

# **AGENDA AND DOCUMENTATION**

**for the meeting of the**

## **PLANNING COMMITTEE**

**to be held at 12H00 on Monday**

**28 JUNE 1993**

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**DRAFT AGENDA FOR THE MEETING OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE  
TO BE HELD AT 12H00 ON MONDAY 28 JUNE 1993 AT  
THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE**

**Chairperson : RP Meyer**

1. **Moment of Prayer/Meditation**
2. **Welcome and Attendance**
3. **Ratification of Agenda**
4. **Minutes**
  - 4.1 Minutes of the meeting of:
    - 4.1.1 14 June 1993 (Addendum A1)
    - 4.1.2 15 June 1993 (Addendum A2)
    - 4.1.3 17 June 1993 (Addendum A3)
    - 4.1.4 18 June 1993 (Addendum A4)
  - 4.2 Matters arising out of the minutes of:
    - 4.2.1 14 June 1993
    - 4.2.2 15 June 1993
    - 4.2.3 17 June 1993
    - 4.2.4 18 June 1993
5. **Substantive Issues**
  - 5.1 Structuring and order of the discussion of Reports from Technical Committees in the Negotiating Council this week:
    - 5.1.1 Violence
    - 5.1.2 Constitutional Issues
    - 5.1.3 Fundamental Human Rights during the Transition
    - 5.1.4 Amendment or Repeal of Legislation Impeding Free Political Activity and Discriminatory Legislation
    - 5.1.5 Independent Election Commission
    - 5.1.6 Independent Media Commission
    - 5.1.7 TEC and its Sub-Councils
  - 5.2 Commission of Enquiry into the Attack on the Negotiating Process
  - 5.3 Voter Education (Addendum C)
6. **Procedural Issues**
  - 6.1 New Participants
    - 6.1.1 Avstig: letter (Addendum D)
    - 6.1.2 ADM letter (Addendum E)

- 6.1.3 Sofasonke Party (Addendum F1)
- 6.1.4 Free Cape Movement (Addendum F2)
- 6.2 Letter from Technical Committee on the IEC (Addendum G)
- 6.3 Letter of resignation from F Cachalia, Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues (Addendum H)
- 6.4 Role of the International Community (report for the Forum)
- 6.5 Composition of the Planning Committee

**7. Administrative and Financial Matters**

- 7.1 Financial Issues:
  - 7.1.1 Financial Report (Addendum I)
  - 7.1.2 Application for per diem allowance for delegates: Cape Traditional leaders (Addendum J)
- 7.2 Administrative issues:
  - 7.2.1 Logistics for the Forum
  - 7.2.2 Meeting with Co-Chairs of Communication Committee on Code of Conduct for the Media (Sub-committee)
- 7.3 Correspondence:
  - 7.3.1 Centre for the Development of Information and Telecommunications Policy (Addendum K)
  - 7.3.2 Memorandum from the PAC Campaigns Committee (Addendum L)
  - 7.3.3 Memorandum from the Afrikaner Volksfront (Addendum M)
  - 7.3.4 Memorandum from the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Addendum N)
- 7.4 Correspondence to be noted:
  - 7.4.1 Letter from FT Mdlalose (Addendum O)
  - 7.4.2 Letter from the Methodist Church of Southern Africa (Addendum P)
  - 7.4.3 Letter from the Christian Association of the Post Office (Addendum Q)

**8. Report to and Agenda of Negotiating Council**

**9. Meetings Schedule (Addendum R)**

**10. Closure**



THESE DRAFT MINUTES ARE CONFIDENTIAL AND RESTRICTED TO MEMBERS OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE AND THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL. THEY ARE STILL TO BE RATIFIED AT THE NEXT MEETING OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE.

**DRAFT MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE HELD ON MONDAY 14 JUNE 1993 AT 14H00 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE**

**PRESENT:** B Alexander  
R Cronje (Chairperson by rotation)  
C Eglin  
PJ Gordhan  
FT Mdlalose  
RP Meyer  
MC Ramaphosa  
J Slovo  
Z Titus  
M Webb

MJ Mahlangu (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 B Alexander requested to be excused from chairing this meeting. This was agreed to and R Cronje, therefore, assumed the role of Chairperson. It was noted that B Alexander would chair the next meeting of the Planning Committee.

2.3 Congratulations were extended to R Meyer and C Ramaphosa on the awards they received in the United States of America.

### 3. Ratification of Agenda

The agenda was agreed to with no amendments.

### 4. Minutes

4.1 The minutes of the meeting of 25 May 1993 were adopted with the following amendment:

- \* Item 5.8.1.2 refers, the first sentence to read "After discussion it was agreed to accept the Terms of Reference as amended."

4.2 The minutes of the meeting of 28 May 1993 were adopted with no amendments.

4.3 The minutes of the meeting of 1 June 1993 were adopted with the following amendment:

- \* Item 6.3.3 to read "It was agreed that the Sub-Committee interview representatives of Avstig and the African Democratic Movement and submit a recommendation to the Planning Committee."

4.4 No matters arising were noted out of the minutes of 25 May, 28 May and 1 June 1993.

4.5 The minutes of 3 June were noted and would be dealt with at the meeting of the Planning Committee on Monday 21 June 1993.

### 5. Substantive Issues

#### 5.1 SA Government/PAC Report Back:

5.1.1 R Meyer distributed a motion (see Addendum A) and gave notice that the South African Government intended to formally table the motion with the Negotiating Council. R Meyer also gave a reportback on the bi-laterals held with the PAC.

5.1.2 B Alexander distributed a document (see Addendum B) that the PAC would be tabling at the Negotiating Council as the reportback from the PAC on the bi-laterals held with the SA Government.

5.1.3 In an attempt to reconcile the differences between the two participants, it was agreed that the current Planning Committee Chairperson, R Cronje, hold a meeting with B Alexander and R Meyer and report back to the Planning Committee later on.



5.1.4 After the tea break, R Cronje reported back to the Planning Committee and the following was noted:

- \* It was agreed that B Alexander would present proof of the SA Governments involvement in violence against the PAC by Tuesday 15 June 1993 at 16h00;
- \* R Meyer agreed that if such proof was presented, this would be investigated by an independent body and that the results thereof, if any, would be dealt with in the appropriate way.

5.1.5 It was agreed that this item stand down at least until 16h00 on Tuesday 15 June when the evidence could be evaluated and then placed on the agenda of the Negotiating Council.

5.1.6 It was agreed that a possible way to handle this issue constructively was to draft a carefully worded declaration to which all participants in the negotiating process would be signatories. This declaration would commit/recommit all participants cease any form of hostilities/armed struggle/violence from the date that the declaration is signed in the Negotiating Council.

5.1.7 It was agreed to mandate C Eglin, PJ Gordhan and the Sub-Committee to prepare a draft for the Planning Committee to consider. It was agreed that for the declaration to be effective it would have to be supported by both B Alexander and R Meyer.

## **5.2 Structuring and order of the discussion of Report from Technical Committees in the Negotiating Council:**

5.2.1 The Sub-Committee gave a reportback on the progress of the Technical Committees.

5.2.2 After discussion the following was noted:

- 5.2.2.1 That under "Constitutional Issues", the Constitutional Principles relating to regions and the outstanding General Constitutional Principles be dealt with; Other Constitutional Issues would then be dealt with later on in the week;
- 5.2.2.2 That the completion of this discussion could facilitate the further discussion on the Election Date;
- 5.2.2.3 That under "Violence" the proposed draft resolution be dealt with;



- 5.2.2.4 That the Technical Committees on the Independent Electoral Commission, the Independent Media Commission and TEC and its Sub-Councils require feedback from the Negotiating Council to proceed with their work;
- 5.2.2.5 That if the Negotiating Council did agree in principle on the need for the IEC, IMC and the TEC, a discussion on the powers could follow;
- 5.2.2.6 That a request by the Technical Committee on the Independent Media Commission for more time to be allowed for submissions on and the drafting of the Broadcast Authority Bill was agreed to.

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

- 5.3.1 A brief progress report was given by the Sub-Committee.
- 5.3.2 It was noted that H Ngobese was unable to accept her appointment on the Commission and therefore it was agreed to recommend to the Negotiating Council that the Commission be composed of 15 members as is (including the newly appointed B Molefe) and get confirmation of this recommendation from the Negotiating Council.
- 5.3.3 A progress report should be given to the Negotiating Council and the media statement as released by the Commission distributed in the meeting.

**5.4 Election Date:**

- 5.4.1 Concerns about the way in which the principle of sufficient consensus was applied, were expressed. It was noted that this would probably arise in the meeting of the Negotiating Council on Tuesday 15 June as well.
- 5.4.2 Concerns were also expressed about the different understandings/perceptions of the Standing Rules.
- 5.4.3 It was noted that the resolution itself had provided for the reopening of the debate at the Negotiating Council meeting of 15 June 1993 in an attempt to maximise consensus for the resolution, for a recommendation to be made to the Negotiating Forum Meeting of 25 June 1993.
- 5.4.4 It was agreed that the Election Date should be dealt with immediately after the afternoon tea break, as this would allow time for sufficient

discussion on the issue. This should be announced at the start of the meeting of the Negotiating Council.

**6. Agenda of the Negotiating Council**

The Agenda as amended was agreed to (see Addendum C).

**7. Procedural Issues**

**7.1 Media Arrangements:**

There were no new arrangements to report.

**7.2 New Participants:**

**7.2.2 Report on Participation:**

7.2.2.1 It was noted that the ADM and Avstig are still to be interviewed by the Sub-Committee, who would then report back to the Planning Committee on the outcome.

7.2.2.2 It was agreed that this report should be put before the Negotiating Council as a matter of priority.

**7.2.3 Natal Traditional Leaders:**

There was no progress report in this regard.

**7.3 Matters arising from the meeting of the Negotiating Council of 1 June 1993:**

7.3.1 Item 5.2.9.9 of the minutes refers : It was agreed that this issue had been dealt with (see Item 5.2.2.1 above).

7.3.2 Item 5.2.9.12 of the minutes refers : It was agreed that this item had been dealt with by the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues in their First Supplementary Report on Constitutional Principles.

7.3.3 Item 5.4.4 of the minutes refers : It was agreed to recommend that, as the Technical Committee on Violence had completed a substantial amount of work so far, the composition remains as is.

7.3.4 Item 7.1.3 of the minutes refers : It was agreed that:

\* Demonstrators should not be armed; and

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\* Placards inciting violence should not be permitted.

**7.4 Correspondence to be noted:**

The correspondence to be noted was noted.

**8. Administrative and Financial Matters**

7.1 It was agreed that from this day onwards, the media should receive their documentation at no cost.

7.2 The letter from Advocate Olivier was referred to. It was agreed that Dr Eloff should have a discussion with him on behalf of the Planning Committee.

7.3 It was agreed that the Technical Committees should determine their own meeting schedule, if any, for 16 June 1993, but that the Planning Committee did not expect them to work on this important day.

**8. Meetings Schedule**

The meetings schedule remained the same.

**9. Closure**

The meeting was closed at 17h40.



**MOTION**  
**BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT**

1. In discussions with the PAC, the following have emerged:
  - The PAC decides on whether APLA engages in armed action. According to the PAC APLA has freedom of operational activity.
  - The PAC is committed to armed action as an instrument to pursue their political objectives.
  - In the process the PAC specifically sanctions the killing of policemen, of white people living on farms and of white civilians engaged in peaceful social affairs. In the execution of this policy the killing is not done in situations where one armed force engages another in battle, but where policemen (and their families) are assassinated, where trained armed men steal up on white families living in isolation and kill them in cold blood, and where trained armed men indiscriminately kill unarmed civilians meeting socially.
  - Despite extensive discussions on this issue, the PAC refuses to end or suspend or place a moratorium on these actions.
2. These atrocities and the PAC's refusal to stop them, bring the following to the fore:
  - People are killed in cold blood, causing suffering and grief.
  - Such actions alienate citizens from the peaceful negotiating process.
  - These killings and accompanying pronouncements create anger in the victim communities and are bound to lead to violent reaction with all the potential for massive disaster that that entails.
  - These killings are not ordinary criminal actions in which there is some or other overt linkage between the perpetrator and the victim. It is therefore very difficult for law enforcement agencies to

apprehend the perpetrators or to protect potential victims. The potential of unlawful retaliation from the victim communities is therefore enhanced.

- The democratic negotiating process does not provide for undemocratic methods. Of all the parties participating in this process, it is only the PAC who adhere to a policy of violent political action. This endangers the whole process, not only by what they say and do, but also by the potential reactions.
3. During the discussions between the Government and the PAC to resolve the matter, the Government failed to persuade the PAC to either stop or suspend their policy of violence. Different avenues were explored, but all failed. The PAC proposes negotiating the cessation of hostilities at a neutral venue (outside the country). The Government is not engaged in hostilities against the PAC and has offered to say so again. Against that the PAC could then also say that it suspends hostilities and we could go on to discuss ways and means of ensuring that no violent hostile acts occur. This proposal was rejected by the PAC. It then argued that MK, the KwaZulu Police, the armed forces of Transkei and other such formations should also become involved in the negotiation of a cessation of hostilities. As far as we are aware, none of these formations operate under a policy of violent actions against civilians or political opponents.
  4. We, the South African Government, cannot enter into agreements with the PAC while it adheres to its policy of political violence.
  5. Against this background, all participants in this process are called upon to assist in the resolution of this threat to the democratic negotiating process by supporting the following resolution:

**"RECOGNISING** that a democratic negotiating process cannot accommodate the use of violence to further political aims;

**AWARE** of the dangers for our society inherent in a policy of violent political actions against opponents and civilians;



**ACKNOWLEDGING** that no party committed to political violence should be allowed to participate in democratic elections or in negotiations on preparations for such elections; and

**NOTING** the fact that the PAC adheres to a policy of political violence,

**WE, THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL** hereby call upon the PAC to join the other parties in the Council in the peaceful democratic negotiation of our country's future by immediately abandoning or suspending its policy of political violence."

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ediss4  
3/6/93

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*Adendum B*



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

DEPARTMENT OF LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL AFFAIRS

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YOUR REF: 2 JUNE 1993

OUR REF: TO THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL  
MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

## REPORT ON THE BI-LATERAL TALKS DEADLOCK BETWEEN THE S.A REGIME AND THE PAC OF AZANIA

1. On 25 May 1993 the security forces raided PAC offices, homes and premises, confiscating documents and equipment and detaining more than 70 members and leaders. Amongst the homes searched was the home of our respected President cde Clarence Makwetu and amongst the documents seized are the documents of the Negotiating process. They even took clothes of some of our members.

2. The Negotiating Council condemned the raid and resolved that the regime return our documents and equipment and either charge or release our members without delay. The PAC and the regime had to meet in this regard.

3. It is important to restate that the overwhelming majority on the Special Session of the Negotiating Council on 27 May rejected the reasons given by Mr Hernus Kriel for the raid and appealed to the regime to immediately charge or release our members and to return confiscated goods. The majority view was that Mr Hernus Kriel is not fit for office and should resign.

4. The PAC and the regime then started having a series of bi-lateral meetings in compliance with the Negotiating Council decision that we do so, with a view to facilitate the implementation of the Negotiating Council decision.

4.1 At each and every meeting the regime promised to return our confiscated documents and at one meeting they even promised in a joint statement, to return it on the same day. To date the regime has not returned a single document to our Head office.

4.2 As far as our equipment is concerned the regime did return our Wordprocessor system at Headquarters with its hardware in a good condition but they damaged our software programme. The system is not in a working order at present.

4.3 Documentation and equipment including clothes taken at our homes have not been returned.

4.4 The regime released most of our members who were arrested in the raid. Contrary to the claims by Mr Kriel that they have evidence that these people are criminals, the regime had to release them for lack of evidence. It will be recalled that Mr Kriel informed the Council, amongst others, mentioned the name of Mr Nemadzivhanani in relation to the murder of Mrs



Sandra Swanepoel, Mr Abel Dube in relation to a murder in the Western Cape, Mr Waters Toboti in relation to crimes, Dr Solly Skosana in relation to co-ordination of APLA forces and the killing of 7 SAP and 6 SADF members. None of the above leaders were charged for the above and have been released. The only

thing that the regime could charge them for is for having a fire-arm with a licence and without an import permit. The fire-arms in question are all .33 pistols. No assault weapons are involved in the charges.

- 4.5 The only person charged for murder is a pensioner by the name of Enoch Zulu who is working in the office of the President. He is a former Robben Island prisoner. He is being held in connection with a murder which was committed in 1977. When Mr Zulu was arrested in April 1986 and this said offence was investigated and charges dropped as it was found that he could not be linked to the 1977 murder. He was sentenced to Robben Island on another matter and was granted indemnity along with other prisoners.

- 4.6 These releases and the inability of the regime to bring prima facie charges against our members vindicates the majority view of the Council that the raid was unrelated to criminal activities and that the regime should return our properties and undo the damage which they have done.

5. Since the regime knows that it cannot prove its case on the basis of the clampdown, it started manufacturing new evidence to vindicate its actions. Amongst others it now says that it found a document in our Headquarters detailing plans to attack police stations and to kill a Homeland Cabinet Minister. At all material times during the raid of our offices the police were accompanied by someone from the party and all documentation taken was recorded in our presence. At no stage was a document such as alleged by the police taken at our office and at no stage was any of the arrested members questioned about such document. At no stage did the regime appear to know about such a serious matter in their discussions with us. We are therefore appealing to this Council not to be influenced by weak retrospective attempts by the regime to justify the unwarranted raid on our party.

6. About 10 PAC members are still being held in prison and we demand their unconditional release.

7. It should be stressed that what the Council is called upon to decide relates to the implementation of the resolution concerning the raid on the PAC. The Council already decided what its attitude to the raid is and what the regime must do. The Council is not called upon to debate the raid. That was already done in 2 meetings including a Special Session. We are calling on the Negotiating Council to condemn the non-compliance with the resolution by the regime and to further call upon it to comply with the existing Resolution.

8. The Council is not called upon to express a general view on violence or the armed struggle, but on the compliance or otherwise




with the existing resolution by the regime.

**ARMED STRUGGLE.**

The PAC is known for its call for an elected Constituent Assembly to draw up a new constitution for our country. To that end we are aware that such an election can only take place under conditions

of peace and stability if it is to be free and fair. The PAC informed the regime of our commitment to the U.N Consensus Declaration of December 1989, namely that the regime must create conditions conducive to negotiations to be followed by talks aimed at producing a mutual cessation of hostilities and modalities on how to arrive at a new constitution. The whole world knows that the regime is illegitimate and hostile to the African masses. Battalion 32, Askaris, mercenaries and covert military operations are still operational and the primary source of the violence. The violence in Thokoza and Katlehong during the last 2 weeks were caused by agent provocateurs who infiltrated a march past the hostels and started the violence. The regime rejects the notion that there exist any problem from their side and scorned the Consensus Declaration of the United Nations. We want this Council to note the willingness of the PAC to enter into discussions with the regime to achieve a mutual cessation of hostilities. It is not good enough for the regime to say that they are not killing PAC members in specific terms: The PAC and APLA cannot fold arms whilst we are being killed and the Regime must desist from hostile acts against the oppressed through covert military intelligence operations, Askaris, Battalion 32, former Selous Scouts etc.

At the last Negotiating Council meeting the regime made it clear in the proposed motion that it cannot enter into agreements with the PAC if we are still committed to armed struggle and they want us to unilaterally suspend the armed struggle and watch our people die. Since they are so adamant it will be necessary for the Council to rule that the regime must be open-minded about its own role in the violence in order to pave the way for a mutual cessation of hostilities.

  
**B. ALEXANDER**  
**SECRETARY GENERAL**



**REVISED DRAFT AGENDA FOR THE MEETING OF  
THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL  
TO BE HELD ON TUESDAY 15 JUNE 1993 AT 08H30  
AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE**

**Chairpersonship - MJ Mahlangu assisted by FT Mdlalose**

- 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 3 June 1993
  - 4.2 Matters arising out of the minutes of the meeting of the Negotiating Council of 3 June 1993
- 5. Substantive Issues**
  - 5.1 SA Government/PAC Report Back
  - 5.2 Reports from the Technical Committees to be discussed:
    - 5.2.1 Constitutional Issues : Continuation of discussion of the Technical Committee's Third Report
      - 5.2.1.1 Constitutional principles dealing with the allocation of powers to different levels of government (cf. Third report, pp4-7)
      - 5.2.1.2 General constitutional principles (cf. p14 of the pack containing the Technical Committee reports of 11 June 1993)
    - 5.2.2 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)
  - 5.3 Election Date (cf. p34 and pp15-16 of the Agenda and Documentation pack of 15 June 1993)
- 6. Procedural Issues**
  - 6.1 Media Arrangements
  - 6.2 New Participants
  - 6.3 Commission on the Delimitation/Demarcation of Regions
- 7. Administrative Matters**
- 8. Meetings Schedule**
- 9. Closure**

THESE DRAFT MINUTES ARE CONFIDENTIAL AND RESTRICTED TO MEMBERS OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE. THE MINUTES ARE STILL TO BE RATIFIED AT THE NEXT MEETING OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE AND THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL.

**DRAFT MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE HELD AT 11H15 ON TUESDAY 15 JUNE 1993 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE**

PRESENT : B Alexander  
R Cronje (Chairperson by rotation)  
C Eglin  
PJ Gordhan  
FT Mdlalose  
RP Meyer  
MC Ramaphosa  
J Slovo  
Z Titus  
M Webb

MJ Mahlangu (Acting Chairperson of the Negotiating Council)

T Eloff (Administration)  
G Hutchings (Minutes)

**1. Motion as proposed by the Kwazulu Government and Resolution as proposed by the IFP:**

1.1 It was agreed that the Sub-Committee be present during the discussion on the proposed motion and the proposed resolution.

1.2 After a long discussion and debate, the following proposal was put forward by R Meyer:

"1. That discussions in the Negotiating Council continue on Constitutional Principles and other reports of the Technical Committee that are before the Negotiating Council.

2. Request the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues to:

2.1 Consider the constitutional options for SPR government which may have been submitted to the Negotiating Council; and

2.2 Consider a Constitution-Making Process providing for a ground-up democracy building process; and



- 2.3 To submit recommendations to the Negotiating Council on this."

It was suggested that this proposal go forward to the Negotiating Council as a compromise from the Planning Committee.

- 1.3 It was suggested that acceptance of the various agreements that the Negotiating Council segmentally enter into, will depend upon the acceptance of the package as a whole.
- 1.4 At this point the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues and J Matthews were invited to attend the meeting.
- 1.5 Questions were put to the Technical Committee members. Discussion and debate followed.
- 1.6 After a brief adjournment, it was noted that in spite of the above proposal:
- \* The IFP resolution would not be withdrawn;
  - \* The Kwazulu Government written statement would not be withdrawn; but
  - \* The motion of the Kwazulu Government would be withdrawn.
- 1.7 It was agreed, that even in the light of the above, to put forward the proposal by R Meyer to the Negotiating Council as a proposed way forward. Reservations were expressed by R Cronje, FT Mdlalose and M Webb.
- 1.8 It was agreed that the Negotiating Council should be given the benefit of the same explanation from the Technical Committee that the Planning Committee had had.

The meeting adjourned at 14h50 to join the meeting of the Negotiating Council.

The meeting reconvened at 17h15.

## **2. Declaration on Cessation/Suspension of Hostilities, Armed Struggle and Violence**

- 2.1 A draft declaration was put before the meeting (see Addendum A). Discussion followed.
- 2.2 Due to time constraints, it was agreed that this issue be revisited at the next meeting of the Planning Committee.

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### 3. Election Date:

- 3.1 It was noted that the Election Date should be dealt with when the Negotiating Council meeting resumed. This was in accordance with the decision of the Negotiating Council that the issue of the Election Date be dealt with after resumption of the Negotiating Council meeting, following afternoon tea.
- 3.2 It was noted that the purpose of again putting forward the resolution on the Election Date, as adopted by the Negotiating Council on 3 June 1993 by sufficient consensus, to the meeting of the Negotiating Council, was to attempt to achieve maximum consensus before the resolution goes to the Negotiating Forum as a recommendation from the Negotiating Council.
- 3.2 It was suggested to put forward the following proposal to the Negotiating Council to structure the discussion in the meeting:
- \* It should be noted that, in terms of the resolution as adopted on 3 June, this issue had to be finalised today;
  - \* Only participants who had had a change of mind should address the Council and discussion would be allowed;
  - \* Participants who had not changed their views in this regard, should not state their positions again.

This would allow all participants to revisit the issue, but no new ruling in this regard would be required.

### 4. Closure

The meeting was closed at 17h30.



**DECLARATION ON CESSATION/SUSPENSION OF HOSTILITIES,  
ARMED STRUGGLE AND VIOLENCE**

**Put to the Negotiating Council on Thursday 17 June 1993**

**1. Recognising:**

That our country and people urgently require stability and peace in order to progress to a democratic and harmonious future;

**2. Mindful:**

- \* That we are all products of a conflict ridden society and emerging from a long period of tension and hostilities;
- \* That political violence still persist in the resolution of political differences;

**3. Believing:**

- \* That participants in the Negotiating Process have a responsibility to inculcate a new spirit of tolerance;
- \* That political rivalry and competition does not require the use of violence;
- \* That it is necessary for all participants to categorically eschew violence in all forms;
- \* There is a need for cessation/suspension of hostilities/armed struggle/violence for peaceful negotiations to move forward;

**4. Aware:**

That an invaluable opportunity now exists to decide on our future through a process of peaceful negotiations;

**5. Now Therefore Declare:**

That as from this .... day of June 1993 we, the parties subscribing to this declaration, commit/recommit ourselves to cease/suspend any form of hostilities/armed struggle/violence in pursuance of political objectives and in the resolution of political differences.

THESE DRAFT MINUTES ARE CONFIDENTIAL AND RESTRICTED TO MEMBERS OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE. THE MINUTES ARE STILL TO BE RATIFIED AT THE NEXT MEETING OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE AND THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL.

**DRAFT MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE HELD AT 08H20 ON THURSDAY 17 JUNE 1993 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE**

PRESENT : R Cronje  
C Eglin (Chairperson by rotation)  
PJ Gordhan  
FT Mdlalose  
RP Meyer  
MC Ramaphosa  
J Slovo  
Z Titus  
M Webb  
  
T Eloff (Administration)  
G Hutchings (Minutes)

**1. Structuring of Discussion around the Agenda of the Negotiating Council**

1.1 Various members requested the addition of a new item onto the Negotiating Council agenda (preferably before the ratification of the agenda) so as to allow feedback/statements from participants who had left the meeting of the Negotiating Council on 15 June 1993 before the meeting had adjourned to consult with their principals.

1.2 Discussion and debate followed. Various concerns arose from this discussion, including:

- \* The question of sufficient consensus and the method of adopting resolutions;
- \* The perceived lack of opportunity to adequately put across points of view in the Negotiating Council meetings;
- \* Various procedural problems;
- \* The perception that the Planning Committee had assumed the role of the Negotiating Council.

It was noted that these issues and others would be raised in the meeting of the Negotiating Council by participants in their feedback/statements to the meeting.



1.3 The following proposal was suggested by PJ Gordhan as a possible way forward:

- \* That an Item 4.3 be added to the agenda in which the relevant participants give their feedback and/or make their statements;
- \* The issues arising therefrom should all be identified and the appropriate mechanisms to attempt to resolve the differences should be addressed after the discussion of the substantive issues;
- \* The meeting should then proceed with the discussion of the substantive issues (i.e. principles of allocating powers to regions), but without taking final decisions on these. This will provide the opportunity to look at the issue of sufficient consensus first;
- \* From this discussion the Negotiating Council should begin to determine how these issues could be resolved;
- \* It was pointed out that these issues would not easily be dealt with in the Negotiating Council and that if the Planning Committee is discredited, another mechanism would have to be found.

1.4 More discussion and debate followed from which it appeared that no consensus could be reached on the above proposal. PJ Gordhan, therefore, withdrew the proposal.

1.5 The proposal was then taken up by R Cronje and again put before the meeting. More discussion followed and consensus again could not be reached.

1.6 A proposal to adjourn the meeting and join the meeting of the Negotiating Council was agreed to.

The meeting adjourned at 10h00 to join the meeting of the Negotiating Council.

The meeting reconvened at 13h00.

## **2. Draft Declaration on Cessation/Suspension of Hostilities, Armed Struggle and Violence**

2.1 It was agreed that P de Lille attend the meeting on behalf of the PAC.

2.2 The PAC delegation notified the Planning Committee that they were still caucusing and requested that the Planning Committee meet at 14h00 to take this issue further. This was agreed to.

2.3 P de Lille suggested several amendments to the draft declaration which were not acceptable to the Planning Committee.

- 2.4 After a brief discussion and due to time constraints, it was agreed to revisit this issue later.

The meeting adjourned at 14h15 to join the meeting of the Negotiating Council.

The meeting reconvened at 16h30.

- 2.5 More discussion ensued about the suggested amendments from the PAC. The following was noted:

2.5.1 That, with regard to the PAC's claims that the Government had not complied with the terms of the Resolution as adopted by the Negotiating Council on 27 May, the draft further resolution to be put to the Negotiating Council does address those concerns (see Addendum A);

2.5.2 It was suggested that the issue raised by the PAC concerning soldiers and armed formations could be dealt with under the implementation of the Third Report of the Technical Committee on Violence and by the TEC and its Sub-Councils and that this could be minuted in the Negotiating Council meeting.

2.5.3 That the PAC would have to report back to the Negotiating Council in this regard.

- 2.6 It was agreed that the draft declaration should be put before the Negotiating Council as is (see Addendum B);

### 3. Closure

The meeting was closed at 17h00.





**DRAFT FURTHER RESOLUTION TO THAT ON  
CESSATION/SUSPENSION OF HOSTILITIES PUT TO THE  
NEGOTIATING COUNCIL ON 17 JUNE 1993**

This Negotiating Council meeting at the World Trade Centre on Thursday 17 June 1993:

**Noting:**

1. The Resolution passed after the special Negotiating Council meeting of 27 May 1993;
2. The Joint Statement by the South African Government and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania dated 28 May 1993;
3. The Declaration on Cessation/Suspension of Hostilities, Armed Struggle and Violence tabled at the meeting of the Negotiating Council on 18 June 1993;
4. Noting that provision is made for dealing with armed formations in both the Reports of the Technical Committees on Violence and the TEC and its Sub-Councils;

**Therefore Resolves That:**

1. Matters which remain unresolved in relation to paragraph 1 and 2 above should be attended to immediately.

**DECLARATION ON CESSATION/SUSPENSION OF HOSTILITIES,  
ARMED STRUGGLE AND VIOLENCE  
Put to the Negotiating Council on Thursday 17 June 1993**

**1. Recognising:**

That our country and people urgently require stability and peace in order to progress to a democratic and harmonious future;

**2. Mindful:**

- \* That we are all products of a conflict ridden society and emerging from a long period of tension and hostilities;
- \* That political violence still persist in the resolution of political differences;

**3. Believing:**

- \* That participants in the Negotiating Process have a responsibility to inculcate a new spirit of tolerance;
- \* That political rivalry and competition does not require the use of violence;
- \* That it is necessary for all participants to categorically eschew violence in all forms;
- \* There is a need for cessation/suspension of hostilities/armed struggle/violence for peaceful negotiations to move forward;

**4. Aware:**

That an invaluable opportunity now exists to decide on our future through a process of peaceful negotiations;

**5. Now Therefore Declare:**

That as from this .... day of June 1993 we, the parties subscribing to this declaration, commit/recommit ourselves to cease/suspend any form of hostilities/armed struggle/violence in pursuance of political objectives and in the resolution of political differences.



THESE DRAFT MINUTES ARE CONFIDENTIAL AND RESTRICTED TO MEMBERS OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE. THE MINUTES ARE STILL TO BE RATIFIED AT THE NEXT MEETING OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE AND THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL.

**DRAFT MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE HELD AT 08H30 ON FRIDAY 18 JUNE 1993 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE**

**PRESENT :** R Cronje  
C Eglin (Chairperson by rotation)  
PJ Gordhan  
FT Mdlalose  
RP Meyer  
MC Ramaphosa  
J Slovo  
Z Titus  
M Webb  
  
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; and
- \* FT Mdlalose and R Meyer for late arrival.

**3. Agenda for and structuring of discussion in the meeting of the Negotiating Council**

**3.1 Agenda for the meeting of the Negotiating Council:**

It was agreed that the agenda as amended should remain as is (see Addendum A), with the proviso that from 16h00 procedural issues be dealt with.

### **3.2 Reports from the Technical Committees:**

- 3.2.1 It was agreed to recommend to the Negotiating Council that the amended general Constitutional Principles should be dealt with first and then the issue of Self-Determination.
- 3.2.2 The Fourth and Fifth Reports of the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues should be formally acknowledged and it should be noted that the Negotiating Council will give attention to these Reports once the work given to the Committee at the meeting of 17 June 1993 was completed. Discussion on these two Reports would, therefore, be held over until the next report is presented.
- 3.2.3 With regard to the Technical Committee on Violence, discussion should continue around the draft resolution as put before the Negotiating Council on 3 June 1993.
- 3.2.4 The Technical Committee on the IEC and the Technical Committee on the IMC should identify to the Negotiating Council issues that require guidance from the Negotiating Council. Furthermore, a decision in principle on the IEC and IMC is needed for the Technical Committees to proceed with their work. It was noted that two draft resolutions (see Addendums B and C) on the IEC and the IMC would be tabled by C Eglin the current Planning Committee Chairperson after the Technical Committees had presented their reports.

### **3.3 New Participants:**

The updated written report should be distributed to the meeting. The Sub-Committee should also give a report to the meeting.

### **3.4 Commission on the Delimitation/Demarcation of States/Provinces/Regions:**

A progress report should be given to the meeting by the Sub-Committee. It was agreed that the media statement as released by the Commission after their first meeting should be distributed to the meeting.

### **3.5 Sufficient Consensus:**

Discussion and debate on this issue was held. The following suggestions were noted:

- \* That a climate needed to be created for consensus to be developed;
- \* That more use be made of adjourning before a decision on a substantive matter is taken.



Due to time constraints, it was agreed to revisit this issue at the next meeting of the Planning Committee. Members were requested to give more thought to this issue.

The meeting adjourned at 09h45 to join the meeting of the Negotiating Council.

The meeting reconvened at 11h40.

**4. Draft Declaration on Cessation/Suspension of Hostilities, Armed Struggle and Violence**

- 4.1 P de Lille and J Seroke from the PAC joined the meeting.
- 4.2 Various amendments as suggested in the meeting of the Negotiating Council were submitted to the Planning Committee for possible incorporation in the draft declaration. The declaration was amended (see Addendum D).
- 4.3 It was again suggested that the issue raised by the PAC concerning soldiers and armed formations could be dealt with under the implementation of the Third Report of the Technical Committee on Violence and by the TEC and its Sub-Councils and that this could be minuted in the Negotiating Council meeting.
- 4.4 The PAC requested more time to consult with their principals and notified the Planning Committee that they would be ready by 14h00. This request was agreed to and it was further agreed that the amended draft declaration would only be distributed to the meeting after the PAC had concluded their consultations.
- 4.5 It was noted that R Meyer, W Seriti, the current Planning Committee Chairperson (as mediator) and the relevant SAP General would meet on Tuesday 22 June 1993 to attempt to resolve the outstanding issues.

The meeting adjourned at 12h30 for lunch, which coincided with the lunch period of the Negotiating Council.

The meeting reconvened at 15h45.

- 4.6 A media conference that the PAC had held in the interim was referred to.
- 4.7 In light of the above, the fact that the PAC did not attend this stage of the meeting and that the Negotiating Council was awaiting a report on this issue, it was agreed to proceed to table the draft declaration in the Negotiating

Council. Participants who felt that they could not sign the declaration today, would be given until Tuesday 22 June 1993 to do so. It was further agreed that the Negotiating Council would have to decide on what to do about participants who did not sign the draft declaration.

- 4.8 R Meyer gave notice that if the PAC did not sign the draft declaration, the SA Government would move that the participation of the PAC in the Negotiating Council be formally suspended.

5. **Closure**

The meeting was closed at 16h00.



**DRAFT AGENDA FOR THE MEETING OF THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL  
TO BE HELD ON FRIDAY 18 JUNE 1993 AT 08H30**

**Chairpersonship - R Cronje assisted by D de Villiers**

- 1. Moment of Prayer/Meditation**
- 2. Welcome and Attendance**
- 3. Ratification of Agenda**
- 4. Substantive Issues**
  - 4.1 SA Government/PAC Report Back**
  - 4.2 Reports from the Technical Committees to be discussed:**
    - 4.2.1 Constitutional Issues (continued)**
      - 4.2.1.1 General Constitutional Principles (cf. p14 of the pack containing the Technical Committee reports of 11 June 1993)**
      - 4.2.1.2 Self Determination (Clause 2.9 of General Constitutional Principles cf. p3 of the Third Report)**
    - 4.2.2 Violence**
      - 4.2.2.1 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)**
    - 4.2.3 Independent Election Commission**
      - 4.2.3.1 Decision in principle on the establishment of an IEC**
      - 4.2.3.2 Discussion of Draft Bill on the IEC**
    - 4.2.4 Independent Media Commission**
      - 4.2.4.1 Decision in principle on the establishment of an IMC**
      - 4.2.4.2 Discussion of Draft Bill on the IMC**
- 5. Procedural Issues**
  - 5.1 New Participants**
  - 5.2 Commission on the Delimitation/Demarcation of Regions**
  - 5.3 Sufficient Consensus**
  - 5.4 Motion on Procedural Matters**
- 6. Administrative Matters**
- 7. Meetings Schedule**
- 8. Closure**

**PROPOSED RESOLUTION ON THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL  
COMMISSION TO THE MEETING  
OF THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL OF 18 JUNE 1993**

The Planning Committee recommends to the Negotiating Council that:

1. The Negotiating Council agrees in principle that an Independent Electoral Commission be established, whose object shall be to administer and conduct a free and fair democratic electoral process of the new Parliament, including responsibility for:
  - 1.1 Registration of voters and political parties;
  - 1.2 Supervision of the electoral process;
  - 1.3 Monitoring and evaluation of the process;
  - 1.4 Determining the results thereof; and
  - 1.5 Adjudicating issues affecting the conduct of political parties during the course of such Elections.



**PROPOSED RESOLUTION ON  
THE INDEPENDENT MEDIA COMMISSION  
TO THE MEETING OF THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL OF  
18 JUNE 1993**

**The Planning Committee recommends to the Negotiating Council that:**

1. The Negotiating Council agrees in principle that an Independent Media Commission should be established with the following objectives:

- 1.1 To ensure equitable treatment of political parties by broadcasting services;
- 1.2 To ensure that state-financed publications and state-information services are not used to advance the interests of any political party;

so as to contribute towards the promotion and creation of a climate favourable to free political participation and a free and fair election.

**DECLARATION ON CESSATION/SUSPENSION OF HOSTILITIES,  
ARMED STRUGGLE AND VIOLENCE**

**Put to the Negotiating Council on Friday 18 June 1993**

**1. Recognising:**

That our country and people urgently require stability and peace in order to progress to a democratic and harmonious future;

**2. Mindful:**

- \* That we are all products of a conflict ridden society and emerging from a long period of tension and hostilities;
- \* That **many forms of** political violence still persist in the resolution of political differences;

**3. Believing:**

- \* That participants in the Negotiating Process have a responsibility to inculcate a new spirit of tolerance;
- \* That political rivalry and competition does not require the use of violence;
- \* That it is necessary for all participants to categorically eschew violence in all forms;
- \* There is a need for cessation/suspension of hostilities/armed struggle/violence for peaceful negotiations to move forward;
- \* **That Governments, Administrations, Political Organisations and the security forces must do everything possible to create harmony, peace and a conciliatory climate for the Negotiation Process.**

**4. Aware:**

That an invaluable opportunity now exists to decide on our future through a process of peaceful negotiations;

**5. Now Therefore Declare:**

That as from this 18th day of June 1993 we, the parties subscribing to this declaration, commit/recommit ourselves to **peaceful resolution of conflict and, where applicable, cease/suspend any form of hostilities/armed struggle/violence in pursuance of political objectives and in the resolution of political differences and further ensure that the conduct and utterances of all are consistent with this declaration.**



<b>POSITION PAPER: VOTER EDUCATION</b>
--

1. INTRODUCTION

In view of the agreement amongst all 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, non-partisan 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 advised 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.





AVS 6-2

Posbus 7748, Pretoria, 0001 Tel (012) 86-8979 Fax: 8041144

22 June 1993

The Planning Committee  
Multi-Party Negotiating Process

**PARTICIPATION OF THE AFRIKANER FREEDOM FOUNDATION (AVSTIG) IN THE  
MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS**

With regard to participation, it was reported to the Negotiation Council today that AVSTIG admitted not being a political party. The impression was also created that we withdrew our application or at least accepted a negative outcome. The Planning Committee consequently decided that AVSTIG did not comply with the criteria decided on and could not recommend our participation.

As we did not decide to withdraw our application; and  
As we are a political party/organisation in terms of  
Criterion 1 of the Negotiating Council's resolution; and  
As there was not clarity in the minds of some members of the  
Planning Committee on the decision taken;

We again state the following:

- \* We are working for a free state for Afrikaners within a regional dispensation in Southern Africa, which is clearly a political objective;
- \* We are the only party/organisation forwarding an Afrikanervolkstaat in the South-Western parts of South Africa;
- \* We are an organisation with regularly elected leadership and public membership, canvassing public support for our political program;
- \* Pending the outcome of constitutional negotiations in which we want to take a positive part, we intend taking part in the first election under a transitional/new constitution;

We met a subcommittee of the Planning Committee on this issue and stated our position very clearly: although not registered in terms of the (undemocratic) 1983-constitution as a political party, we complied to every single criterion put to us in writing or verbally to qualify as "political party/organisation", and should therefore be free to participate in the MPNP.

Whether the difference between what we said and what the Planning Committee heard, and the following misunderstanding was created intentionaally or by accident, is not yet clear to us.

Whatever the case may be, we urge the Planning Committee to give this case a full and direct hearing before making a final recommendation.

To keep us out of this Process, especially by way of manipulation or on the basis of technicalities, is to limit the peaceful means at our disposal and could only add to the climate of despair and extremism.

*Carl Schaff*



URGENT

ADM OFFICE  
GLOBAL LIFE CENTRE  
P.O. BOX 350  
BISHO

24 June 1993

The Chairman  
Sub-Committee


Dear Sir

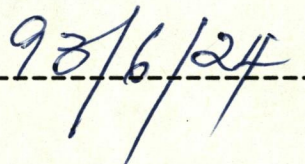
APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION TO PROCEEDINGS OF THE MULTI-PARTY  
NEGOTIATION PROGRESS

I refer to my response to the proposals made to me as Secretary-General of the ADM regarding the above matter of 23 June 1993.

Kindly inform me of what further processes must be completed before a decision on the ADM's application is reached.

My party is anxious to ensure that all the formalities have been completed in good time to enable the application for admission to go forward to the forum on 2 July 1993.

SIGNED -----  
SECRETARY GENERAL

-----

24 June 1993



ADM Office  
Global Life Centre  
P.O. Box 350  
BISHO

23 June 1993

The Chairman  
Admission Committee  
Multiparty Negotiating Forum

Dear Sir

After consideration of the Sub-Committee's request that the ADM re-consider its application, I have to inform you that the ADM wishes to pursue its request for admission.

Further to the explanation for the African Democratic Movement's request for admission to the proceedings of the MPNF put to the Committee on Friday, 18 June by myself as Secretary-General of ADM assisted by Dr. Colin Vale, an adviser to the ADM, I wish to expand on the nature and objectives of the ADM as follows:


1. The question concerning the necessity for the ADM to be represented at the MPNF in addition to the Ciskei Government revolves around the issue of the constituency represented by the Ciskei Government. As was pointed out, the ADM represents also members who are not resident in the Ciskei. Moreover, the views of the ADM are not identical with those of the Ciskei Government, as is born out by discussions and debates which occur regularly at meetings of the ADM throughout the region. Since the MPNF is premised on the principle of inclusivity, it is strongly urged that the views of the ADM would expand the representative nature of the MPNF.
2. Although it is regionally based, the ADM has members across the length and breadth of South Africa. Its members are subjected to a range of views and opinions on issues which frequently do not touch the Ciskei Government. Accordingly, where issues of a broader scope in the South African context arise for discussion, the ADM is equipped to reflect views of its wide spread membership and opinions more effectively than the Ciskei Government.
3. It is noted that the ADM has already embarked on an intensive programme of preparation for elections, including instruction on democratic principles and practices. These programmes are not conducted by the government of Ciskei, but by party officials. Consensus of this type have created an expectation that the ADM will be admitted to



the present process which is based on democratic participation

4. The question as to why Brig. Gqozo is head of both the Ciskei Government and the ADM is perhaps best answered by drawing an analogy with the position of President de Klerk who is the leader of the ruling party in South Africa. No one would question the right of both the S.A. Government and the National Party to be present at the negotiations on that account. The reason is clear :

The identity of the titular head of both government and political is not relevant to the broad scope of the activities of both. Party and government each have a political life of their own, and it is political positions and views which are the subject of negotiations.

  
SECRETARY-GENERAL

93/6/23

23 June 1993



650 KININI STREET  
SOWETO: P O BOX 665, PYRAMID 0120  
TEL. & FACSIMILLEE: (012)545-0957  
Date 07/06/93

APPLICATION  
=====

I, the undersigned,

ISAAC MBUTI GALELA  
=====

*I.M. Galela*  
The General Secretary of the ~~Mighty~~ Sofasonke Party, duly Authorised and Mandated thereto by the President and Executive of said Party, herewith respectfully renew our previous Application, on behalf of the ~~MIGHTY~~ SOFASONKE PARTY:-

1. To join the the present Multi-Party Negotiation Process.
2. To condone this "Late Application" partly brought about because of the President being in Swaziland - the main reason for the delay.
3. We are of the opinion that we should have been allowed automatically to participate from the outset as a Political Party without having had to apply as our first Application contained almost all the criteria necessary except those now required in Pragraphs 2 and 3 in Annexure "A" hereto -which we now comply with - yet Dr van der Merwe and another rejected same at the time. Please therefore accept this as a renewal of that Application rather than a Late Application.

Tour's faithfully,

Dated at Johannesburg this 7th day of June, 1993

*Isaac Mbuti Galela I.M. Galela*  
-----  
I M GALELA: GENERAL SECRETARY, ~~MIGHTY~~ SOFASONKE PARTY

PLEASE NOTE:

Faxed papers to you of 04/05/93 at 17h00 refer.  
(Enclosed also Annexure "B" -Previous Application

THIS APPLICATION AND ANNEXURES ARE BEING FAXED NOW AND THE CONSTITUTION AND ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS WILL BE DELIVERED BY TWO OFFICE BEARERS DUELY SIGNED HOPEFULLY DV BEFORE 13H00 TODAY 07/05/93 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE, KEMPTON PARK. - GOD BLESS.



Annexure "A"  
ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTIES/ORGANISATIONS  
APPLYING TO JOIN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS:  
FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROCESSING THE APPLICATION

1. Date of formation of the <sup>*P. M. Galela*</sup> ~~Mighty~~ Sofasonke Party : 1944  
(The oldest extra Parliamentary Party in South Afrika)

2. Names of Office Beares and designation:-

<I>	MR E B TSHABALALA	PRESIDENT
<II>	MR M M MAZIBUKO	DEPUTY PRESIDENT
<III>	MR W MAFUBEDU	CHAIRMAN
<IV>	MR M J MAHWAYI	DEPUTY CHAIRMAN
<V>	MR I M GALELA	GENERAL SECRETARY
<VI>	MI FLORENCE MNGUNI	ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY
<VII>	MR J MLALAZI	TREASURER
<VIII>	MR MILTON KANYILE	PARTY WHIP
<IX>	MR F G VAN SCHALKWYK	PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER
<X>	MI HAZEL N NKOSI	ORGANISER
<XI>	MI ESTHER MKHABELA	COMMITTEE MEMBER

3. Statement of Political Intent/Constitution:- ENCLOSED

4. Indicators of demonstrable support:-

- <a> Approximately 750 000 (signed up membership)
- <b> Up to 85 000 people at each of many rallies at Jabulani Amphitheatre and (Attendance at rallies)
- <c> Wellknown track record that The <sup>*P. M. Galela*</sup> ~~Mighty~~ Sofasonke was the ruling Party and won ALL the Local Uathority Elections for Councillers IN THE GREATER SOWETO.

5. Activities: The President and many office bearers were Mayors and held Executive Posts as Councillars and scores of Thousands of Rands were spent in publications and organisation to achieve the aforementioned Elections successes.

6. Participation in other organisations: Yes, civil, cultural, housing and health etc.

7. Address: HQ: 650 Kinini street, MOFOLO VILLAGE SOWETO. In East and West Rand Townships TEL & FAX: & 012 x 545 0957; Other: Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Pretoria (P O Box 665, Pyramid. 0120.) Etc. For security reasons not wise to advertise addresses at this stage. Please see Para 9 hereunder.

8. Viability as to funding: Yes we are very much viable as to funding; Please see Para.5 above.

9. Geographical area of operation: support, offices, etc. :- In all Provinces, Self-Governing and Independant States ourselves in the first instance and lately via certain organisations and political groups joining Sofasonke since 1991.

10 Rules of Membership :- As per Constitution enclosed herewith.







*Adams G*

**TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**

**Confidential**

World Trade Centre  
KEMPTON PARK

22 June 1993

**Urgent / By Hand**

Dr T Eloff  
Head of Administration  
Multi-Party Negotiating Process  
World Trade Centre  
KEMPTON PARK

Dear Dr Eloff

**COMPOSITION : TECHNICAL COMMITTEE - IEC**

Following a meeting of the Technical Committee which took place yesterday afternoon, from which Advocate H R Laubscher was requested to absent himself, the remaining members of this Technical Committee unanimously requested that I should write to you as a matter of urgency with regard to their concerns in relation to a proposal under consideration, which it is understood, would involve the replacement of Advocate H R Laubscher by a senior official in the Department of Home Affairs - Mr A F Tredoux.

Although this matter has not been explicitly discussed with us, we have heard directly from Advocate Laubscher, and indirectly from certain other sources, that this proposal has recently been under discussion in the Planning Committee.

In the circumstances it is obviously of some importance that we should convey to the Planning Committee our concerns with regard to this proposal.

1. It is important to note that a period of some six weeks has elapsed since the Committee was appointed, during which period, the Committee has undertaken extensive work in the preparation of draft legislation which has been tabled with the Council. In addition, the Committee has given considerable time to the evaluation of 33 written representations which have thus far been received. The appointment of a new member to this Technical Committee at this relatively late stage could prove problematical, and lead to delays in the reconsideration of issues already extensively discussed.
2. It is understood that Mr Tredoux is an official of the Department of Home Affairs with considerable experience in the conduct of elections, and it is the Committee's intention at an appropriate stage to arrange for due consultation with Mr Tredoux and/or such other officials of the Department as may be appropriate. However, the Committee is concerned that the inclusion of a senior official of the Department of

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Home Affairs as a member of the Technical Committee, might create a perception which would be inconsistent with the Technical Committee's complete independence and disinterest in the issues upon which it is consulted.

3. A further concern is that we understand Mr Tredoux to have been personally involved in the drafting of the detailed submissions lodged on behalf of the South African Government, and he has evidently also played a role in drafting the proposed new Electoral Act which has been tabled by the South African Government. For this reason also, we are concerned as to whether the composition of the Technical Committee should include such a person as has been directly and substantially involved in the preparation of substantive submissions which the Committee is now required to evaluate and consider.
4. The Committee would like to emphasise that it has appreciation for Mr Tredoux's expertise and the concerns which have been expressed in this letter in no way reflect upon his competence or integrity. Indeed these concerns are motivated solely by a wish to ensure the efficacy of the process which is now underway, and to similarly secure the perception of the Technical Committee's independence in dealing with these issues.
5. The Committee has recently had discussions with Advocate Laubscher regarding his availability to attend scheduled meetings and despite heavy professional commitments and a scheduled family holiday, he has assured us of his availability with regard to meetings which are immediately in prospect. We are therefore confident of the Committee's ability to make arrangements which are mutually satisfactory, and which will ensure that Advocate Laubscher continues to play the valuable role which he has thus far contributed.

The Technical Committee would be grateful if these views could be conveyed to the Planning Committee on a **confidential** basis, and would be willing to provide any further information or comment which may be required.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'R B Rosenthal', with a long horizontal line extending to the right and a large loop at the end.

R B Rosenthal (Mr)  
Technical Committee for the Independent Electoral Commission





UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

1 Jan Smuts Avenue, Johannesburg

✉ Private Bag 3  
Wits 2050,  
SOUTH AFRICA

☎ 'Uniwits'  
(011) 716-1111

☎ (011) **403-6918**  
Wits Ext. 8002  
Fax: (011) 403-2341

Date:

Multi Party Forum Administration  
World Trade Centre


For the Attention of : Dr T Eloff

16 June 1993

Dear Sirs/Mesdames

I unfortunately have to tender my resignation from the Technical Committee on Constitutional Matters with immediate effect. I have decided to accept an award of a scholarship to study in the United States and will be leaving South Africa on 11 July 1993.

Yours faithfully

  
Firoz Cachalia

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## **MULTIPARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS**

21 June 1993

### **FINANCIAL REPORT TO THE PLANNING COMMITTEE**

1. The estimated actual expenditure on the Multiparty Negotiating Process (Multiparty Negotiating Forum, Negotiating Council, Planning Committee, Administration and Security) for accounts received and verified for April 1993 is R2,004 million. Not all major accounts have yet been received. The most important being that for the hotel accommodation for delegates and advisers.
2. The following is an analysis of the main items of actual expenditure for April:

■ Salaries	R 70 800
■ Administrative costs	R 584 700
■ Stocks	R 50 000
■ Equipment (rental)	R 107 200
■ Professional services	R 158 000
■ Offices and conference	R 167 700
■ Rental furniture	R 240 200
■ Electricity and cleaning	R 122 500
■ Rental structures	R 503 200
4. Expenditure in April causing concern in a provisional analysis relates to courier services in respect of documents and the video relays of proceedings of the Negotiating Council.
5. A final detailed analysis of actual expenditure for April should be available when the estimated expenditure for May is ready in July.

2dpc06  
21 June 1993



# ADDENDUM J

42 Sisson Street  
Fort Gale  
Lusaka  
1993-06-24

THE ADMINISTRATOR  
MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS Forum  
WORLD TRADE Centre  
KUMPTON PARK.

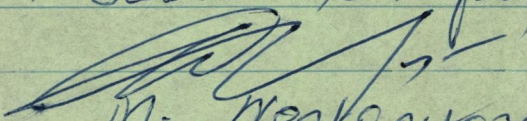
Dear Sir

RE: APPLICATION FOR PER DIEM ALLOWANCE  
FOR DELEGATES

THE CAPE delegation of traditional  
leaders is composed of persons  
who are self-employed and  
who as a result of their  
involvement in the negotiating process  
lose considerable sums of money  
in their business.

We accordingly strongly recommend that  
a per diem allowance be  
afforded for delegates of  
traditional leaders.

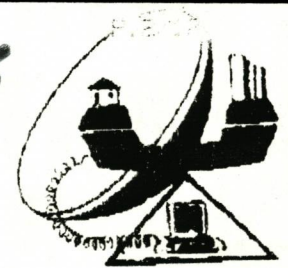
Yours faithfully

  
M. Mwenya  
FOR CAPE TRADITIONAL LEADERS.



# CDITP

*Assessment K*



Centre for the Development of Information  
and Telecommunications Policy

P.O. Box 50974

Randburg

2125

**TELECOMMUNICATIONS SYMPOSIUM**

Tel: (011) 889-4681/7/8

Fax: (011) 889-4242

15 June 1993

The Chairperson  
Negotiating Forum  
P.O. Box 307  
ISANDO  
1600

**FAX: 397 2211**

Dear Sir,

**TELECOMMUNICATIONS SYMPOSIUM**  
**28-30 JULY 1993**  
**CDITP**

This letter serves to inform you that the CDITP is convening a Symposium to discuss Telecommunications regulatory issues.

The Symposium will be attended by various national and international groups comprising the legal, economic, business and industry, telecommunications, Trade Unions, Civic organisations, and Academic fields.

We humbly request you to open a channel to review the recommendations which will emanate from our Symposium, towards Telecommunications Regulations in the new democratic, non-racial, non-sexist, South Africa.

2/...

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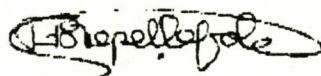
*We ask in this regard that you acknowledge the work achieved by the Symposium.*

*Your unequivocal commitment and support for the process of change in which we are engaged will contribute greatly towards the achievement of our prime objective of changing the face of Telecommunications in our country.*

*The proposed Symposium programme is attached for your perusal. A similar letter has also been sent to the Secretary General of the African National Congress, Dr. Cyril Ramaphosa, for his information.*

*We hereby request a statement of support from your Forum or Technical Committee for the Symposium objectives.*

*Yours sincerely,*



**LYNDALL SHOPE-MAFOLE (MS.)**  
**DIRECTOR**

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21 JUN 1978 16:05 CDITP PROJECT OFFICE 011 6894242 12

**CENTRE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
INFORMATION AND  
TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY  
(CDITP)**

**TELECOMMUNICATIONS REGULATORY  
SYMPOSIUM 28, 29 & 30 JULY 1993**

**PROGRAMME  
(DRAFT)**

**A MESSAGE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN  
TELECOMMUNICATIONS COMMUNITY**

*It is a great challenge for all those South Africans who have the opportunity to participate in such a remarkable event, in particular, when our country is preparing for a new political, socio-economic, and technological order under a new democratic constitution. Our united and redoubled efforts can formulate a framework of telecommunications development strategy for all future South African generations.*

*We the participants in this historic event and all those who are involved in telecommunications technology research and policy development have a heavy task to carry towards a new democratic, non-racial, non-sexist South Africa. We must immediately prepare ourselves for the oncoming Interim Government of national unity and reconstruction. Let us develop an equal opportunity and Affirmative Action programme that is geared towards uplifting engineering and marketing skills of the disenfranchised, in particular the African people.*

**"UNIVERSAL SERVICE - A RIGHT"**



**CDITP**  
**Telecommunications Regulatory Symposium**

Page 1

**DAY ONE - 28 JULY 1993**

**OPENING SESSION:**

**CHAIRPERSON : MOELETSE MBEKI**

**TIME:**

**SUBJECT:**

**SPEAKER:**

*Chairperson's Introductory Remarks*

**MOELETSE MBEKI**

*Welcome by Host*

**MIKE JARVIS**

*Opening Remarks - Scene Setting*

**L. SHOPE-MAFOLE**

*Keynote Address*

**ENOS MABUZA**

**"A NEGOTIATED REGULATORY  
FRAMEWORK - PREPARING FOR  
THE NEW POLITICAL ORDER"**

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**CDITP**  
**Telecommunications Regulatory Symposium**

**Page 2**

DAY ONE - 28 JULY 1993

## SESSION ONE:

**CHAIRPERSON: PETER DAVIES**

**WHY REGULATE?**  
**"INTERNATIONAL REGULATORY TRENDS"**

**TIME:**

**SUBJECT:**

**SPEAKER:**

## *Restructured ITU\* and the New Regulatory Environment*

**KARIN BOUSSAID**

*Towards a Common SATCC\* Regional  
Regulatory Approach - The SATCC  
Viewpoint*

**GERARD MUTTI**

### *EC Regional Regulatory Trends*

**DR HERBERT UNGERER**

## *Reflections on the Swedish Regulatory Experience*

**JAN SRESE**

### *Reflections on the French Experience*

**BRUNO LASSERRE**

## Reflections on the US/Canadian Experience

**PROF. VINCENT MOSCO**

### *Reflections on the UK Experience*

WILLIAM WIGGLESWORTH

## *Trade Union Participation in Regulatory Matters - The Australian Experience*

**ALF FORSTER**

## ***Zimbabwe's Transitional Experience - Regulating Affirmative Action***

**MR. DANDATO**

**PANEL DISCUSSION - ALL SPEAKERS**

\*ITU - International Telecommunications Union

\* SATCC = Southern African Transport and Communications Commission

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CDITP  
Telecommunications Regulatory Symposium

Page 3

DAY ONE - 28 JULY 1993SESSION TWO:CHAIRPERSON: PINKY MOHOLI

"UNIVERSAL SERVICE - AN INTEGRAL  
PART OF THE NEW  
DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA'S  
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY"

TIME:SUBJECT:SPEAKER:

Universal Service - The Role of the  
Telephone Operators - International  
Experience

DR JILL HILLS

Telecommunications Long Term Strategic  
Planning (Master Plan) - The Regulator's  
Role in Monitoring its Implementation

ROD HARKER

Balancing Community and Business  
Requirements in the Telecommunications  
Sector

DR DAVID H. JACOBSON

Value Added Networks and Advanced Services  
- Regulatory Options

MIKE VAN DEN BERGH

Telecommunications Policy Development -  
The Role of the Regulator, Government,  
and the Community

CROMET MOLEPO

The Catalytic Role of Telecommunications  
in Economic Growth - Prospects for  
South Africa

DR BENNIE FANAROF

PANEL DISCUSSION - ALL SPEAKERS

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CDITP  
Telecommunications Regulatory Symposium

Page 4

DAY TWO - 29 JULY 1993

SESSION ONE:

CHAIRPERSON: JOE TSOTETSI

**"FREQUENCY SPECTRUM AND  
STRATEGIC COMMUNICATIONS  
SEGMENTS - REGULATORY APPROACH"**

TIME:

SUBJECT:

SPEAKER:

*Policy Options For Regulating the  
Frequency Spectrum and Geo- Stationary  
Satellite Orbit*

AKI STAVROU

*International and Regional Satellite  
Signals - Impact on the Domestic Regulatory  
Regime*

SHOLA TAYLOR  
(Rascom)

*Transiting Traffic, Tariffing and Regulatory  
Mechanisms*

OLEBILE GABORONE

*Non-Telecom Services and the Use of the  
Frequency Spectrum - Prioritisation,  
Management, and Regulation*

NAPE MAEPA

*Convergence of Information Technologies -  
Regulatory Constraints*

**PANEL DISCUSSION - ALL SPEAKERS**



**CDITP**  
**Telecommunications Regulatory Symposium**

Page 5

**DAY TWO - 29 JULY 1993**

**SESSION TWO:**

**CHAIRPERSON: LINDA ZAMA**

**"OBLIGATIONS AND ENFORCEMENT  
MECHANISMS - USE OF LEGAL  
STRUCTURES"**

**TIME:**

**SUBJECT:**

**SPEAKER:**

*Who regulates the regulator?*

**PIERRE PRETORIUS**

*Enforcing regulations - What Options?*

**MIKE MARKOVITZ**

*Obligations to Service Providers -  
Protecting and Educating the User*

**KGABISI MUSUNKUTU**

*Politics and Legalities of Licencing  
the Provision of Services*

**PENUEL MADUNA**

*Tender Processes and Transparency*

**NOCAWE MAHLATI**

**PANEL DISCUSSION - ALL SPEAKERS**

**SESSION TWO:**

**CHAIRPERSON: ROY WILLIAMS**

**TIME:**

**SUBJECT:**

**RAPPORTEUR:**

COMMISSION ONE - }

COMMISSION TWO - }

COMMISSION THREE - }

COMMISSION FOUR - }

*To be elected by each Commission*

**CLOSING SESSION:**

o Summary Speech

ANDILE NGCABA

o Closing Remarks

MIKE JARVIS

**PRESS CONFERENCE**

CDITP

**DRAFT RECOMMENDATIONS BY DRAFTING COMMITTEE**

- **ARRANGEMENTS TO BE CONFIRMED AT SYMPOSIUM.**

18/06/93



CDITP  
Telecommunications Regulatory Symposium

Page 5

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**DAY TWO - 29 JULY 1993**

**SESSION TWO:**

**CHAIRPERSON: LINDA ZAMA**

**"OBLIGATIONS AND ENFORCEMENT  
MECHANISMS - USE OF LEGAL  
STRUCTURES"**

**TIME:**

**SUBJECT:**

**SPEAKER:**

*Who regulates the regulator?*

**PIERRE PRETORIUS**

*Enforcing regulations - What Options?*

**MIKE MARKOVITZ**

*Obligations to Service Providers -  
Protecting and Educating the User*

**KGABISI MUSUNKUTU**

*Politics and Legalities of Licencing  
the Provision of Services*

**PENUEL MADUNA**

*Tender Processes and Transparency*

**NOCAWE MAHLATI**

**PANEL DISCUSSION - ALL SPEAKERS**

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**CDITP**  
**Telecommunications Regulatory Symposium**

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**DAY THREE - 30 JULY 1993**

**SESSION ONE:**

**CHAIRPERSON: ROY WILLIAMS**

**BREAK INTO FOUR COMMISSIONS:**

**TIME:**

**COMMISSION TITLE:**

**CHAIRPERSON:**

- |    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
| 1. | <b><i>"How to Regulate - Lessons From Abroad" : Human Resource Development and Affirmative Action In The Telecom Sector"</i></b> | <b>DR SIBELETSO<br/>MOKOANE -MATABANE</b> |
| 2. | <b><i>"Universal Service - An Integral Part Of Democratic South Africa's Economic Development Strategy"</i></b>                  | <b>ALAN PAUL</b>                          |
| 3. | <b><i>"Natural Resources (Frequency Spectrum) and Strategic Communications Segments - Policy Options"</i></b>                    | <b>JAE MAINGARD</b>                       |
| 4. | <b><i>"Legalities and Enforcement"</i></b>   | <b>DR TED PEKANE</b>                      |

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Appendix 2



# 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

YOUR REF: MEMORANDUM TO THE NEGOTIATION

OUR REF: COUNCIL.

22/06/1993

1. THE ARMED STRUGGLE IS A LEGITIMATE RIGHT FOR THE OPPRESSED AND DISPOSSESSED MASSES TO SECURE THE BALLOT AND THE RETURN OF THE LAND.
2. THE P.A.C. WILL NEVER SUSPEND THE ARMED STRUGGLE AS A UNILATERAL ACT WHILE THE SETTLER REGIME IS ITSELF ENGAGED IN ACTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST THE AFRICAN PEOPLE.
3. WE CAN ONLY RESTATE THE POSITION THAT A MUTUAL CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES BE NEGOTIATED AND AGREED UPON BY THE P.A.C. AND THE REGIME.
4. OUR APPROACH IS TO NEGOTIATE TO END THE WAR, BUT NOT TO END THE WAR IN ORDER TO NEGOTIATE.
5. THE MULTI PARTY NEGOTIATION PROCESS MUST FOCUS ON DISCUSSING MODALITIES OF ELECTIONS FOR AN UNFETTERED CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. THERE MUST ALSO BE A TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY SET UP WHICH CONSIST OF INTERNATIONAL INDEPENDENT AND IMPARTIAL, TO SEE THAT THE ELECTIONS ARE FREE AND FAIR.

ISSUED BY THE P.A.C. CAMPAIGNS COMMITTEE

ALL CORRESPONDENCE TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

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## 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 offervvaardigheid tussen volksgenote te bevorder;
  - \* om vreedsame verhoudings met ander volke na te strew.
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 onself 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



**ADDENDUM N**

~~MEMORANDUM~~  
BY RURAL COMMUNITIES SEEKING RESTORATION OF THEIR LAND  
TO THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

25/6/93

We, the representatives of rural communities, who have born the brunt to the apartheid 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 ancestors, 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 farming 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 herd the cattle -- we are farmers!



Farmworkers that have been evicted from farms they have been living 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

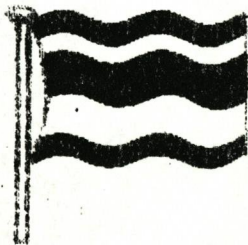
The Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (ACLA) is slow, unrepresentative, and toothless. In more than a year of operating, it has given back land to only two rural communities. We need a Land Claims Court which is representative of the people who live on the land. We need a Court that can take decisions.

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!!

*"Democracy means freedom to choose"*



# INKATHA

Inkatha Freedom Party

IQembu leNkatha Yenkululeko

21 JUNE 1993

HEAD OF ADMINISTRATION  
MULTI PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS  
WORLD TRADE CENTRE  
KEMPTON PARK

FAX NO.: 011 - 3971198

Dear Sir,

ABSENCE FROM MULTI PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS MEETINGS :

I write to apologise for my inevitable absence at the Negotiating Council meeting on 23 June 1993. I shall be accompanying my Leader at a meeting of National importance.

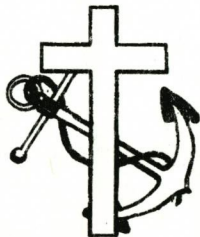
From 26 June until 1st July I shall be overseas.

Yours sincerely

.....  
DR F.T. MDALOSE  
IFP NATIONAL CHAIRMAN



# The Methodist Church of Southern Africa



Simon's Town Society  
(Services Since 1828)

Minister/Naval Chaplain  
REV Ralph R Thornley (Padré)

CHURCH CENTRE  
P.O. BOX 1  
Simon's Town 7995  
Rep of South Africa  
Phone: Office (021)787-3019  
Home: (021) 786-1814

4 June 1993

The Chairman  
Negotiating Council  
World Trade Centre  
Kempton Park  
1620

Dear Sir

I am but one of many South Africans concerned about the future of this land and greatly saddened by the disagreements and in fighting that constantly seems to plague the negotiation process.

It seems that these negotiations are not the first to wallow in "heavy seas". I came across an item in a book entitled "Mysteries of the Bible" published by Readers Digest. James Daniel in his work "The Psalms-Hymnbook of Humanity" writes :

"In 1787 the Constitutional Convention meeting at Philadelphia was near failure because the 13 former colonies could not agree on a form of effective national government. When the deadlock appeared too great for human power to break, 81-year-old Benjamin Franklin rose to his feet. All his life, he said, he had been convinced that the Psalms were right in saying, 'Except the LORD build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' He moved that the delegates begin the next day's meeting with a prayer offered by a Philadelphia clergyman. The motion carried. So dramatic was the improvement in legislative temperaments and efficiency that Congress still observes Franklin's precedent."

I send this item to you, Sir, at a very crucial time in our history and hope that in some small way it might make a positive contribution to all that is happening.

We are praying constantly both in my Naval duties and as a clergyman.

Yours in His Service

RALPH R. THORNLEY  
CHAPLAIN SA NAVY

PT

*Die Christelike Vereniging van die Poskantoor*  
*The Christian Association of the Post Office*

Christian Association of the  
S A Post Office and Telkom SA  
P O Box 555  
CAPE TOWN 8000  
18 June 1993

The Chairman  
Multi Party Negotiating Process  
P O Box 307  
ISANDO 1600

FOR ATTENTION : DR T ELOFF

Dear Sir

Kindly share this message with all delegates at the Multi Party Negotiating Process. At this time in our countries history much store is being placed upon the development of negotiations taking place at the Multi Party Negotiating Process. We want to assure all members present of the prayerful support of our Association.

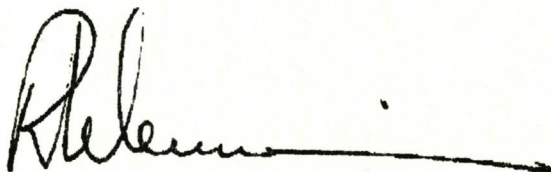
We of the Christian Association within S A Post Office and the Telkom SA trust that the reconciling ministry of Christ may be known in your own hearts and be shown in your relationships and the results you achieve.


EPHESIANS 3:16-19

"I ask God from the wealth of his glory to give you power through his Spirit to be strong in you inner selves, and I pray that Christ will make his home in your hearts through faith. I pray that you may have your roots and foundation in love, so that you, together with all God's people, may have the power to understand how broad and long, how high and deep, is Christ's love. Yes, may you come to know his love - although it can never be fully known - and so be completely filled with the very nature of God."

May the God of Peace be pleased to bless your deliberations.

Greetings in Christ's Name.



 PRESIDENT



REVISED PROPOSED SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

28 JUNE 1993

Planning Committee	Monday 28 June 1993	12h00 - 14h00
Negotiating Council	Monday 28 June 1993	14h00 - 22h00
Negotiating Council	Tuesday 29 June 1993	08h30 - 18h30
Negotiating Council	Wednesday 30 June 1993	08h30 - 18h30
Negotiating Council	Thursday 1 July 1993	08h30 - 18h30
<b>NEGOTIATING FORUM</b>	Friday 2 July 1993	10h00 - 17h30

Technical Committees to do detailed work	Monday 5 July 1993 to Tuesday 13 July 1993
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Planning Committee	Wednesday 14 July 1993	15h00 - 19h00
Negotiating Council	Thursday 15 July 1993	09h00 - 18h30
Negotiating Council	Friday 16 July 1993	09h00 - 18h30

Planning Committee	Monday 19 July 1993	15h00 - 19h00
Negotiating Council	Tuesday 20 July 1993	09h00 - 18h30
Negotiating Council	Wednesday 21 July 1993	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.**

1/4/12

**ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION FOR THE MEETING OF  
PLANNING COMMITTEE CONTINUED ON THURSDAY 1 JULY AT 22H00**

**1. Financial Matters:**

- 1.1 Application for Financial Assistance for the PAC (p1)
- 1.2 Remuneration for expert : IMC Technical Committee (p3)
- 1.3 Application for per diem allowance for delegates of the Cape Traditional Leaders (p4)

**2. Memoranda from Demonstrating Organisations:**

- 2.1 PAC Campaigns Committee (p5)
- 2.2 Afrikaner Volksfront (p6)
- 2.3 Transvaal Rural Action Committee (p8)
- 2.4 PAC of Azania (p10)

**3. Requests for Meetings:**

- 3.1 National Economic Forum (p11)
- 3.2 Local Government Negotiation Forum (p25)

**4. Report to the Planning Committee re Demonstrations by the PAC of Azania (p26)**





# 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

YOUR REF:

OUR 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:-

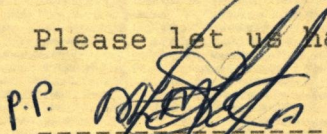
- (a) 4 delegates to all Negotiating Council meetings;
- (b) One administrator in our office;
- (c) One typist;
- (d) Two security people;
- (e) Two clerks;
- (f) Four experts;
- (g) Communications officer.

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 us have your response at your earliest convenience.

P.P.   
-----  
WILLIE SERITI



**FAXIMILE LETTER**

TO: MR W SERITI  
Legal Secretary  
PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA  
Fax number: (012) 323 7022

FROM: PROF DION BASSON  
Fax number: (012) 466 367

DATE: 25 JUNE 1993

Dear Mr Seriti

I hereby confirm that I have been asked to act 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



21 June 1993

Theuns Eloff  
Multi-Party Negotiating Process  
World Trade Centre

Dear Sir,

**REQUEST THAT RENUMERATION AND TRAVELLING EXPENSES BE PAID TO EXPERT**

Mr Michael Markovitz, in the capacity of an expert, has provided substantial assistance to our technical committee in drafting the IMC and IBA Bills.

Our Committee unanimously motivates that Mr Markovitz be remunerated and paid travelling expenses at the same rate as that paid to members of the attorneys' profession who are members of Technical Committees.

We trust that our motivation will be favourably received.

Yours sincerely,



Convenor of Technical Committee on Independent Media Commission and Independent Telecommunications Authority.

42 Sisson Street  
Fort Gale  
Lanigan  
1993-06-24

THE ADMINISTRATOR  
MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING FORUM  
WORLD TRADE CENTRE  
KIMATOR PARK.

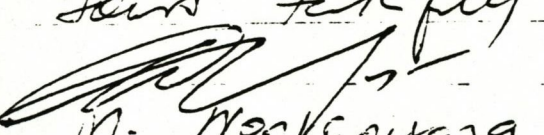
Dear Sir

RE: APPLICATION FOR PER DIEM ALLOWANCE  
FOR DELEGATES

THE CAPC delegation of traditional  
leaders is composed of persons  
who are self-employed and  
who as a result of their  
involvement in the negotiating process  
have considerable sums of money  
in their business.

We accordingly strongly recommend that  
a per diem allowance be  
approved for delegates of  
traditional leaders.

Yours faithfully

  
M. Wanjauya  
FOR THE TRADITIONAL LEADERS.





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FAX (011) 838-3705

YOUR REF:

OUR REF:

MEMORANDUM TO THE NEGOTIATION

COUNCIL.

22/06/1993

1. THE ARMED STRUGGLE IS A LEGITIMATE RIGHT FOR THE OPPRESSED AND DISPOSSESSED MASSES TO SECURE THE BALLOT AND THE RETURN OF THE LAND.
2. THE P.A.C. WILL NEVER SUSPEND THE ARMED STRUGGLE AS A UNILATERAL ACT WHILE THE SETTLER REGIME IS ITSELF ENGAGED IN ACTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST THE AFRICAN PEOPLE.
3. WE CAN ONLY RESTATE THE POSITION THAT A MUTUAL CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES BE NEGOTIATED AND AGREED UPON BY THE PAC AND THE REGIME.
4. OUR APPROACH IS TO NEGOTIATE TO END THE WAR, BUT NOT TO END THE WAR IN ORDER TO NEGOTIATE.
5. THE MULTI PARTY NEGOTIATION PROCESS MUST FOCUS ON DISCUSSING MODALITIES OF ELECTIONS FOR AN UNFETTERED CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. THERE MUST ALSO BE A TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY SET UP WHICH CONSIST OF INTERNATIONAL INDEPENDENT AND IMPARTIAL, TO SEE THAT THE ELECTIONS ARE FREE AND FAIR.

ISSUED BY THE P.A.C. CAMPAIGNS COMMITTEE



## 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 seen 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 onself 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



BY RURAL COMMUNITIES SEEKING RESTORATION OF THEIR LAND  
TO THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

25/6/93

We, the representatives of rural communities, who have been the brunt of the apartheid 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 ancestors, 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 farmworkers to have access to farming 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 herd the cattle -- we are farmers!

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Farmworkers that have been evicted from farms they have been living 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!!





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

PAC HEADQUARTERS

YOUR REF:

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

**END SECURITY FORCE DOUBLE STANDARDS NOW!  
MOVE TALKS TO A NEUTRAL VENUE NOW!**

We, the oppressed, exploited and justice loving people of Azania, members and non-members of the Organisation of the people, including the AZANIAN NATIONAL YOUTH UNITY (AZANYU), AFRICAN WOMENS ORGANISATION (AWO), PAN AFRICANIST STUDENTS ORGANISATION (PASO) and the PAC OF AZANIA are here to strongly protest and denounce the Double Standards of the Security Forces. They always apply a "shoot first, ask questions later" policy in dealing with the oppressed especially the PAC. Last Friday, the whole world witnessed how all delegates, especially women delegates to this Forum, were abused by the Right wing with the active connivance of the Command of the Security Forces.

On that day - also, Security Force members from the African of Black Community were subjected to racist abuse and insults. We are here to say so far and no more!

We are here to demand - for the safety of all delegates and the process that the talks be moved to a Neutral Venue, in line with the Resolutions of the Durban Patriotic United Front Conference of 25 - 27th October 1991.

We condemn the intransigence of the regime. It committed itself to mutual cessation of hostilities in this Forum - but reneged from this commitment in the bilateral talks with PAC. By its intransigence - it condemns to death - many young men and women serving in the Security Forces.

We are here to denounce Security Force's fanning of black on black violence through mercenary units.

We denounce the siege by SADF and SAP of the Transkei - that seige must end now!

We demand immediate release of PAC NEC Member - ENOCH ZULU. Charges which the Security Forces failed to prove in 1986-88 are being re-hashed. We call for his release now!

ISSUED BY: NATIONAL CAMPAIGNS COMMITTEE



June 23, 1993

Secretariat  
Multi-party Negotiation Forum  
Kempton Park

Sir,

We are writing to you on behalf of the Local Government Negotiation Forum (LGNF). The LGNF was launched in March 1993 with the following aim:

"To contribute to the democratisation of local government and the bringing about of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and financially viable local government system"

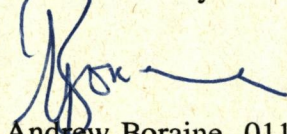
We understand that the multi-party negotiating forum is currently discussing matters which may directly or indirectly affect local government in South Africa. In particular, we refer to the proposed establishment of a TEC sub-council on local and regional government, the adoption of an interim constitution, and the recommendations of the TEC technical committee and the Constitutional technical committee respectively.

The Management Committee of the LGNF requests an urgent meeting with an appropriate structure of the multi-party negotiating forum to discuss:

1. The relationship between the proposed TEC sub-council on local and regional government, and the LGNF, including the process of decision-making regarding local government matters;
2. A proposal by the LGNF that the sub-council on local and regional government become a member of the LGNF;
3. The status of local government in the interim constitution, and how recommendations of the LGNF can be included in the constitution-making process;

We are having a plenary meeting of the LGNF on June 30. We would appreciate it if the meeting could take place before this date, to enable us to report to our members.

Yours sincerely



Andrew Boraine, 011 - 648 9117  
Dirk Strydom, 012 - 421 1427  
Secretariat, Local Government Negotiation Forum





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

*PAC HEADQUARTERS*

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OUR REF:

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2048  
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FAX (011) 838-3705

## **REPORT TO THE PLANNING COMMITTEE ABOUT DEMONSTRATIONS BY PAC OF AZANIA DATED 30TH JUNE 1993**

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania takes the strongest exception to the manner in which the security forces of the regime behaved on the departure of Deputy President Mlambo from the World Trade Centre.

We wish the following to be noted:

- a) Members of the regime's security forces interrupted comrade Mlambo's address to our members by switching on the alarm system of a loud hailer.
- b) This angered our members and created conditions for potential conflict.
- c) The Regime's Security forces stood in front of the Presidential car with pointed rifles, this tenderd to exacerbate tensions.
- d) Our members were pushed with rifles - including an NEC member (M.Shinners) assigned to ensure violence did not occur.
- e) The senior police officer in charge argued that PAC members were obstructing traffic.

We find this an absurd claim because two buses ferrying NUMSA demonstrators went through uninterrupted.

We note that an order for "SAP to step back" was issued.

No injury to persons or property has been reported to us.

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