

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

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.

SIGNED ON 21 DECEMBER 1993 IN JOHANNESBURG

.....
General C Viljoen
(leader of AVF delegation)

.....
Mr J Zuma
(for the ANC delegation)

- 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.

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 prosperity 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 aspirations 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 national government structures;