



MC/903/MM

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE/MINUTES/9 MARCH 1992

THESE ARE DRAFT MINUTES. THEY ARE CONFIDENTIAL AND RESTRICTED TO MEMBERS OF THE MC. THEY ARE STILL SUBJECT TO RATIFICATION BY THE MC AT ITS NEXT MEETING.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE HELD AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE ON MONDAY 9 MARCH AT 08H30 AND 15H15.

PRESENT: ADDENDUM A

APOLOGIES: I Omar (Solidarity)
R Cronje (Bop Govt)
HJ Coetsee (SA Govt)

1. Chairperson's opening remarks

Delegates were welcomed and an appeal made that, due to time constraints, the delegates should try to be as brief and concise as possible.

2. Apologies

Apologies were noted for I Omar, R Cronje and HJ Coetsee.

3. Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted with the following amendments:

- 3.1 A new item 4 was inserted, being a proposal by the Ciskei on the continuance of the activities of CODESA.
- 3.2 The following items were added to "Any other business" (new item 10):
 - 3.2.1 The marketing of CODESA
 - 3.2.2 Media comments and leaks about progress in the Working Groups
 - 3.2.3 The role of chairpersons in CODESA

4. Ciskei proposal

- 4.1 A Ciskei proposal, co-signed by the IFP, Dikwankwetla Party and Ximoko Progressive Party, was tabled (addendum B) and discussed.
- 4.2 After discussion, the following was agreed:

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- 4.2.1 All participants in CODESA should be mindful of their commitment to the Declaration of Intent. All participants understand that difficulties will inevitably arise, but the constructive way in which this matter was discussed. boded well for future meetings.
- 4.2.2 The MC supported and encouraged the tripartite meeting between the Ciskei Government, the ANC and the SA Government, to be held on Tuesday 10 February, and hoped that the parties will come to a constructive resolution of this problem.
- 4.2.3 CODESA's activities will, in the meantime, continue, but any participant is free to reopen this issue by calling for a special meeting of the MC, after the meeting of 10 February 1992.
- 4.2.4 The sentiments of the Ciskei, in terms of the alleged ANC actions, were noted by the meeting, but would be left to be resolved on a tripartite basis.
- 4.2.5 In the light of this meeting, all participants are urged to handle media statements in a manner which will not tarnish or hamper the CODESA process, but facilitate a constructive resolution of this problem.

The meeting adjourned for 15 minutes.

- 4.3 The issue of the media conference held by Ciskei and other parties during a short break was briefly discussed. It was noted that this has complicated the matter. The ANC indicated that they will have a media conference at 11H00. The Chair noted with regret the appeal before the break was ignored.

The meeting adjourned until 15H15.

- 4.4 An ANC statement was tabled and noted (addendum C). The ANC confirmed that, in the light of the tripartite meeting scheduled for 10 February, all activities in this regard were postponed.

5. Minutes of 24 February 1992

4.1 Ratification

The minutes were ratified with the following amendments:

- 4.1.1 The last words in item 2 " "another meeting" were substituted for " "to other matters".
- 4.1.2 In item 10 the initial should read "NJ" and not "MJ" .
- 4.1.3 In item 11 the date was changed to 9 March.

It was noted that the addenda referred to in the minutes had not been faxed with the minutes. The secretary will attend to this issue.

6. **Reports from Subcommittees**

6.1 **The King of the Zulus and Other Traditional Leaders**

The report of the subcommittee (as per the minutes of the meeting of 3 March, addendum D) was noted.

6.2 **Declaration of Intent**

No progress report was available, due to the postponement of the meeting of this subcommittee to 17H00 on 9 March 1992.

7. **Progress in the Working Groups**

7.1 **Coordination**

It was noted that the DMC is still attending to this.

7.2 **Rapporteurs**

The recommendations of the DMC, as per the minutes of 2 March 1992, section 5, were accepted.

7.3 **Meeting with WGSC4**

The handling of the DMC and its recommendations as per the minutes of 2 March 1992, section 9, were accepted.

7.4 **Request from WG5**

With regard to the possible overlap in the Declaration of Intent clause about the establishment of a structure to look at legislation, and the Terms of Reference of WG5, the following was agreed:

7.4.1 WG5, together with other WG's look into the policy elements of what is required, i.e. what kinds of provision have to be contained in any amendments and any new legislation.

7.4.2 The structure that is established to do this drafting will be set up by the MC in consultation with WG5. This structure would have to have legal and other skills required and should be constituted in a way in which the participants would be comfortable with.

7.4.3 With these guidelines in mind, the matter was referred back to the DMC, with the

mandate to implement the decision and report back. Any participating organisation who so wished, was invited to make representations to the DMC in this regard.

8. **Broadening participation in the CODESA process**

- 8.1 A progress report by the Secretariat was noted. This highlighted that six responses had so far been received after the questionnaire had been sent to applicants. Information from media coverage of applicants' activities in 1991 was also tabled.

It was noted that the Secretariat is proceeding with processing the information to facilitate the development of guidelines for broadening participation.

8.2 **Women's participation in CODESA**

- 8.2.1. The proposal received by the DMC about a representative body of women from all 19 participants to form an advisory and scrutinising committee was discussed.

- 8.2.2 It was agreed that participants should consult with their principals on this issue, for a decision to be taken at the next meeting of the MC.

- 8.2.3 It was also agreed to request the DMC to draft guidelines on:

- * The status of the proposed subcommittee
- * The composition of this subcommittee
- * The possible Terms of Reference for this subcommittee.

These should reach MC members in time to consult before the next MC meeting.

9. **Date and venue for CODESA II**

9.1 **Date**

Mindful of their responsibilities to co-participants and the country as a whole, the meeting agreed that:

- 9.1.1 CODESA II will not take place at the end of March.

- 9.1.2 The date of CODESA II is likely to be the end of April.

- 9.1.3 The decision on this issue will be taken at the next meeting of the MC.

- 9.1.4 The WG's will be advised accordingly and requested that, in a meeting the DMC and/or Secretariat and WGSC's, the question of what issues should be on CODESA's II agenda, be discussed.

9.2 **Venue**

It was agreed that the venue for CODESA II would be the World Trade Centre.

10. **Any other business**

10.1 **Marketing CODESA**

This issue was referred to the DMC.

10.2 **Media comments and leaks on the working of CODESA**

This issue was referred to the DMC.

10.3 **The role of chairperson's WG's**

Mr Rajbansi would write a letter to the DMC for their follow-up.

10.4 **The media briefing**

It was agreed that the following issues would be addressed by the chairperson at the media briefing:

10.4.1 CODESA II

10.4.2 The Ciskei issue

10.4.3 The statement by WG3 (addendum E)

10.4.4 Peace (WG1)

11. **Date of next meeting**

The next meeting of the MC will take place on Monday 30 March from 15H30 to 18H30 at the WTC.

The meeting adjourned.

Addendum A

The following delegates and advisers signed the attendance register:

Party/Organisation/ Administration	Delegate	Adviser
ANC	J Zuma	M Maharaj
Bophuthatswana Government	T Scheepers	SG Mothibe
Ciskei Government	H Kayser	SV Notshe
Dikwankwetla Party	TJ Mohapi	SOM Moji
DP	C Eglin	Z de Beer
IFP	FT Mdlalose	BS Ngubane
IYP	NJ Mahlangu	MIB Ntuli
INM	SS Ripinga	TJ Ndaba
Labour Party	P Hendrickse	E Samuels
National Party	R Meyer	D de Villiers
NIC/TIC	Z Yacoob	C Salojee
NPP	A Rajbansi	E Joosab
SACP	J Slovo	G Fraser-Moleketi
S A Government	GvN Viljoen	
Solidarity	JN Reddy	B Dookie
Transkei Government	Z Titus	TT Matanzima
UPF	MJ Mahlangu	MI Moroamoche
Venda Governemnt	S Makhuva	AL Mphaphuli
XPP	EPP Mhinga	JC Ackron

Also present were:

Chair

PJ Gordhan

T Eloff (Committee Secretary)

P Saxby (minutes)

WE BELIEVE THAT THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS CAMPAIGN TO DESTABILISE CISKEI IS CLEARLY CONTRARY TO THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD AND SHOWS CONTEMPT FOR AND LACK OF FAITH IN THE DECLARATION OF INTENT OF CODESA.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE PARTIES CANNOT IN GOOD FAITH CONTINUE WITH THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS WHILE THIS THREAT REMAINS IN EXISTENCE AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ACTS UNILATERALLY IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD AND THE DECLARATION OF INTENT.

WE, ACCORDINGLY, CALL UPON THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE TO SUSPEND THE PROCEEDINGS AT CODESA UNTIL SUCH TIME AS IT HAS OBTAINED AN UNCONDITIONAL UNDERTAKING FROM MR CYRIL RAMAPHOSA ON BEHALF OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS THAT THE CAMPAIGN WILL BE WITHDRAWN.

F.T. MDLALOSE

[Handwritten signature] IFF

N. NOGCANTSI

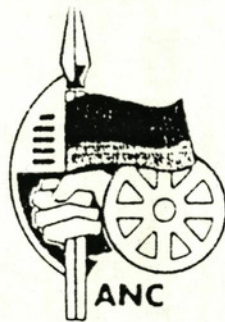
[Handwritten signature] CISKEI GOVERNMENT.

[Handwritten signature]

E.P.P. MHINGA XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY.

[Handwritten signature]

R.H. MORELI DIKUONKWETHA P



AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS

BORDER REGION
TEGGIES CENTRE
157 FLOOR
1/3 NORTH STREET
EAST LONDON
E20 1JH
PH. (0431) 439734/5
FAX (0431) 439736

AGENDA

REGIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL
22 FEBRUARY 1992

1. WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION
2. REPORT ON CODESA AND THE PEACE INITIATIVE
3. THE CISKEI CRISIS
4. ELECTION OF THE PUBLICITY SECRETARY
5. ANNOUNCEMENTS FROM THE SECRETERIAT
6. CLOSURE

CAMPAIGN AROUND CISKEI CRISIS

1. Objectives of the campaign:

- * Weaken Gqozo's position at Codesa
- * Isolate Gqozo politically
- * expose SA's agenda in Ciskei, and in particular to expose the MI programme within Ciskei
- * bring about an interim administration in Ciskei
- * consequently to weaken SA's position at Codesa

2. Messages of the campaign:

- Gqozo does not represent Ciskei's people at Codesa
- there is an absence of a free political climate in Ciskei, and Gqozo is a stumbling block to peace in the region
- Gqozo is not fit to govern Ciskei even during the transition
- in the interests of South Africa Gqozo must resign and an interim administration be appointed
- reincorporation of Ciskei must take place through proper consultation with democratic structures and in line with the overall programme of Codesa
- an interim government at a national level is the only way to prevent further SA attempts to destabilise the transition process
- the people demand democratic elections for a constituent assembly to ensure a stable and prosperous future for all South Africans

These and other messages would need to be used tactically at different moments to ensure we develop popular understanding of the issues in a programmatic manner.

3. Elements of the campaign:

- # mass action, which builds up from local activities to a major event such as a "people's assembly"
- # defiance of all existing Ciskei regulations
- # establishment of a broad-based popular front for the removal of Gqozo
- # a symbolic "voting for removal of Gqozo" campaign in which booths are set up around region, and people vote for ANC or Gqozo
- # organisation within Ciskei administration, security forces and dismissed workers and public officials, as part of a broad front activity
- # appointment of an interim administration within Ciskei, which takes over the government in a variety of symbolic ways e.g. occupying government buildings
- # national and international campaign to pressurise SA government on Ciskei situation

4. Campaign programme

- Sat 22.2.92 Regional general council finalises and adopts campaign on Ciskei crisis
- Branches form campaign committees and undertake the following actions;
- formation of local popular front committees that draw together all potential supporters of our demands
 - defiance of all Ciskei legislation
 - door to door visits to mobilise support for our demands and for the coming events
 - organisation of local Ciskei civil servants
- Sat 29.2.92 ANC regional campaigns committee meets to
- strategise for alliance and other meetings
 - prepare campaign media
 - prepare for regional events
 - draw up a roster for regional leadership to visit all branches and popularise the campaign
- Sun 1.3.92 Tripartite alliance meets to discuss campaign and launches a broad-based popular front for the removal of Gqozo
- Mon 2.3.92 Consultation with ANC womens' league
- Tue 3.3.92 Consultation with ANC's youth league
- Wed 4.3.92 Consultation with BOCCO
- Mon 9.3.92 Popular front organisations meet
- Tue 10.3.92 Press conference and public launch of campaign, with public signing of demands for removal of Gqozo. Support for Dispatch position on Ciskei.
- Wed 11.3.92 Rickets outlining our demands are held in all urban centres, to coincide with press release
- Door to door work and distribution of campaign media, together with local public meetings to mobilise support for campaign activities
- Sat 14.3.92 Setting up of voting booths in major urban centres, collecting votes for new administration in Ciskei
- Mobile voting booths travel around rural villages
- Sat 21.3.92 Sharpeville day: subregional rallies are held to popularise demands and mobilise support for peoples' assembly
- Fri 3.4.92 Cde. Mandela visits Border region, attends press conference to announce peoples' assembly

- Mon 6.4.92 Solomon Mahlangu day: Peoples' Assembly held in King Williamstown, at which an interim administration for Ciskei is announced
- Tue 7.4.92 Interim administration symbolically occupies Bisho. Presentation of signatures to Bisho. Further campaign activity based on assessment of campaign so far
- Fri 1.5.92 May day rallies in all subregions to consolidate campaign work and report back to our constituencies

Budget for campaign activities:

1. Travel

1.1 Car hire @ R95/day x 60 days	R 5 250
1.2 Petrol @ R45/day x 60 days	R 2 700
1.3 Transport costs for sub-regional rallies @ R 2000/rally x 6 rallies	R 12 000
1.4 Transport costs for people' assembly	R 30 000

2. Venues and equipment

2.1 Hire of venues for sub-regional rallies @ R 500/rally x 6 rallies	R 3 000
2.2 Hire of stadium for people's assembly	R 1 200
2.3 Sound system x 6 rallies + people's assembly	R 6 000
2.4 Stage hire x 6 rallies + people's assembly	R 5 500
2.5 Construction of voting booths @ R65/booth x 30 booths	R 1 950

3. Salaries

3.1 Temporary organisers @ R 1000/organiser x 20 organisers	R 20 000
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4. Media and advertising

4.1 Newspaper advertisements	R 8 000
4.2 Sky advertisements	R 2 000
4.3 Banners @ R 300/banner x 20 banners	R 6 000
4.4 Printing of pamphlets, posters, etc.	R 25 000

5. Catering

5.1 Catering for marshalls at rallies and people's assembly	R 3 500
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6. Sundries and contingency

R 10 000

TOTAL

R 142 550

African National Congress
Press Statement - The Ciskei Crisis

The ANC regrets the move by the Ciskei Government to bring a regional dispute to CODESA by suggesting that the Management Committee should suspend the proceedings at CODESA until such time that there is an unconditional undertaking from the Secretary General on behalf of the ANC that the campaign be withdrawn. This move is unhelpful given that the Ciskei Govt. is party to a bi-lateral meeting facilitated by the SA govt. that is due to take place tomorrow at 11:30 a.m. Arrangements for this meeting were known to the Ciskei govt. before this morning's meeting.

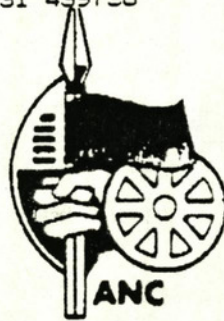
We further express our disapproval that the Ciskei govt. raised the matter at CODESA this morning has chosen to go public whilst the Management Committee was in the midst of discussing the issue.

All the steps are clearly calculated to sensationalise the issue and is contrary to the spirit of resolving matters through negotiations and discussion.

From the moment this issue arose the ANC HQ has been involved in discussions with its region, the Ciskei administration and the South African government in order to find an effective solution. Our commitment to the negotiation process is unchallengeable. The issue is not what is alleged to be destabilisation of the Ciskei by the ANC. The fact of the matter is that there is no political freedom in the Ciskei. Efforts to even hold report-back meetings on progress at Codesa are frustrated by the continuous refusal to allow meetings to take place on the basis that such meetings constitute a threat to the security of Ciskei.

The ANC's attempts to meet the authorities in the Ciskei to address these serious problems have not been successful. Before the campaign as planned the ANC Border region requested a meeting with the Ciskei administration and this request was dismissed with contempt (copies of letters are available).

The campaign is aimed at ensuring a climate of free political activity in the area. We appeal to all those committed to the Codesa process not to allow this false hysteria to destabilise it.



**AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS**

**BORDER REGION
TEGGIES CENTRE
157 FLOOR
1/3 NORTH STREET
EAST LONDON
5200
PH. (0431) 439734/5
FAX (0431) 439736**

**The Chairman
Ciskei Council of State
Bisho**

13 February 1992

Dear sir

We would like to request a meeting with your cabinet on 19 February 1992. This meeting would be to discuss the crisis in the Ciskei.

The meeting would be between yourselves and the Regional Executive Committee of the ANC led by our national president Comrade Nelson Mandela.

We apologise for the extremely short notice but due to Cde Mandela's tight schedule we would appreciate a response before the end of today. Cde Mandela has already set aside this day for a meeting with your government.

We would further like to suggest that the meeting takes place in Bisho at a venue of your convenience, commencing at 12H00.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Lucille Meyer', is written over the typed name.

**LUCILLE MEYER
Secretary General**

[REDACTED]

IRiphabliki YeCiskei
I-Ofisi YeBhunga
LoMbuso



Republic of Ciskei
Office of the Council
of State

P.O. Box 1, Bisho, Republic of Ciskei, Southern Africa. Telephone 0401-91415. Telex 25-0885CX Telefax No. (0401-91189)

17 February 1992

The Secretary-General
African National Congress
Border Region
Teggies Centre
1/3 North Street
EAST LONDON

Dear Madam

Receipt of your communication dated 13 February 1992 is hereby confirmed.

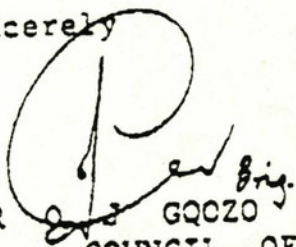
The reasons for the appointment which has been requested are irrelevant and far-fetched and do not warrant a meeting. We want to assure you that there is no crisis in Ciskei.

In fact if there was a crisis in Ciskei my government is quite competent to solve it without the assistance of the African National Congress.

The tone of your letter is arrogant, presumptuous and patronizing. We want to lodge a strong objection to Lucille Meyer communicating with my government in this manner.

In future such communication will not be answered.

Yours sincerely


BRIGADIER GQCZO
CHAIRMAN : COUNCIL OF STATE



SUBCOMMITTEE ZULU KING, TRAD. LEADERS/3 MARCH 1992

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE PARTICIPATION OF THE ZULU KING AND OTHER TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN CODESA HELD AT 10H00 ON TUESDAY 3 MARCH 1992 AT THE WTC

PRESENT: TJ Mohapi (Convenor)
 TT Matanzima
 FT Mdlalose
 J Slovo
 J Zuma

 T Eloff (secretary, minutes)

1. The Chairperson's opening remarks

The chairperson welcomed the members and reiterated the importance of the work of the subcommittee.

2. Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted after "Ratification of the minutes of the previous meeting and matters arising" was added as item 3.

3. Ratification of the minutes of the previous meeting and matters arising

3.1 Ratification

The minutes of the meeting of 24 February were ratified, with the amendment that Mr Slovo had apologised and had not been present at the meeting.

3.2 Matters arising

3.2.1 List of experts to give evidence

It was agreed to add the following names to the list of experts to be invited to submit evidence to the subcommittee:

- * Prof RB Mqeke (Unitran)
- * Prof CF Manona (Unitran)
- * Mr VJ Matthews (Durban)

It was further agreed to invite Mr Matthews to give written or oral evidence to the next meeting of the subcommittee.

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It was agreed that Mr Slovo will investigate whether the report of the Law Commission (of Justice Olivier) was in any way beneficial to the proceedings of the subcommittee that he will communicate with the secretary in this regard.

3.2.2 Expenses with regard to persons giving evidence

- * It was agreed in principle that expenses should be met.
- * With regard to the experts, further negotiations between the Administration and the experts was necessary.
- * With regard to traditional leaders giving evidence, it was agreed that, if necessary, the travel and accommodation costs of a limited number of traditional leaders from each region will be carried.

3.2.3 The hearing of evidence by the subcommittee

It was agreed that a follow-up letter to the heads of delegations of all administrations should be written in which the following should be communicated:

- * The subcommittee would like to meet with six traditional leaders from each region to hear evidence.
- * The meetings for the hearings would take place at the World Trade Centre on the following dates and times:

Wednesday 18 and Thursday 19 March, 10H00-17H00.
- * Heads of Administrations should please indicate who would come and which date and time was appropriate.
- * It was also agreed to invite a 6-person delegation of CONTRALESA to do the same.

4. Submissions and applications received to date

It was noted that, before the meeting, the following applications/submissions had been received:

- * King G Zwelithini
- * Transkei Kings and Chiefs
- * King DM Mabhoko - Ndzundza Mabhoko Royal Kraal
- * Batlokwa Tribe National Council
- * The Lebowa College of Magoshi
- * Paramount Chief EM Mabena II of Kwandebele

The following new applications/submissions were handed out:

- * Mopeli Chiefs' Council - Qwaqwa
- * Contralesa
- * Batlokoa Chiefs' Council

5. Presentation by Dr Viljoen

Dr G van N Viljoen addressed the meeting on the issue of the participation of the Zulu King and the view of the SA Government in this regard (see addendum A - available later).

After the subcommittee had questioned Dr Viljoen, the chairperson thanked him for his presentation.

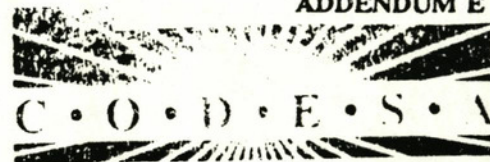
6. Progress report to the Management Committee

It was agreed that the secretary would prepare a draft for the chairperson, who will approve and amend it (if necessary) before it is circulated to members.

7. Date of the next meeting

It was agreed that, in the light of the deadline of 12 March 1992 for written submissions, as well as the hearings on 18 and 19 March 1992, the subcommittee should a planning meeting on 16 March. The time will be determined between the Chairperson and the secretary and communicated to members. This will be dependent on other meetings taking place on 16 March.

The meeting adjourned.



PRESS STATEMENT - WORKING GROUP III

1. At its seventh meeting held on 9 March 1992, Working Group III of CODESA held constructive and productive discussion on Transitional\Interim Arrangements.
2. After consultation with respective principals, agreement has been reached on certain general elements regarding interim arrangements which would facilitate the transition towards a new democratic constitution to which CODESA is committed. The agreement is per Appendix A.
3. This agreement provides a useful basis for constructive and meaningful discussions on further aspects of Transitional\Interim Arrangements.
4. Press reports suggesting that a comprehensive agreement had been reached are incorrect and misleading. The only elements agreed upon are those in the attached document. The following details, among others, are still to be discussed
 - 4.1 The objective of Transitional\Interim Arrangements.
 - 4.2 The structure and functions of the transitional executive
 - 4.3 The structure and functions of the transitional legislative
 - 4.4 The position of the TBVC and self-governing states
 - 4.5 Time frames

AGREEMENT ON ELEMENTS OF INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS

Agreed:

1. There is need for interim/transitional arrangements in order to facilitate the transition towards a new democratic constitution to which CODESA is committed.
2. An important aspect of such arrangements will be the creation of a transitional executive structure.
3. The transitional executive structure shall initially be by appointment in accordance with procedures agreed upon by CODESA.
4. Agreements reached at CODESA in this regard will have to be given effect to by Parliament through amendments to the existing constitution and relevant legislation, in order to give them constitutional and legal form.
5. Other aspects of the interim/transitional arrangements still need to be discussed.