since they believe that markets and the capitalist system have in the past treated them unjustly.

The present political dispensation has restricted property ownership for blacks in traditional white areas, and this is seen by them as too much land in the hands of whites. There were however also restrictions on ownership by whites in black areas.

This will remain a controversial matter in the future, but an effort must be made to win support for the concepts of private initiative and the creation of wealth.

2.8.5. The prerequisite of an independent judiciary, also implies an independent and fair legal process.

2.8.6. By the concept self-determination is also understood that

may not be to the detriment of other groups. In future self-determination can not command the totality of the existence of a population group or nation, but we must instead strive for the greatest degree of self-determination regarding the affairs of a certain group, as defined in the document.

2.8.7. While outlining these prerequisites of whites and the Afrikaner, it is a condition for survival that these prerequisites also apply for other groups and individuals, and must as far as possible be realised in cases where they do not exist (except when there is decided against this within group context). The abolition of statutory discriminatory measures must not be seen as concessions but as a prerequisite for survival.

3. PRINCIPLES AS POLITICAL CONDITIONS.

3.1. The existence of a variety of groups and sub-groups within the geographical area of the Republic of SA is recognised by means of the following: freedom of association, including the right to associate and the right not to associate, is relevant. It therefore also recognises the forming of "open" groups.

Ethnicity is of importance and certainly a reality regarding the identification of minority groups and communities, but this does not imply the absoluteness of group rights.

3.2. A Christian test for government is found in the extent to which it governs in the general interests of all its subjects.

It may not favour some to the detriment of others. It must govern fairly and justly in respect of all its subjects. The constitution as such must comply with the demand for justice.

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3. Furthermore, the exclusion of effective black sharing in political processes at the highest level, is a threat to the survival of the white man, which cannot be countered by maintaining the status quo or by a further consolidation of power in white hands.

3.4. It is therefore essential that all citizens of the state participate effectively in the legislative process as well as in the process whereby the government is put into power. This may involve processes whereby representatives are elected directly or by an electoral college or by some other procedure. A government which is elected by only one section of the community, will be biased in favour of that section. This is unacceptable for the white man and the Afrikaner and for all other population groups.

3.5. An overhead political goal and thus also one of the most important political prerequisites, must aim for the effective participation of all, individuals and within group context, in the political process.

3.6. This means participation on all levels of decision-making and in all processes which affect their interests.

3.7. This means that everyone must be able to serve on the highest legislative and executive levels, whatever the future political system may be. This can also in fact mean that in some models the head of government does not necessarily have to be white (as is presently not excluded) but the post must be defined and the executive power restricted in such a way that the power that this post entails will not be applied in such a way that one group dominates the others.

3.8. The above-mentioned participation, and therefore also

sharing, must however be such that there can be no group domination, that one group does not dominate the others. The rights and aspirations of groups must be protected and satisfied.

3.9. This means that there can no longer be a white government. There can however not be a black e.g. Zulu government either. The majority of the government members will indeed be black, but the system and procedure operated in such a way that all the groups can participate effectively and not be dominated by one group.

The status quo can therefore not continue to exist, but can also not be simply reversed so that white control is replaced by black control.

4. IN CONCLUSION.

4.1. There are various mechanisms which can be applied in models or structures in order to comply with the above-mentioned requirements or conditions. Examples are:

- Decentralisation of decision-making and devolution of power;

- Regional government or state governments;

- Separated autonomy or own affairs;

- Fractionality and over-representation of minorities;

- Consensus decision-making;

- Separation of powers in the government structure (legislature
in executive).

2. There are however also systems which cannot comply with the requirements and conditions and which are unacceptable to the Afrikaner :

- The status quo or any system where groups are dominated by one specific group;

- Concealed majority domination, e.g. one man one vote in a unitary system, or "winner takes all;"

- A socialist dictatorship which does not recognise individual responsibility and opportunities;

- A military dictatorship;

- Total geographical separation or racial partition;

- Loaded or qualified franchise for individuals with the intention to conceal power and domination.

4.3. A test which we should set for the acceptability of a system must always be : What will be in our interests in the event that we end up in the opposition seat? Furthermore, we must also realise that humanly speaking there simply are no guarantees. We must think in terms of probabilities, of calculated risks. The greatest risk that we are taking today is not taking any risks. The will to survive as Afrikaner and our faith and energy will serve as our greatest guarantee.

4.4. Should the Afrikaner not succeed through its own creative power to bring about negotiated structures which are strong and flexible enough to accommodate the conflicting powers in the

entry, it is inevitable that structures will be forced upon him, which he has no share at all. This will make self-determination impossible.

4.5. It is essential that representatives of various power groups participate in the formation of a new constitution. An attempt must be made to convince as wide a variety of groups as possible to participate. This includes groups which through their non-participation or exclusion can cause a new constitution to fail even though they may comply with the prerequisite of rejection of violence. The acceptability of such a new dispensation for the majority of SA's citizens, and therefore also for the majority of Afrikaners is one of the most important prerequisites for its survival.