

DRAFT AGENDA AND DOCUMENTATION

for the meeting of the

PLANNING COMMITTEE

to be held at 09H30 on Monday

16 AUGUST 1993

**DRAFT AGENDA FOR THE MEETING OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE
TO BE HELD AT 09H30 ON MONDAY 16 AUGUST 1993 AT
THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE**

Chairperson : Z Titus

1. **Moment of Prayer/Meditation**
2. **Welcome and Attendance**
3. **Ratification of Agenda**
4. **Minutes (Already distributed)**
 - 4.1 Ratification of the minutes of the meetings of:
 - 4.1.1 2 August 1993
 - 4.1.2 3 August 1993
 - 4.1.3 4 August 1993
 - 4.2 Matters arising out of the minutes of the meetings of:
 - 4.2.1 2 August 1993
 - 4.2.2 3 August 1993
 - 4.2.3 4 August 1993
 - 4.3 Distribution of the minutes of the week commencing 9 August 1993.
5. **Substantive issues**
 - 5.1 Reports in the Negotiating Council until Thursday 19 August 1993 (see Addendum A, p7):
 - 5.1.1 **Violence:**

The Fifth Report was discussed on Thursday 12 August 1993.
 - 5.1.2 **Constitutional Issues:**
 - 5.1.2.1 The next volume of Combined Reports will be ready for discussion on Monday 23 August 1993. Certain important issues have been referred to the Planning Committee. They are listed below.
 - 5.1.2.2 The preamble of the Draft Constitution.
 - 5.1.2.3 Self-determination and confederalism:

It was agreed that the general concerns of the AVU with regard to self determination, as a principle and an application, be referred back to the Planning Committee. The date for the debate to be held on the report of Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues dealing with Confederalism and self-determination

should be determined as a matter of urgency. It was noted that the debate on these issues had been delayed in the hope that the KP would return to the Negotiating table and form part of that debate.

5.1.2.4 Citizenship laws and SPR Citizenship:

The Technical Committee requested that the question of rationalising, repealing and co-ordinating citizenship law should be referred to a Technical Committee for attention. The Planning Committee was requested to submit a recommendation in this regard to the Negotiating Council.

5.1.2.5 Competencies of SPR's:

It was agreed that the areas of competence in clause 118 that there was disagreement on should be referred to the Planning Committee for its attention. Any additions should be submitted to the Planning Committee as well. The following items were noted as points of difference:

- SPR exclusive powers:
 - * (e) - Language policy and language(s) for official use in the SPR
 - * (i) - Road traffic
 - * (l) - SPR public media
 - * (m) - SPR roads
 - * (n) - SPR public transport
- Proposed additions to exclusive powers:
 - * Citizenship
 - * Local Government
 - * Housing
 - * Education
 - * Welfare Services
 - * SPR and local policing
 - * Health services

Participants were at this point requested to submit any further suggestions or points of difference to the Planning Committee for its consideration. The Planning Committee should submit a recommendation to the Negotiating Council on how the lists should be composed.

The principle that concurrent powers should apply to SPR's was agreed to. Here participants were also requested to refer points of difference, amendments or suggestions on sub-clause (4) to the Planning Committee for its attention and to submit a recommendation to the Negotiating Council in this regard.

5.1.2.6 SPR taxes:

It was suggested that the SPR's should have sources of revenue other than its allocation from the National Government. It was pointed out that the Constitution provided for SPR's to raise taxes, but made that dependent on the decision of the National Government. It was suggested that the SPR's should not be made subject to a "strangle hold" of the SPR Commission and the Financial and Fiscal Commission. This was referred to the Planning Committee.

5.1.2.7 The continuation, transfer and consolidation of existing administrative responsibility:

The Planning Committee was requested to give consideration to the proposal that a specialised body (separate from the Sub-Council on Local and Regional Government of the TEC) be created to deal with this issue.

5.1.2.8 SPR Constitutions:

After lengthy discussion on Chapter 9, the need for a political decision on the issue of constitutions for SPR's was identified. The following two scenarios emerged around this issue:

- * The SPR constitution should be drafted by an unelected body and that constitution then be adopted by the elected representatives of the SPR after the elections;
- * The SPR constitution should be drafted by the elected representatives of the SPR after the elections.

It was agreed to refer this issue to the Planning Committee to suggest a mechanism. The Technical Committee confirmed that all other issues raised in the

discussion on this Chapter could be dealt with by it.

5.1.2.9 The name for SPR's

5.1.3 TEC and its Sub-Councils :

5.1.3.1 The Eighth Working Draft of the Bill was discussed on Thursday 12 August 1993.

5.1.3.2 Issues referred to the Planning Committee will be available at the meeting.

5.1.4 Independent Electoral Commission:

5.1.4.1 The deadline for this Technical Committees next report is Monday 16 August 1993 and the report is to be discussed on Tuesday 17 August 1993.

5.1.4.2 Report from the Ad-Hoc Committee.

5.1.4.3 Report from the Sub-Committee (if any).

5.1.4.4 Goldstone Commission Report on the curbing of violence and intimidation, before, during and after the forthcoming elections.

5.1.5 Repeal or Amendment of Discriminatory Legislation:

5.1.5.1 Feedback by Sub-Committee on progress made.

5.1.5.2 Renewed instructions to the Technical Committee.

5.1.6 Independent Media Commission and IBA:

The deadline for this Technical Committees report is next Monday 16 August 1993 and it is to be discussed on Tuesday 17 August or Wednesday 18 August 1993.

5.1.7 Fundamental Human Rights during the Transition:

5.1.7.1 The Eighth Report was discussed on Thursday 12 August 1993.

5.1.7.2 The Ninth Report will be available on Wednesday 18 August 1993, to be discussed on Thursday 19 August 1993.

5.1.7.3 Report from the Ad-Hoc Committee.

5.1.7.4 Report from the Sub-Committee (see Addendum B, p8).

5.1.7.5 Enforcement Mechanisms.

5.1.8 Commission on the Delimitation/Demarcation of Regions:

5.1.8.1 Implementation of the Resolution on the Way Forward, including time frames.

5.1.8.2 Walvis Bay.

5.1.9 Proposed circular to all Technical Committees (see Addendum C, p9).

- 5.2 **Violent Deaths of People on the East Rand:**
 - 5.2.1 A visit to the area.
 - 5.2.2 Practical measures to address violence, particularly a joint peace keeping force.
- 5.3 **PAC/SA Government Issue**
Reportback from the Ad-Hoc Committee appointed (see Addendum D, p12).
- 5.4 **The Ad-Hoc Committee on the TBVC States:**
Report from the Ad-Hoc Committee.
- 5.5 **Commission on National Symbols and Language:**
Implementation of the resolution establishing the Commission.
- 5.6 **Standing Committees of Parliament and draft legislation on the IEC, TEC, IMC and the IBA:**
Report from the Sub-Committee.
- 6. **Procedural issues**
 - 6.1 Report from the Ad-Hoc Committee with regard to the legal action by the Kwazulu Government (see Addendum E, p13).
 - 6.2 Avstig (see Addendum F, p14).
 - 6.3 Women and the composition of the Planning Committee.
 - 6.4 Women and the composition of the panel of Chairpersons.
 - 6.5 Meeting of the Panel of Chairpersons.
 - 6.6 Implementation of decision on Liaison Committees.
 - 6.7 Report of the Communications Committee.
- 7. **Administrative and Financial matters**
 - 7.1 Security (Reportback from the Sub-Committee).
 - 7.2 Correspondence:
 - 7.2.1 National Private Pre-School Action Group (see Addendum G, p22).
 - 7.2.2 Soweto Civic Association (Doornkop Branch) (see Addendum H, p24).
 - 7.2.3 General Council of the Bar of South Africa (see Addendum I, p26).
 - 7.2.4 Request from the National Peace Committee (see Addendum J, p28).
 - 7.2.5 Request from Kempton Park City Council (see Addendum K, p29).
 - 7.3 Number of bodyguards per delegation.
- 8. **Draft agendas for the meetings of the Negotiating Council**

9. **Meetings Schedule and Programme** (see Addendum L, p31)

It was suggested that, as the last flight to Cape Town on a Thursday evening leaves at 18h55, the Negotiating Council's meetings on Thursdays adjourn at 18h00. To compensate for the hour lost, Council's meetings on Tuesdays and Thursdays could start at 08h30.

10. **Closure**

DRAFT PROGRAMME FOR MEETINGS

16 AUGUST 1993

Monday 16 August 1993	Discussion:	*	TEC
	(Distribution :		IEC, IMC and IBA)
Tuesday 17 August 1993	Discussion:	*	IEC
		*	IMC and IBA (if time allows)
Wednesday 18 August 1993	Discussion:	*	IMC and IBA (finalise)
	(Distribution :		FHR)
Thursday 19 August 1993	Discussion:	*	TEC (finalise)
Monday 23 August 1993	Discussion:	*	IEC (finalise)
Tuesday 24 August 1993	Discussion:	*	FHR (finalise)
Wednesday 25 August 1993	Discussion:	*	Constitutional Issues
Thursday 26 August 1993	Discussion:	*	Constitutional Issues

**SUB-COMMITTEE'S REPORT TO THE PLANNING COMMITTEE
ON: RECOMMENDATION BY THE TECHNICAL COMMITTEE
ON FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS THAT THEIR SIXTH
REPORT BE SENT FOR COMMENT TO A NUMBER OF LEGAL
ASSOCIATIONS AND TO CERTAIN JUDGES**

1. The Technical Committee on Fundamental Human Rights proposed that their seventh Report be sent for comment to
 - The Association of Law Societies
 - The General Council of the Bar
 - NADEL
 - The Black Lawyers Association
 - The Chief Justice and the Judges President

It was proposed to give them one week in which to respond.

2. The Council referred this recommendation to the Planning Committee who instructed the Sub-Committee to discuss this issue with the Technical Committee. This was done on 10 August, 1993.
3. After having discussed the issues thoroughly, the Technical Committee agreed to recommend that their ninth report be sent to the following bodies for comment, requesting them to respond within a week:
 - The Association of Law Societies
 - The General Council of the Bar
 - NADEL
 - The Black Lawyers Association.
4. The Sub-Committee recommends that this proposal be approved.

CIRCULAR TO ALL TECHNICAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS

Prepared by Zam Titus for discussion by Planning Committee members. This arises from concerns which I have on time-frames and about the apparent lack of awareness of the full details regarding the amount of ground still to be covered and of the number of matters which have either not yet been placed formally before the Council nor referred to a specific Technical Committee.

1. The Planning Committee is charged with the initial formulation of the work programme of the Negotiating Council. The Negotiating Council will have to consider and approve of legislation to be considered by Parliament at a session commencing on 13 September 1993. The Planning Committee is presently taking stock of the situation and has compiled a list of the legislation which will or may have to be introduced during the forthcoming session of Parliament. The list of such legislation appears hereunder under two separate headings. The list reads:

A. LEGISLATION TO BE INTRODUCED:

- i) Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993;
- ii) Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill, 1993;
- iii) Independent Media Commission Bill, 1993;
- iv) Transitional Executive Council Bill, 1993;
- v) Independent Electoral Commission Bill, 1993;
- vi) Electoral Bill, 1993;
- vii) Bill repealing discriminatory legislation as well as other legislation impeding free political activity;
- viii) Bill(s) giving effect to proposals emanating from the Technical Committee dealing with violence-related matters. The Bills will deal with the following:
 - a) gatherings and demonstrations (Regulation of Gatherings Bill);
 - b) peace/youth service corps;
 - c) multi-party peace keeping force; and possibly

- d) carrying or possession of dangerous weapons or arms;
- e) multi-party control over security forces; and
- ix) Bill consolidating the various laws regulating citizenship in Southern Africa.

(Note - the only legislation which has been considered by the Negotiating Council so far is that set out in subparagraphs (i) to (v)).

B. OTHER POSSIBLE LEGISLATION

- i) Bill regulating privileges and immunities of the next Parliament and SPR legislatures;
- ii) Bill dealing with the reincorporation of TBVC States;
- iii) Bill providing for a "higher code" as proposed by the Technical Committee on repeals;
- iv) Bill dealing with local government during the transition as proposed by the Local Government Negotiating Forum; and
- v) TBVC legislation extending the application of the laws mentioned in Paragraph A above to the TBVC States.

2. The work programme for the coming weeks will have to be adjusted considerably if the Negotiating Council is to be able to finalise all the required legislation before the next session of Parliament. Consequently the Planning Committee -

- a) wishes to draw to the attention of all Technical Committee members the fact that Parliament convenes on 13 September 1993;
- b) requests all Technical Committees to comment on the above legislation programme and to provide the Planning Committee with a list of such other legislation as may be necessary to introduce in order to ensure proper application of the full package of the Bills under consideration;
- c) requests all Technical Committees to identify the problems which they may be experiencing at present and to suggest mechanisms aimed at facilitating the completion of the drafting process; and

- d) requests the Technical Committees to provide it with such other comments and suggestions as will facilitate the finalisation of the drafting process.
3. The comments of Technical Committees will facilitate the formulation of future work programmes and appropriate strategies and, due to the urgency hereof, such comments should be discussed with Messrs van der Merwe and Maharaj before their ultimate transmission to the Planning Committee before the 17th of August.

**CHAIRPERSON
PLANNING COMMITTEE**

11 AUGUST 1993

**PAC/SA GOVERNMENT ISSUE:
MINUTES OF MEETING HELD ON 9 AUGUST 1993**

It is recorded that on Monday the 9th of August the members of the ad-hoc committee appointed to deal with this matter met briefly to consider this issue. It was agreed that there is no need to debate this matter at this stage as the PAC had not provided all the details on the matters set out in the Planning Committee's letter addressed to Mrs de Lille on 2 June 1993, as read with the Planning Committee Minutes of 28 June 1993. Mr Alexander then undertook to provide the committee with the outstanding information not later than Wednesday the 11th. The meeting was then adjourned on that basis and the committee took the view that another meeting would possibly take place in the afternoon of the 11th.

**Z. TITUS
(CONVENOR)**

ADDENDUM E
7. Y.I.

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600

Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

9 August 1993

Professor H Cheadle
Cheadle, Thompson & Haysom
BRAAMFONTEIN

FAX: 011-403 1764

Dear Professor Cheadle,

Your letters of 5 August 1993, refer.

Today, (9 August 1993) the two respondents in the matter were served with a new set of papers. The new set of papers indicates that the Kwazulu Government still intends pursuing the matter albeit on a different basis. The said set of papers is attached.

We have also taken note of the report on the action you have taken so far in pursuance of the instructions issued to you. We wish to place it on record that it is the view of the Planning Committee that the wishes of the two respondents on this matter should be respected at all times. That effectively entitles you to confer and consult with them directly at any time should you deem it necessary and likewise they will be entitled to confer or contact you directly.

However, we wish to point out that the Planning Committee, through an Ad Hoc Committee being chaired by Mr Z Titus, will always be available to give direction on any matter should this be thought necessary. In particular the Ad Hoc Committee is ready to consider the finalisation of the appointment of senior advocates with you.

Looking forward to your response.

Yours sincerely,



Z. TITUS

CONVENOR: AD HOC SUB-COMMITTEE

AFRIKANER VRYHEIDSTIGTING (AVSTIG)



W6: VEELP: 5/6 March 1993

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

MULTI-PARTY PLANNING CONFERENCE: PARTICIPATION OF AVSTIG

The Afrikaner Freedom Foundation (Afrikanervryheidstigting/ AVSTIG) wants to participate as full member to the Multi-party Planning Conference as a political party with proven support.

This necessitates some (I) analitical evaluation of the concept "political party" as used within this context as well as (II) proving significant support.

I

In a broad (political) sense a party could be described as a group of people organised for political involvement. Although established democracies tend to regulate the activities of participating parties by means of registration, legal control and partaking in certain legislative structures, this narrow meaning should not be dominant in our context.

In the first place we have consensus on the point that South Africa is not yet an established democracy and in the second place, some of the major role players today will not qualify if the broader meaning of "party" was not applied.

On this basis it would be impossible to exclude AVSTIG from being a party.

The question seemingly less clear cut but more important, would be the difference between political and non- political parties; between a political party and other sorts of interest or pressure groups.

A difference could clearly be made between groups aspiring to be actively involved in government (legislative and executive), and willing to take part under its own name in elections to that effect on the one hand, and groups trying to influence government policy without formally participating in the election and composition process on the other hand. This would for example be the difference between a political party and a trade union.

Arguing within the framework of a national negotiation forum, a political party's aspiration should at least have a definite regional intent for being of national significance. Not every local political party - even within the broader definition - would thus qualify for participation.

* As AVSTIG has a definite goal to bring about a sovereign state for Afrikaner people within Southern African context; and

* As AVSTIG foresees the establishment of fully democratic government within such a state; and

* As AVSTIG's proposal for such a state has implications on the demarcation of regions within the RSA; and

* As AVSTIG's proposal has a bearing on some problems central to South Africa's national politics; and

* As AVSTIG is eager to negotiate its ideas in order to form part of a peaceful transitional process in the RSA; and

* As AVSTIG has submitted its proposals to Codesa; and

* As AVSTIG participates in the VOLKSTAATRAAD, a group of Volkstaat organizations with the objective to be the state founding body, and

* As AVSTIG claims sympathy on a broad national base;

There could be no doubt that AVSTIG qualifies for being a "political party" of the sort that should be considered for admission for this meeting.

II

As far as proving AVSTIG's support is concerned, it is again in the same position as some other major and minor participants today: it is part of a new South African political scene and could not be tested by any election or referendum to date.

Nonetheless:

* AVSTIG's proposals are based on more than four decades of research done by SABRA, while adding a constant flow of publications on different themes to what is yet available. (For example the "Vryheidsreeks" of which two parts were submitted to the South African Law Commission.)

* AVSTIG found general recognition within the South African political scene, for example in bilateral talks with the South African government, the ANC, members of COSAG, business leaders and political observers. Its proposals are received all the more positive when it is understood not as an alternative to the negotiated settlement we all hope for, but as part of it.

* AVSTIG found international recognition and has firm relations with the Embassies of Germany, Great Britain, the USA, France, Belgium and Israel amongst others and representatives meet guests as well as journalists from these states on a regular basis. Representatives also visited Europe at multiple occasions and was well received by political leaders on cabinet and parliamentary level, political and scientific foundations and groups and business leaders.

* AVSTIG initiated the first full fledged volkstaat town of ORANIA, which attracts attention of national and international radio and television, papers and magazines, and is visited by thousands of Afrikaners every year. It also brings about lots of other unorchestrated settlement within the designated area.

In the light of the preceding information and arguments, AVSTIG has the confidence to assert itself as a political party with proven support which should be taking part in this Multi-party Planning Conference.



25 May 1993

Multi-Party Negotiating Process
World Trade Centre
Kempton Park

**PARTICIPATION OF THE AFRIKANER FREEDOM FOUNDATION (AVSTIG) IN
MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS FOR A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL DISPENSATION**

INTRODUCTION

We are glad to confirm that AVSTIG is still prepared to take part in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process (MPNC) and hereby submit our formal application to that effect.

As a matter of principle the MPNP's legitimacy depends on its inclusivity, and its success on its ability to deliver an all-embracing constitutional structure, accomodating the real needs and aspirations of those supposed to adhere to it. People not represented in the negotiating structures could simply not be expected to identify with its results, not even to accept it - and ending up with constitutional oppression would be no better than ending up with unconstitutional oppression.

Our application should therefore not be seen as subjecting ourselves to the authority of the present MPNP to decide who may or may not take part in shaping South Africa's future. It should rather be seen as an expression of our preference for a peaceful reconciliation of diverse interests and an approach to other parties of the same view.

As we were uniquely able to translate our cultural political ideas into realistic regional political terms, and as representatives of AVSTIG is monitoring the proceedings of the MPNP in detail both on the spot and from outside, we are adequately equipped to take a constructive part in the process.

Nevertheless we are sensitive for the fact that we are in an unprecedented position: if it was so obvious that we should be part of the process, why have we not been invited from the outset? But then: if it was so obvious that we should not be part of the process, why would we persist? Point is that this application should be considered very carefully.

CRITERIA

1. To show that we are indeed a political organisation intending to participate as such (i.e. under our own name) in the first election under a transitional/new constitution:

It is taken that this criterion is not meant to preempt our possible input into negotiations by binding us beforehand to any specific outcome or constitutional structure. If otherwise, it would be meaningless for us to take part.

As illustrated in our literature, AVSTIG is working for a free state for Afrikaners within a regional dispensation in Southern Africa, based on democratic principles and practice and on maximum community empowerment.

Ideally we would thus most certainly take part in elections at the first possible occasion: as a state founding body it would be on state level and in facilitating capacity. But whenever it seems possible to attain or substantially promote these objectives, we would consider positively to take part in elections in another capacity and on other levels.

This means that there could be no doubt about AVSTIG being a political organisation of the kind that should be negotiating, whatever criteria are used - unmanipulatively.

2. To show that we have proven substantial support in a national context:

"Substantial support" is often measured simply in terms of mass mobilization alone, but such an one-dimensional approach cannot satisfy a more fundamental analysis of the concept. At least the following areas of support should be taken into account to evaluate how substantial it is:

- * Grassroot support
- * Leadership support
- * Academic and intellectual support
- * Financial support
- * Substantive support
- * Passive support
- * Potential or growing support
- * Recognition

Each of these concepts will be explained and illustrated in what we see as AVSTIG's proven substantial support.

Another dimension should however be added to our whole argument. It could be described as an integral approach and will be explained in terms of historical contextualisation. The following four phenomena are at issue: SABRA, the Afrikanervolkswag, Groot Trek 150 and AVSTIG. No one of them could be sufficiently understood in isolation and they claim at least two decisive common denominators, viz. common leadership and an essentially post-colonial and consequently post-apartheid understanding of themselves.

The South African Bureau for Racial Affairs was formed in 1948 to advise the new NP government on issues relating to the "racial question". In time it became the think tank for Verwoerdian "seperate developement", the self-governing territories and independant states. In the late 1970's a radical proposition for the consolidation of the "homelands", with meaningful economical and political viability in mind, but it was rejected by the Vorster government. From there on it concentrated on ways of securing Afrikaner independence.

The Vorster government was replaced by the Botha regime and the cycles of suppression-and-reform as well as his ideology of total-strategy-against-the-total-onslaught created a political climate which brought him in conflict with Afrikaner leaders like Prof Carel Boshoff, then chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond and SABRA. Being ousted as Broeder he formed the new Afrikanervolkswag in 1984, which was committed to conserve traditional Afrikaner values, culture and political self-determination.

The biggest and most widely recognized project undertaken by the Volkswag was the 1986-1988 commemoration of the Great Trek. The motto was "Op Trek Na Ons Eie" (On Trek To Our Own) and simbolical treks followed 13 routes countrywide, with local celebrations at nearly 360 different venues. It ended up in Pretoria where some 6 000 people stayed for a week at a temporary camping site at Donkerhoek and some 60 000 attended the mass meeting on the Day of the Vow (16 December).

The success of this mass mobilisation had everything to do with the Volkswag as unifying force in conservative Afrikaner ranks, bringing together leaders like AP Treurnicht, Jaap Marais and Eugene Terreblanche. But in spite of this popular success AVSTIG was founded in 1989 - and became a member-organisation in 1992 - with the radical political objective of a volkstaat in the North Western Cape in mind. At the cost of some popular support - from which SABRA and the Volkswag also suffered - AVSTIG has been working for its goal against such impossible odds as persuading people of the realities still to come when they try to negate realities that had already come.

In whichever other ways these developements could be interpreted, the self-understanding of development towards post-apartheid Afrikaner thought cannot be negated. In the political context of our day AVSTIG transcended the easy gain of mobilizing the dissatisfied to fight for what they are losing, and took up the challenge of creating sustainable alternatives for disillusionment and conflict.

The mere fact that this might seem less spectacular does not mean that AVSTIG's support is less substantial or proven than those capitalizing on discontent and conflict. To the contrary: it is the one option for growing support on the long run, for it takes Afrikaners' essential needs into account while it is also in phase with local and international trends towards decentralization and democratization.

Against this background the following information on the different areas of our support should make sense:

In terms of grass-root support the three organisations have a aggregate countrywide mailing list of some 11 000 people, with some 6 000 families (for the greater part) and individuals contributing financially. A community of some 400 people, two schools, medical services and more than 50 licences for different enterprises, was established at Orania - where one of the main concerns is a shortage of industrial buildings. Hundreds, maybe even some thousands of people are also moving into or investing in the broader designated area unorchestrated, with the result that in specific parts (like Olifantshoek) the value of real estate showed a marked increase.

In terms of leadership support, Prof Boshoff has the highest profile; nevertheless the Burgerraad (Citizen's Council) consist of 40 members from all over South Africa, all respected members of their communities, their professional fields or fields of expertise, like Mrs Kobie Gouws,

Philippolis; Mnr PW Grobbelaar, Stellenbosch; Prof Jozef Henning, Pretoria; Dr CJ Jooste, Vredendal; Prof AWG Raath, Bloemfontein; Mnr RF van Heerden, Hopetown; Dr Chris Verwoerd, Bloemfontein; etc.

In terms of academic and intellectual support, there are active and passive support on every Afrikaans campus in South Africa, while protagonists of the AVSTIG-idea are kept in high esteem in quite a number of academic disciplines. Actually AVSTIG is so rich in intellectual support that it is even used against us!

In terms of financial support we are self-sustaining - though under pressure - in spite of a total lack of state- or external funding whatsoever. The whole Orania-developement demonstrated a unique mobilization of capital at a stage when the only mobile money in the country seem to be heading away.

Substantive support represents the sort of ideological intensity that motivate people to do extraordinary things - like moving home or mobilizing their capital. It could not be compared for instance with the number of people voting for a party or taking part in a march, rather with people entering into a liberation struggle. AVSTIG already has hundreds of supporters of this kind.

Passive support is not easy to measure, but it seems from evidence like a definite decrease in acid criticism in the media and elsewhere, and the increase of visitors to Orania that it is growing rapidly.

Potential or growing support is also not easily evaluated, but it could be deduced that people believing on the one hand that the process of liberation and democratization could be stopped in the old South Africa manner, or on the other hand that nothing is really going to change, are in for a major surprise and will have to compare alternatives sometime. At that stage some Afrikaners may opt for violence, some more may leave the country and others may choose to live under the new circumstances that they are confronted with, but it is not unrealistic to expect a lot of people would look at the volkstaat with totally new eyes.

In terms of recognition we would most probably have nothing to add to your own newspaper survey, except perhaps for some international references, Prof Boshoff's nomination in 1992 for the Nobel Peace Prize, the recognition we enjoy from significant parties in South Africa and from the embassys amongst others of the United States, Great Brittain, Germany, France, the Russian Republic, etc.

(Could it be suggested at this point that any reasonable newspaper survey should be done under the headings: AVSTIG/Afrikaner Vryheidstigting, Orania and Carel Boshoff.)

That our support is of national importance becomes clear not only in terms of its amount, but also in terms of its implications on regionalism in South Africa. Seen from any side though, AVSTIG's proven substantive support in a national context could not be doubted.

3. To show that we will enhance the peaceful negotiating process:

This is the most self-evident of the criteria mentioned, but at the risk of repeating some points may well be stressed.

Afrikaner interests should be taken into account for a peaceful settlement in South Africa. Although some of these could be secured by a Bill of Rights, there are communal needs expressed in terms of self-determination that could not be wished away or be hidden behind "fears and insecurities". Afrikaners' claim for freedom should be taken seriously - and the sooner the peaceful and realistic sort of option that we represent is recognised and implemented as part of a broad package deal, the more frustration and senseless conflict can be prevented.

The AVSTIG leadership has a history of loyalty to traditional Afrikanerdom, as well as an irreproachable moral record and sensitivity. This combination makes AVSTIG an ideal negotiating partner if a lasting solution is to be reached.

Although our proposed region and our realistic evolutionary approach would not satisfy all Afrikaners immediately, it will open possibilities that may seem more attractive than actually entering into violence.

Our role is played by nobody else, for no other party is working for a free Afrikaner state in the Western part of the country. It may well be that we do not only enhance peaceful negotiations, but in fact become a prerequisite for it.

If even our radically sacrificial model is rejected beforehand, Afrikaners may feel they are running out of peaceful options.



**PARTICIPATION OF THE AFRIKANER FREEDOM FOUNDATION
IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATION PROCESS**

AVSTIG submitted its application for participation in the MPNP to Administration on 25 May 1993. To be sure that the submission is treated with the attention it deserves, our response to the three criteria laid down by the Negotiation Council is included. More detail is available.

As it came to our ears that a subcommittee of the Planning Committee who has looked into the matter, had some reservations on our participation in terms of the first criterion, certain points have to be made:

1. A responsible decision on this matter demands reading our application as a whole. Selective quoting or stressing without the whole argument in mind can only lead to a biased reading and should be refrained of. Everybody taking part in such a decision are called upon to do it responsibly.
2. Criterion 1 could not be preemptive of our possible input into or effect on the result of negotiations without rendering our participation meaningless. It can therefore not prescribe to us a specific outcome or constitutional structure and expect us to be a mere rubber stamp. This should be taken into account when reading our motivation.
3. If it is unclear to anybody whether we intend taking part under our own name in the first election under a transitional/new constitution, our standpoint is: Taken into account point 2, yes, we do intend to take part.
4. Attention is drawn to the specific wording of the criterion: "...political party or organisation...". It is obvious that everything we do has political intent or bearing and the fact that we called ourselves "unpolitical" under certain circumstances and in terms of the 1983 constitution and minority parliament cannot alter that. We are more than a mere interest group.

Rejecting AVSTIG's application is a serious matter because nobody else at this Negotiating Process is forwarding our proposal - which was surely indicated by the newspaper survey as an important one.

It would be a pity, for if even our radically sacrificial model is rejected beforehand, Afrikaners may feel that they are running out of peaceful options.

NATIONAL PRIVATE PRE-SCHOOL ACTION GROUP

38 Mirabel Street, Kempton Park, 1620
P O Box 7039, Bonaero Park, Kempton Park, 1619

Tel. No. 395-1508

LETTER TO MULTI-PARTY TALKS : ATTENTION DR ELOFF

During the chaos that arised at the World Trade Centre on 25 June 1993 our representative had the privileged of discussing our problem with various representatives from various political parties. We were advised to request that our problem should be discussed at the Multi-Party Talks as it is in the interest of a "sovereign , non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa".

Our problem is the following : unfair competition on our behalf
temporarily political gain for the National Party

1. Pre-school education is not compulsory education in South Africa [public service to the working mother] :
 - [a] Small business people has invested between R750 000,00 to R1m to create a facility to accommodate a 100 pre-school children. We are not subsidised by the Government.
2. Model C Schools : are using empty class rooms as a pre-school facility at no extra cost [unfair competition] and they are not complying with the rules and regulations that are laid down by Department of Health and Welfare, Transvaal Education Department and the Health Department of the Town Councils.
3. When a certain primary school was approached about this their reply was all the schools in Kempton Park are doing it without the necessary requirements "so what are you going to do about it". We are being ignored by the above Departments who are supposed to ensure that these schools are registered according to specifications.

MODEL C SCHOOLS SHOULD BE STOPPED FROM OPENING PRE-PRIMARY SCHOOLS ON GOVERNMENT PREMISES DUE TO THE FOLLOWING :

1. It is a lie that an investigation was done to see if there is a need for more pre-primary schools [Mr Kito from TED, East Rand Regional Office], was taken round Kempton Park to show him the damage that Model C Schools have caused. There are about 40 to 60 privately owned pre-primary schools in Kempton Park alone, 90% of these schools are not full. We find the same problem nationwide.
2. We would like to attach the following copies of enrolment forms that are being handed out to White pre-school children and the application form that is handed out to Black pre-school children for admission into Model C Primary Schools for Grade I.
3. There is a very definite need for primary school facilities for Black children and therefore we can not see the logic in filling up empty class rooms with babies and we are battling to get our Black pre-school trained children who have to go to Grade I into Model C Schools. This is not in the interest of a future non-

racial South Africa.

4. It is not stimulating for small business development in South Africa if Government make decisions that can cause small business people to loose their businesses due to unfair competition. See attached drawing.
5. Privately owned pre-schools pay tax to the Government :
[a] Model C Schools can get tax exemption certificates.
6. We feel that pre-school should be kept as separate entities so that we can do the testing for admission into Grade I on fair grounds for all children in South Africa.
7. Model C Schools can use the present economical situation in their favour through saying to parents if you use our Model C Schools \ pre-primary schools \ after care centres it would bring your Model C school fees down.
8. Furthermore they can use the racial atmosphere in South Africa to their advantage through telling parents to support the pre-primary schools on the premises and it would help to keep the schools white.
9. Should the primary school be situated in a community where there is not sufficient bus transport to get children to other schools it would then mean that the community has to rely on the primary school in that area. It therefore gives them the power to say to parents we have our own pre-school now and you know Mrs van der Merwe if you do not use our pre-school, you might not be accommodated in Grade I because our pre-school children get first option for Grade I, what about parents that can not afford pre-school.

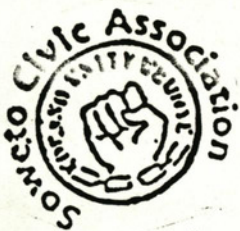
Furthermore there are quite a few more reasons why we feel this should not be allowed and we trust that this matter will be looked into with the utmost urgency.

We also would like to draw your attention that the Competition Board agrees with us that it is a very unfair situation and that they were going to advise the Government that this must be stopped, but like they say "they can only make the recommendation, but it is still up to the Government to make the final decision".

For more information our representative, Mrs J Pretorius, can be contacted.

We would like to be part of creating a better future for all children in South Africa.

.....
(sgd) MRS J PRETORIUS
(CHAIRMAN)



SOWETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION
DOORKOP BRANCH
DOORKOP SHOWHOUSES

Tel: (011) 988 1001-4
Fax: (011) 988 1124

9 August 1993

The Chairman
Multiparty Negotiating Council
World Trade Centre
KEMPTON PARK
1619

APPENDUM H

Dear Sir/Madam

We as the residents of Doornkop are concerned about the following issues:

1. The existing cases against Mr Obed Sesupo Mosiane and others e.g. CR 421/02/92, CR 250/03/92 and CR 375/03/92 etc. (Roodepoort Regional Court).
2. Lack of houses in our area.
3. Shortage of schools.
4. Lack of infrastructure.
5. Lack of security etc and police harrassments.

We therefore demand the following:

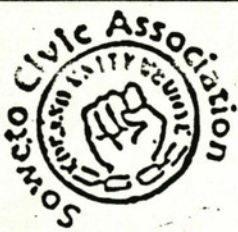
1. The unconditional withdrawal of charges against our leadership before 12 August 1993.
2. Resignation of the magistrate who is handling this case (Mr du Toit) because of injustice.
3. Affordable houses for all residents of Doornkop.
4. Tarred roads.
5. Schools.
6. Street lights.
7. Infrastructure.
8. Reliable security police in Doornkop etc.

Hoping that our demands will meet your favourable consideration.

Yours faithfully

..... O. S. Mosiane CHAIRMAN [Signature] TREASURER
..... [Signature] SECRETARY FRANCO ORGANISER

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SOWETO CIVIC ASSOCIATION
DOORKOP BRANCH
DOORKOP SHOWHOUSES

Tel: (011) 988 1001-4
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9 August 1993

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KEMPTON PARK
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Hoping that our demands will meet your favourable consideration.

Yours faithfully

..... *O. S. Mosiane* CHAIRMAN *[Signature]* TREASURER
..... *[Signature]* SECRETARY *FRAUD* ORGANISER

GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE BAR OF SOUTH AFRICA

2260, Johannesburg 2000
29-3976
Facsimile: (011) 29-8970

Suite 1111
11th Floor
Schreiner Chambers
94 Pritchard Street
Johannesburg 2001

10 August 1993

Mr Theuns Eloff
Technical Committee on Constitutional Matters
Multi-party Negotiations
World Trade Centre
KEMPTON PARK

Dear mr Eloff

INTERIM CONSTITUTION : ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

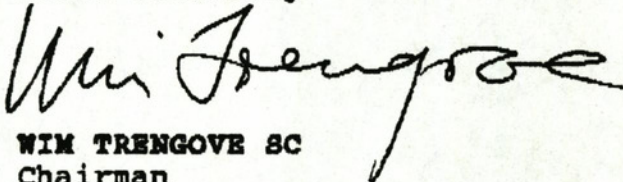
The General Council of the Bar urgently wishes to make a contribution to the debate on the formulation of that part of the interim constitution which deals with the administration of justice. We are co-operating with the Association of Law Societies who would like to make a similar contribution. We are moreover in contact with a number of judges of the Supreme Court anxious to give their input and frustrated at their inability to do so in a meaningful way. We would greatly appreciate it if your committee were to see its way clear to permit us to create an opportunity for the bench, the bar and the attorneys to make a contribution in this regard.

May we suggest that it be done as follows. We could at relatively short notice arrange a meeting after hours or perhaps over a weekend, of representatives of the bench, bar and attorneys with members of your committee. We have in mind inviting the Chief Justice, those other judges of the Appellate and Provincial Divisions who have displayed a particular interest in constitutional matters, and a few representatives of the bar and attorneys' professions with similar interests. The purpose of the meeting would be for the members of your committee to inform us of the basic structure you have in mind, and for us then to have an opportunity to give you the benefit of our views. The discussion would perhaps be even more meaningful if you were able to provide us with the broad outline of the structure that your committee has in mind so that we may properly focus our preparation and discussion.

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We must emphasise however that we do not have any fixed ideas about the way in which our representations are to be made and would obviously wish to accommodate your committee as best we can. We do however feel strongly that the bench, the bar and the attorneys have a very special interest and expertise in matters affecting the administration of justice and should therefore be afforded an opportunity to make a meaningful contribution. The mere opportunity to make written representations in the abstract, would not suffice.

Yours sincerely



WIM TRENGOVE SC
Chairman
General Council of the Bar
of South Africa

APPENDUM J

NATIONAL PEACE COMMITTEE

THE MEDIA LIAISON OFFICER - 344 VINE AVE. FERNDALE 2194
TELEPHONE (011) 886-0717 FAX (011) 886-0084

Dr. Theuns Eloff
Director
Multi-Party Negotiation Process
World Trade Centre
KEMPTON PARK

August 4, 1993

Dear Dr. Eloff,

In an effort to link in to the peace process, Helpmekaar High School for Girls has come up with the following project, which the National Peace Committee has endorsed, and which will coincide with the September National Peace Campaign.

Following the painting of a 100m "Peace Wall" by a large number of schools on September 4, a function will be held on September 6 attended by schools from all over the Reef.

The intention is for representatives to sign the National Peace Pledge followed by a speaker from the NPC (possibly John Hall or Antonie Gildenhuys). The programme will include short peace messages from guests, musical numbers from the school choir, an item by St. Vincent School for the deaf and a programme of mime by well-known artists.

Representatives will also bring along posters depicting peace themes and it is the intention of the organisers that the winning entries - of which there would be a number of categories - would be presented to the Multi-Party Negotiation Process. The idea is that 50 pupils together with NPC representatives would be transported by bus to arrive at Kempton Park at 13.00. The posters would be formally presented and then be affixed to suitable walls within the centre.

I understand that you would need to get endorsement for the project which is likely to attract wide media interest. As time is short, and the school is wanting to publicise the event, it would be most helpful if you would give us a decision as soon as possible. I am assuming that your meetings would still be held into September - could you confirm this?

There is much enthusiastic anticipation surrounding this event and I trust that you will view the initiative favourably.

Sincerely,

Val Pauquet
Val Pauquet
MEDIA LIAISON OFFICER NPC

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT VAL PAUQUET
TELEPHONE (011) 886-0717 FAX 886-0084 HOME 787-0735

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ADDENDUM K.



STADSRAAD VAN
KEMPTON PARK
TOWN COUNCIL

POSBUS/P.O. BOX 13 KEMPTON PARK 1620

Alle mededelingen aan DIE STADSKLERK gerig te word
All communications to be addressed to THE TOWN CLERK

U VERW./YOUR REF

NAVRAE/ENQUIRIES

FAXS./FAX NO.

MY VERW./MY REF.

TEL. NO.

3 August 1993

Dr. Theuns Eloff
Head: Administration
Constitutional Conference: WTC
P.O. Box 307
ISANDO
1600

FAX NO.: 397-2211

Dear Dr. Eloff

PUBLICITY DAY: 25 AUGUST 1993

Thank you for making the time available on Friday 30 July to see the Mayor of Kempton Park, Councillor Roelf Verster, and myself at the World Trade Centre.

The City Council of Kempton Park is arranging a Publicity Day on Wednesday 25th August 1993 to co-incide with the 90th anniversary of the city, since its foundation.

To commemorate the event, a giant cake will be baked with the kind sponsorship of the Kempton Park Hyperama. Decorations will carry the Kempton Park logo and the peace theme. In fact, we shall call it the Peace Cake.

The whole community will be involved as far as possible, schools in particular, to have a piece of the cake.

We would like to offer, in a ceremonial manner, to each delegate at the constitutional talks a specially packaged piece of the "Peace Cake". During our discussions it was mentioned that Wednesday afternoon (and perhaps also Wednesday morning) may not be possible as the Conference may not be in session on that day.

Could you please let us know whether a ceremonial handing over of the cake by the Mayor will be possible and if so, whether on the Tuesday afternoon, Wednesday (morning or afternoon) or on the Thursday morning. Also, whether it will present any problem if a special group of the Technical College (Commercial Advancement Training Scheme), consisting of black and white students wearing special T-shirts, were to accompany the Mayor to hand out the cake pieces.

- 2 -

I trust that this matter will receive your favourable consideration. Your faxed reply (Fax no. 970-4284) will be appreciated.

Yours sincerely



Jan P. Bosman
MARKETING MANAGER

JPB/hmm

REVISED PROPOSED SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

16 AUGUST 1993

Planning Committee	Monday 16 August 1993	09h30-13h00
Negotiating Council	Monday 16 August 1993	14h00-19h00
Negotiating Council	Tuesday 17 August 1993	09h00-19h00
Negotiating Council	Wednesday 18 August 1993	11h00-19h00
Negotiating Council	Thursday 19 August 1993	09h00-19h00

Planning Committee	Monday 23 August 1993	09h30-13h00
Negotiating Council	Monday 23 August 1993	14h00-19h00
Negotiating Council	Tuesday 24 August 1993	09h00-19h00
Negotiating Council	Wednesday 25 August 1993	11h00-19h00
Negotiating Council	Thursday 26 August 1993	09h00-19h00

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.