



DRAFT

DECISIONS REACHED AT THE MEETING OF THE DAILY MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE MEETING HELD AT THE JAN SMUTS HOLIDAY INN ON MONDAY 13 JANUARY AT 16H00

PRESENT:

- Z de Beer (chair)
- P Gordhan
- P Hendrickse
- F Mdlalose
- R Meyer
- SS Ripinga
- Z Titus
- J Zuma

- M Maharaj
- SS van der Merwe

- E Cosser (recording)
- T Eloff
- P Saxby (minutes)

1. Chairmanship

It was agreed that Dr Z de Beer should chair this and the next meeting, and that future MC and DMC chairpersonship should be determined at the next meeting of the DMC.

2. Next Meeting of the DMC

This will take place on Monday 20 January at 08h00 at the World Trade Centre.

3. Applications for Inclusion in the CODESA Process

3.1 It was decided that copies of applications received to date should be timeously couriered to DMC members in order to inform their contributions to discussions on this issue at the next meeting of the DMC.

3.2 It was agreed that each application should be acknowledged in the appropriate manner.

3.3 Current Applications

3.3.1 Political Parties/Organisations

3.3.1.1 It was agreed that work should begin immediately on the gathering of information on each of these organisations in order to establish guidelines on qualifications for inclusion in the CODESA process.

3.3.1.2 The meeting agreed that these guidelines should be tabled at the next DMC meeting.

3.3.2 International Organisations

It was agreed that these organisations should be advised that only the representatives of governments and multi-lateral organisations such as the United Nations and Commonwealth were accorded observer status at CODESA 1, and that no final decision has yet been reached on the question of observers at CODESA 2.

3.3.3 Sundry Interest Groups

It was agreed that these applications should be declined on the understanding that such interest groups will be welcome to submit representations to the five working groups on matters relevant to their terms of reference.

4. Security

It was agreed that Colonel Venter and Mr M Shaik should be requested to attend the DMC meeting on 20 January in order to report to the Committee on this matter.

5. Media

It was agreed that the Secretariat and its staff will continue to attend to routine announcements and that the members of the Media Subcommittee should be informed of the MC's decision not to appoint a full-time media liaison officer. It was further agreed that the Secretariat may call upon the Media Subcommittee members for assistance if and when necessary.

6. Working Groups

6.1 It was agreed that each Working Group should be convened at its first session on 20 January by a member of the DMC. Thereafter, recommendations will be made by the DMC regarding an appropriate mechanism for the chairing of Working Group meetings.

6.2 DMC members are distributed amongst Working Groups as follows:

*	Working Group 1	J Zuma
*	Working Group 2	-
*	Working Group 3	P Gordhan, R Meyer and P Hendrickse
*	Working Group 4	F Mdlalose
*	Working Group 5	SS Ripinga

It was decided that while Dr Z de Beer and Mr Z Titus were not in any Working Group, one or both them would convene Working Group 2.

It was agreed that a list of delegates to the five Working Groups should be available at the next meeting of the DMC in order to inform its final decision in this regard.

6.3 An appropriate draft agenda for the Working Groups will be finalised at the next meeting of the DMC.

6.4 It was agreed that the convenors of the five Working Group meetings on 20 January should make recommendations to those Working Groups concerning the duration of their meetings on that day, and that such recommendations should be informed by further discussions on this matter at the next DMC meeting.

7. **Natal Church Leaders' Group**

It was agreed that copies of the request from this group for a meeting with representatives from CODESA should be sent to all DMC members in order to inform a decision in this regard, facilitated by the Secretariat, at the next meeting of the DMC.

8. **Tasks of the Secretariat**

It was agreed that a list of Secretariat duties should be made available to all DMC members at the committee's next meeting.

The meeting closed.

ORGANISATIONS APPLYING TO PARTICIPATE IN CODESA

CATEGORY

DATE OF FIRST APPLICATION

I Traditional Leaders

1	Contralesa	20/12/91
2	Paramount Chiefs of QwaQwa	17/12/91
3	Lebowa College of Magoshi	07/01/92

II Possible Political Parties/Organisations/Administrations

1	Afrikaner Party	21/12/91
2	Boervolk	20/12/91
3	Boerentia Party	07/01/92
4	Federal Independent Democratic Alliance	10/12/91
5	Freedom Party Of South Africa	06/01/92
6	Insika National Party	03/12/91
7	Merit People's Party	11/12/91
8	Mighty Sofasonke Party	10/01/92
9	Pan African Congress	14/12/91
10	People's Party of South Africa	11/12/91
11	People's Progressive Party	03/01/91
12	Reform Party of South Africa	11/11/91

III Interest Groups

1	Broadcasting Interest Group	17/12/91
2	Church Alliance of South Africa	13/12/91
3	Matatiele Residents Association	18/12/91
4	National Forum	12/12/91
5	Psychological Association of SA	18/12/91
6	Return Exiles Committee	17/12/91
7	SA Red Cross	10/12/91
8	Unemployed Silent Majority	18/11/91

IV International Organisations

i) Non-Government:

1	World Council of Churches	17/12/91
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ii) Government:

None

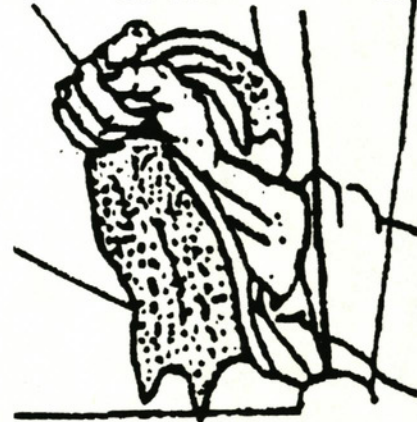
iii) Political Parties:

1	Basotho National Party	13/12/91
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CONTRALESA

The Dawn of Freedom

Congress of Traditional
Leaders of South Africa



24 Ferreira St.
Ferreira House
Marshalltown 2107

Frere Chambers
11 Frere Road
Umtata
Tel: 310437
Fax: 310437 (0471)

P.O. Box 61500
Marshalltown 2107
Tel: (011) 834-1002

FAX TRANSMISSION SHEET

DATE : 10-01-92

FAX NO : 011-3972211

ATTENTION: DAILY MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE - CODESA

FROM : CHIEF S. P. HOLCOMISA - PRESIDENT

MESSAGE : Herewith is a letter of application from Contralesa for the participation of traditional leaders in Codesa. I forward it to you because I notice that, in spite of it having been forwarded to Codesa via the Chairmen, the name of Contralesa does not appear on the list of organisations that applied for participation. Do, please, have it discussed in your meeting on Monday, 13/01/92, at the appropriate stage. I may mention too here that an unwelcome state of affairs is developing in Codesa whereby the issue of traditional leaders is ignored when raised by Contralesa, only to find it given prominence when raised by national bodies. We hope you will see the dangers of quickly putting a stop to that kind of practice so that no one is accused of bias.

Yours faithfully
S. P. Holcomisa
Contralesa President

Telephone : (0471) 310437
Fax : (0471) 310437 or 23876

Congress of TRaditional Leaders
of South Africa
Frere Chambers
11 Frere Road
UMTATA

20 December 1991

The Co-Chairpersons
Codesa
P.O. Box 307
ISANDO
1600

Sirs

re : PARTICIPATION OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN CODESA

The thought never came to me that there would come a stage where the original rulers of this country, the traditional leaders, would find themselves having to request that they be included in the process of searching ^{for} and finding a method whereby the freedom of the indigenous people of South Africa is restored and given back to them. Yet this is what the object of this letter is about - to ask the participants in Codesa, through you, gentlemen, to at least allow traditional leaders to take part in Codesa as interested observers. It goes without saying that the institution of Chieftainship is the oldest form of leadership in Africa in general and in South Africa in particular. A chief in his own individual capacity commands the support of thousands of followers who might, in terms of numbers, be more than that enjoyed by a combination of some of the organisations invited to participate in Codesa.

/2.

-2-

The reason for the exclusion of traditional leaders from the negotiation forum being unclear to me. I will try and address the issues that may have motivated the decision in as far as I can surmise.

We have been made to understand that the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa has not been invited on account of it not being a political party or organisation, it being described as an interest group in that it represents the interests of its membership. While we admit that membership to Contralesa is open only to traditional and hereditary leaders, we take issue with being described as an interest group because we do not represent the interests of our membership alone but also those of the people over whom fate, custom, tradition and our ancestry have decreed that we rule. Even while no scientific test has been conducted, as an organisation, we have been inundated by calls from our people that it is unacceptable for traditional leaders to be excluded from the negotiation process and that we must press on with the demand that we form part of Codesa until reason and sincerity prevails. I would be surprised if anyone of the participants in Codesa were to doubt or reject the efficacy of traditional leadership in areas where this institution prevails. The liberation movement as a whole is on record as having admitted that traditional leaders have a role to play in both the transitional phase and in the envisaged new South Africa.

/3.

-3-

We would be hurt and disappointed, not to mention being betrayed, if we were to be given the impression that such utterances were intended to master support for those organisations by using the influence of chiefs.

The Nationalist Party government, together with the various homeland administrations, has given recognition to the fact that chiefs cannot be left outside when the affairs of the people of this country are being dealt with. Hence the homeland parliaments have been filled with chiefs as ex officio members in most cases. Here again we would not want to believe that the Nationalist Party government, even as we know its track record, was motivated by racism when it seemed to be according traditional leaders their due status. We are however, strongly tempted to believe so when they are part of those who block our representation on Codesa when rule over the whole of South Africa is being discussed and about to be determined.

In Contralesa we are aware of the very real danger of traditional leaders being viewed as potential, if not real, perpetrators of tribalism. Such a state of affairs, even though it would be no different from what can be said of the composition of Codesa participants, is anathema to us. We formed Contralesa in order to forge unity amongst ourselves and to combat tribalism by inculcating in both ourselves and our people the feeling that we are all South Africans who have common goals, aims and destiny. We are fully aware that the apartheid system has exploited our tribal and language differences to the extent that our people were made to believe that the African section of the South African Community was constituted of ten different

-4-

nations, hence the ten homelands.. Contralesa has made great, if not properly recognised, strides in the reversal of that belief and divisive strategy.

We believe that had traditional leaders throughout South Africa organised themselves into one body. Like Contralesa, and spoke with one united voice our position would be that much better. We are striving towards that goal and, given time, we are going to succeed. For the record I may mention that in all four provinces and ten Homelands, Contralesa commands the support of the greater number of traditional leaders. In Transvaal all traditional leaders are in Contralesa, the same goes with the Free State and the Border and, in the Transkei and Natal/Zululand the majority, even if in the latter not openly, support the ideals, goals and principles of Contralesa. I am not sure if the same can be said about most of the accredited participants in this Convention.

We are confident that traditional leaders who are members of and/ or support Contralesa, would be satisfied with being represented by Contralesa in Codesa, without having to have their Kings or paramount Chiefs coming by themselves. It would, therefore, present no insurmountable problem to allow those who still fall outside Contralesa to have their kings or Paramount Chiefs representing them because they are few and far between.

/5.

-5-

Eventually, as people with common interests and responsibility, we shall constitute one body.

It is completely unacceptable to us to be persuaded to form part of the delegations of the various organisations represented in Codesa, for the simple reason that, these bodies have political agendas of their own, which do not necessarily coincide with ours but, which, in fact, might be contrary to our ideal of the unity of the African Communities across tribal language differences.

We maintain that we are not asking too much of the people who have arrogated to themselves the right to determine the future of our beloved but sorrowful country, South Africa. As personages who do not wish to be embroiled in political wrangling and controversy, we are merely asserting our right to oversee the negotiation process as interested observers who would be in a position to be consulted and give advices on matters pertinent to our role in the running of the affairs of our people.

In all humility and driven by a sense of the responsibility resting on our shoulders and being driven by the knowledge that disaster is not improbable on our being excluded, we urge the honourable members of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa to reconsider the hitherto-held view and facilitate that traditional leaders be included in this all important exercise of endeavouring to bring about a democratic South Africa through peaceful means.

Yours faithfully,
S. P. Adonina - Conventione President

TSHEBELETSO YA PUSO KA QWAQWA
QWAQWA REGERINGSDIENS
QWAQWA GOVERNMENT SERVICE



Q3
REPABOLIKI YA AFRIKA-BORWA
REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

TELEFAKS

TELEFAX

VERWYS NO/ REF NO
P/CHIEF L.C. MOTA

TEL NO
(01438) 30112 ext 2273

FAKS NO / FAX NO
01438 - 34638

NAVRAE/ENQUIRIES:
T.E. SKOSANA

AAN/TO: CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA
P.O. BOX 307
ISANDO
1600

VIR AANDAG/FOR ATTENTION: ELLAINE COSSER

TEL NO: 011 397-1198/99

FAKS NO/FAX NO: 011 397-2211

AANTAL BLADSYE/NUMBER OF PAGES: 2(TWO)

BOODSKAP/MESSAGE: ATTACHED PLEASE FIND THE NAMES OF THE TWO
PARAMOUNT CHIEFS OF QWAQWA EACH WITH FOUR ADVISERS
TO ATTEND THE CODESA MEETING AS INVITED TO ATTEND.

DEPT. OF THE CHIEF MINISTER
PRIVATE BAG X814
WITSIESHOEK
9870

BATLOKOA TRIBE

P/C L.C. MOTA
CHIEF P.E. MOLEFE
CHIEF S.D. SEKONYELA
CHIEF M.B. MOTA
CHIEF M.E. MOTA

BAKWENA TRIBE

P/C M.J. MOPELI
CHIEF MATHEALIRA MOPELI
CHIEF POLANE MOPELI
CHIEF S. MOHALE
CHIEF R.P.L. MOPELI

NOTE THAT PARAMOUNT CHIEF MOTA APPEARS ON THE DELEGATION LIST
WE HAVE FAXED TO YOU BEFORE TO AVOID DOUBLE BOOKINGS.

Private Bag X27
CHUENESPOORT
0745

07-01-92

The Secretariat
c/c T. Eloff
P.O. Box 307
ISANDO
1600

Sir

APPLICATION FOR REPRESENTATION AT CODESA MEETINGS: THE LEBOWA COLLEGE OF
MAGOSHI.

We, the Lebowa College of Magoshi hereby submit an application for our
possible representation at CODESA II and subsequent CODESA meetings.

The grounds upon which the application is based are the following, among
others:

1. We are 133 in number in this region.
2. We strongly feel that we have a great role to play in and a
contribution to make at the deliberations of CODESA towards the
shaping of a new democratic South Africa.

At the UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT National Executive Committee meeting attended by the
Lebowa Magoshi Executive Committee on 6/1/92 a resolution on this matter
was adopted, which resolution is hereto attached for your attention.

Your co-operation in this regard will be held in high esteem.

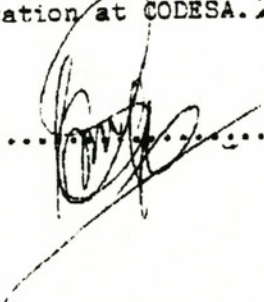
SECRETARY:

C. Kgoshi B. H. Rammupudu

RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING
OF THE UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT HELD ON 06-01-92.

The meeting resolved, among others, that the Lebowa College of Magoshi should lodge an application with the CODESA Management Committee for their possible representation at CODESA. 2

SECRETARY:



Telefoon (0132722) 330.

Witpoort
Posbus 45
Laersdrif 1065
21 Desember 1991.

Die persoon in beheer,
KODESA,
Posbus 307
Isando 1600.

Geagte Heer/Dame.

Ek moet u meedeel dat mense in my vriendekring met groot belangstelling kennis neem van die gebeure by KODESA. Dit is klaarblyklik die belangrikste aksie wat Suid-Afrikaners gaan raak sedert Uniewording.

Die tragedie is dat ons hier 'n Hamlet sonder die prins van Denemarke gaan sien, want die persepsie wat ek en seker honderde ander waarnemers het is dat die ANC en die NP reeds in breë trekke ooreengekom het oor hoe die drama gaan eindig: 'n eenheidstaat. Geen voorstelle vir outonome volkstate of regionale state wat later onafhanklik mag word, gaan skynbaar ingedien word nie, want die segsmanne vir sulke state is nog vasgeklem in die rassistiese erfenis van die verlede en dus nie in staat om hulle saak by Kodesa te stel nie. Wat mense soos ek, wat meriete sien in een of ander vorm van partisie, nou op moet staatmaak is dat van die ander afvaardigings by KODESA dalk ons saak sal moet stel.

Maar meneer, dit is net nie goed genoeg nie.

My vriende en ek het dus gisteraand inderhaas 'n politieke party gestig : Die Afrikaner Party.

Ons Party staan 'n volkstaat voor vir alle Afrikaanssprekendes, ongeag hulle kleur, ras, geloof of geslag. Die Party is spesifiek gestig met die oog daarop dat ons verteenwoordiging by KODESA kan kry, want anders as die KP en dergelike partye glo ons dat 'n staat vir Afrikaanssprekendes slegs bereik kan word deur onderhandelinge met alle ander groepe in die land.

Die doel van hierdie skrywe is dus om by u te verneem hoe daar te werk gegaan moet word om sodanige verteenwoordiging te bewerkstellig.

Om klaarblyklike redes beskik my Party op hierdie stadium nog nie oor groot getalle ingeskrewe lede nie, maar ons het die indruk gekry dat van die mindere ligte by KODESA ook nie juis daarop aanspraak kan maak dat hulle reeds bewese steun het nie.

Ek verskaf inmiddels graag die volgende persoonlike besonderhede oor myself as leier en aanvanklike segsman vir die Party, ingeval u dit benodig: Ek was bykans my hele lewe in die Staatsdiens, aanvanklik in die Polisie en daarna in die Nasionale Intelligensiediens. Tans boer ek


met forelle. Geskiedenis en Staatsleer was my hoofvakke in die BA-graad wat ek aan UNISA verwerf het. In die verlede het ek my daarop toegelê om feite te versamel oor die onderwerp van 'n nasionale konvensie in Suid-Afrika. Ek glo dat ek tans oor uiters rare en interessante materiaal beskik oor die aksies wat al onderneem is in belang van so 'n konvensie - ook, en insluitende die gebeure tydens die eerste konvensie in Durban.

Ek glo dat ek ons Party se saak by KODESA sal kan stel, want ek was die heel eerste persoon in Suid-Afrika wat na Uniewording 'n nuwe land voorgestel het waarin daar, soos ek dit destyds voorsien het, 'n Blanke tuisland, geskep moes word. In die verband kan ek verwys na briewe van my wat in die Windhoek Advertiser van 28 Oktober 1965 en 9 Maart 1967 verskyn het, asook na talle ander briewe daarna.

Wat ek by u probeer tuisbring is dat ek daarvan oortuig is dat my Party 'n positiewe bydrae by KODESA sal kan lewer. Ons wil daar probeer pleit vir 'n ware Afrikanerland. Nie die karikatuur wat prof. Boshoff in die woestyn najaag nie, maar 'n wesenlike staat waarin die gewone vredeliewende wit, swart of bruin Afrikaner 'n tuisland sal kan vind. Die staat soos deur ons voorsien hoef ook nie uit die staanspoor 'n onafhanklike entiteit te word nie. Aanvanklik kan dit net een van die streke of provinsies van die nuwe Suid-Afrika word.

Ons glo dat duisende mense in Suid-Afrika hulle sal vereenselwig met dit wat ons Party bepleit en vra u dus beleefd vir die reg tot deelname aan die verrigtinge by KODESA.

Die Uwe,


P.C. Swanepoel.



20 December 1991

BOERVOLK

Nasionale Sekretariaat

Fax: 011/482-2025

To whom it may concern:

Codesa has started off on a note of profound hypocrisy. The steering committee had expressed the intention of encouraging all parties to participate in the convention. The delegates have expressed their regret that all parties are not participating in the convention.

And yet the participation of the two historically most important groups in the country, the Zulu people and the Boervolk, is due not to their unwillingness to participate, but because their applications to participate have been turned down by Codesa.

In the case of the Zulu people Codesa's attitude has resulted in a highly dangerous snub of the Zulu Royal House. However, the Zulus are recognised as a people. The entire world has been notified that one of this people, who is a member of the Zulu Royal House, has personally withdrawn because of the affront to the Zulu King.

No one, however, is aware of the fact that the Boervolk had applied to send a delegation but was turned down. The very existence of our people is being denied and this is an affront to our Father, YAHWEH Almighty.

May his wrath descend upon this convention which is a blasphemous denial of His holy Word.

Ironically this convention is being attended by colonials (English and Afrikaans speaking South Africans), terrorists (ANC, etc), foreigners (IBVC-states), and infidels (Indians with three delegations).

The entire circus is performing to 300-plus foreign observers, most of whom are also foreign to Africa, while the Boervolk does not even enjoy the privilege of observer status.

.....
[on behalf of BOERVOLK: Nasionale Sekretariaat]

THE CHAIRMAN
CODESA MANAGEMENT
COMMITTEE

TELEPHONE NO: (011) 957-2657 ALL HOURS

P.O. BOX 307

ISAHDO

1600

7TH JANUARY, 1992

BOERENTIA PARTY

P.O. BOX 4300

HONEYDEW

2040

DEAR SIR,

RE: REPRESENTATION AT CODESA 2

DUE TO A VACUUM CAUSED BY THE RULING MEMBERS OF THE RIGHT WING, A NEW, STRONG, PROGRESSIVE ARM IS REACHING OUT OF ITS MIDST INTO A NEW PARTY WHICH IS BEING REGISTERED AT THIS TIME.

THE PARTY IS CALLED BOERENTIA - MEANING US BOERS AND THOSE IN AGREEMENT; THE LATTER BEING ENGLISH SPEAKING OR WHATEVER NATIONALS AND IMMIGRANTS WEC SIDE WITH US IN WANTING AND RULING OUR OWN LAND AS A "WHITE" TRIBE OF AFRICA.

WE NOT ONLY BELIEVE, BUT KNOW THAT OUR ASPIRATIONS DESIRES AND EXPECTATIONS ARE A TRUE REFLECTION OF WHAT A LARGE PORTION OF WHITES ARE YEARNING FOR THESE DAYS.

OUR RULING COUNCIL ARE ALL STAUNCH RIGHT WING PERSONS WHO WANT TO USE THE FORUMS AND PLATFORMS THAT OUR OF FATHERS AND BROTHERS REPUSED.

WE FEEL AS STRONGLY AS THEY ABOUT OUR FUTURE BUT BELIEVE OUR WAY OF USING BRAIN OVER BRAUN POWER AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO SKILLFULLY MARKET OUR PLAN WILL REAP BENEFITS EVEN IN THE COMPANY OF COMMUNISTS.

WE WILL "PICK UP OUR FIVE STONES AND SLING", STAND IN THE GAP; RETRIEVE THE GAUNTLET THROWN TO THE FEET OF THE RIGHT WING AND MUSTER ALL LOGIC AND ORATORY WE CAN.

FRUSTRATED SA IS SITTING ON A CIVIL WAR TIME BOMB AND IF IT EXPLODES IT WILL CAUSE HAVOC OVER THE WHOLE NATION

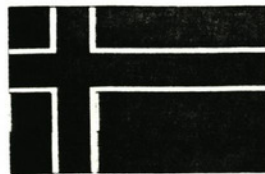
OUR COUNCIL FOR THE RIGHT WING, DO HEREBY REQUEST PERMISSION TO JOIN THE NEXT CODESA MEETING AND ANY SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION COMMITTEES OR WORK SHOPS.

WE THANK YOU,

YOURS FAITHFULLY,



CHAIRMAN AND SPOKESMAN: BARRY A NILSSON



Federal Independent
Democratic Alliance
P.O. Box 10528
Johannesburg 2000
Tel: (011) ~~834-182775~~

403-4268/9

10th Dec. 1991

Judge Ishmael Mahomed
Supreme Court Building
Van Brandis Square
Pretoria Street
JHB 2000.

Sir,

Fida wants to participate in the Negotiation Process and to contribute towards the creation of a new South Africa. The Federal Independent Democratic Alliance (Fida) is a political Organisation with a proven card carrying membership of 400,000.

We strongly believe that all political groupings with a proven following must be included in the negotiation process. We also believe that Justice, Democracy and Fairness must be the chief cornerstone of a new non-racial democratic South Africa.

Sincerely Yours
John Gophya President



**THE FREEDOM PARTY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA
DIE VRYHEIDSPARTY VAN SUIDELIKE AFRIKA**

*Registered in terms of Sect. 35B/Act. 46 of 1946.
Geregistreer kragtens Art. 35B/Wet 46 van 1946.*

LEADER/HOOF LEIER: S HOOSEN (MRS)

SECRETARY/SEKRETARIS: A R MAHOMED

TEL: 021 - 696 9025

FAX: 021 - 696 9032

The National Chairman
Mr A R Mahomed
Freedom Party of Southern
Africa
No. 50 Third Avenue
Rondebosch East
7700

6 January 1992

The Chairman of the Convention on a Democratic South Africa
P.O. Box 307
ISANDO
1600

Fax No. 011 - 3972211

Dear Sir

**APPLICATION FOR ADMITTANCE TO CODESA.
FREEDOM PARTY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.**

I am addressing this letter to you in my capacity as National Chairman of the Freedom Party of Southern Africa which party is registered as a political party in both the Houses of Representatives and Delegates and functions through a duly organized executive.

Our party had representation in the South African Parliament since the implementation of the tricameral parliamentary system and has a vast membership throughout the Republic. It is envisaged that the party due to its political standing in parliament, will gain more members of parliament in both the said Houses in the forthcoming parliamentary session.

During August 1985 Mrs Soheir Hoosen was declared duly elected by an order of the Supreme Court of South Africa (Cape of Good Hope Provincial Division) and won her Tafelberg seat convincingly in the 1989 election.

Mrs Hoosen is an Egyptian national with command of four languages including Arabic and French. Having married a South African citizen, she came to South Africa in 1974. She subsequently became a South African citizen by naturalization in 1982 and became interested in the South African politics during 1983 when she joined the Freedom Party of Southern Africa, which party, despite the volatile and explosive political situation at that time, entered the political arena with a view of bringing the government to their people. It became very obvious that many thousands of unfortunate people needed assistance in matters concerning pension, health, education, housing, etc. Since her election to parliament and later, being the sole member of parliament for the party, Mrs Hoosen has assisted thousands of individuals (even in other constituencies) and many organisations in various fields to attain the aforesaid objective of the party.

In that the Freedom Party has over the years gained considerable knowledge of the needs as aspirations of the electorate it represents, especially in a new South Africa, it is of the opinion that it can make a valuable contribution to Codesa and will be very much obliged if you could consider the admittance of our Party's delegation to Codesa. The Party has since the commencement of Codesa, endeavoured through the State President's office and the Minister of Constitutional Development to gain admittance to Codesa, but unfortunately to no avail.

If any further information is required, kindly contact the writer hereof.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours faithfully



A.R. MAHOMED
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
FREEDOM PARTY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Enquiries:

Tel:

Ref: -----



P.O. Box 273

Badplaas

1190

INSIKA N. PARTY

3 December 1991

Constitutional Services
P/Bag X804
260 Walker Street
PRETORIA
0001

ATTENTION: MR S S VAN DER MERWE

Sir

ALL PARTY CONFERENCE 20/21 DECEMBER 1991


We are hereby applying for registration as one of the parties to take part in the activities of the All Party Conference.

Pursuant to the meeting we held in July 1991 on the 5th with the then Minister of Development Aid the Hon. J de Villiers, who was acting on behalf of the State President the Hon. F W de Klerk. He clearly pointed out to us that the meeting will be conducted in two stages the first being a preparatory one handled by major parties. The second stage shall be the actual sitting.

The first phase has been done. Can you please inform us as to whether we shall be invited or not. We wish to represent ourselves as Swazis.

Your immediate reply shall be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully


S.M. NKOSI
for INSIKA N PARTY



MERIT FOR A FREE AND JUST SOCIETY

MERIT PEOPLES PARTY

TEL: 011-8886220/1
FAX: 011-8881848

P.O. BOX 1592,
ROOSEVELT PARK,
JOHANNESBURG,
2195

December, 11, 1991.

The secretariat,
Codesa Steering Committee,
Johannesburg.

PER TELEFAX 011-3972211

Dear Sirs,

REPRESENTATION ON THE CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

As leader of the Merit Peoples Party, I hereby apply for representation on the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) for my party, which is the only Transvaal-based political party in the House of Delegates.

My party is a signatory to the recently-established National Peace Accord, and we believe we are able to make a contribution in the creation of a new South Africa which we are all yearning for.

Please make the necessary arrangement for the Merit Peoples Party to be represented at the Codesa meeting scheduled for December 20 and 21 at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park and at all future Codesa gatherings. You may contact me at at any of the following telephone numbers: (011) 8886220/1 (h), (011) 8523300/72 (o), Fax. (011) 8881848.

We believe that in the spirit of reconciliation, South Africans will succeed in hammering out a new constitution for our beloved country. Let us go forward and make the new South Africa a reality.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "P. Padayachee".

P. PADAYACHEE, MP,
LEADER: MERIT PEOPLES PARTY.

cc. Thence
for Steering Committee

The Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa

Service, Sacrifice & Suffering

31 Wellmesdown Road
Hither Green
London SE13 6SY

Tel: 898 7179

December 20, 1991.

TO : CODESA
For the attention of : Mr Eloff
FAX : (011) 397 2211
From: P.A.C. (S.A.)
fax : 081-291 5757

(3 pages)

Message :

We understand that you are not allowing the delegates of the PAC to attend the deliberations of this conference which is designed to shape and determine the destiny of our country. If this is correct what are the reasons for this act ?

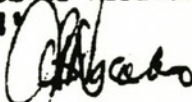
The people you are refusing participation are the very people who on the 21st March 1960 took part in the historic campaign against pass laws which created a watershed that introduced that phase of struggle that led to these negotiations. That's why Paul Sauer the Acting Prime Minister said " Sharpeville and Langa Massacres have spelt an end of an era and ushered in a new one."

In a statement issued in April 1990 setting our attitude on negotiations we said among other things :-

" However the PAC believes that successful talks can be achieved only if all parties to such talks have the necessary good faith or bona fide." The statement went to list examples of good faith and continued to say :

" Good faith would demand that such or any negotiations must include all parties, groups or associations who wish to participate and would also ensure that participants do so as equal entities enjoying equal status as this would be in accord with a non-racial multi-party democratic process for which we all strive."

It would be a sad commentary if in these deliberations there is not one hero of the Sharpeville campaign (as it is now known); it would be a desecration to the memory and contribution of Mangaliso Sobukwe the late leader of the PAC. If there are Youth Leaguers there such as Mandela, Buthelezi Mdlalose or any others ask them to allow that delegation to be admitted. It would be a sad day if the AWB, the Conservative Party were included or invited but the PAC(S.A.) excluded. I would like to end with a quote from the sages of Africa: ' Noseyishayile akakayosi noseyosile akakayidli noseyidli udl'icala!'


A.B. Ngcobo
Member of the National Executive
Committee PAC(S.A.).

PEOPLES PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

P. O. Box 786,
GERMISTON. 1400
Telephone: 904-1786.

11th December, 1991

The Steering Committee, CODESA,
P. O. Box 307.
ISANDO. 1600

Attention: Dr. Floff.

Per Express Post.

Dear Sir,

re: Representation at the Multi-Party Conference.

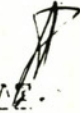
I confirm the telephone conversation with Dr. Floff on the 11th December, 1991 when I advised that my Party is a Political Party being represented in the House of Delegates (The Chairman of the H.O.D. Hon. M.P. for Actonville, Mr.S.Abram is the member of my party).

I have been trying for the past few weeks to communicate with the right person with regard to the representation of my party at the Multi-Party Conference, and I was referred from one person to the other until finally and ultimately I contacted Dr.Floff.

I shall be pleased if two delegates from my party, at this stage, can be accommodated for the conference.

Your very kind assistance herein will be greatly appreciated, and I shall be pleased to hear from you herein by return as a matter of Urgency.

Yours Faithfully:


A. E. LAMBAE.

National Leader: (P.P.S.A.)
Peoples Party of South Africa



FREEDOM OUR RIGHT

PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTYPO. BOX 1945
MARLBORO
2063
TEL (011) 339-5860Fax NO: (011) 492-1448/9
Attn: Dr. J. Lamola

03 January 1992

The Secretary
CODESA Steering Committee
Fax No: 011 397 2211

Sir

APPLICATION FOR PARTICIPATION IN CODESA

On behalf of its President, and its National Executive Committee, I hereby make an application for the PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY (PPP) to participate in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA).

The PPP is a widely recognised and respected political party which has an overwhelming following, especially Bophuthatswana and outlying areas. The PPP won eight parliamentary seats during the 1987 General elections in Bophuthatswana.

We look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely

JOHN LAMOLA, Dr.
General Secretary

REFORM PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

ALL CORRESPONDENCE
TO BE ADDRESSED TO
THE NATIONAL SECRETARY
OF THE PARTY

P.O. Box 40018
REDHILL
4071

Tel. 5002186/7
Fax Tel. 5002186/7
03 January 1992

CODESA

Att. Mr T Eleff

Sir,

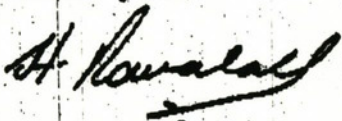
Re- ACCEPTANCE INTO CODESA

Our telephonic conversation as today.

The above political party, first indian political party in the R.S.A. sent in an application on the 11th November 1991. It is quite surprising that we were not invited to Codesa. This political party with Inkatha was a forerunner to Codesa for the following reasons:-

- 1) It was a member of the Black alliance were whites were not included.
- 2) It is a Party decision that we be included in the first Codesa and that we be invited to the meeting on the 13th January 1992.
- 3) Reform Party wants to be an instrument as well as other Political Parties to address a new South Africa as a member of the Black Alliance of which other members of Parliament were members. It can put an input.

Thank you.



CHAIRMAN

B R O A D C A S T - I N T E R E S T - G R O U P . B I G**Black Economic Empowerment Through Radio & TV Ownership****P O Box 5923 Johannesburg 2000.****Tel (011) 337 3754
Fax 333 3829**

17.12.91

The Conveners

Media Sub-Committee

CODESA

Fax 397-2211

Pages: 5

By direction of the black business community and the African National Congress (PWW) Regional Executive, represented at the Business Initiative Forum held in Daveyton, 15th December 91, do hereby make the following representations to the Conveners of the CODESA Media Sub-Committee:

That, the Broadcast Interest Group, being the largest representative black media business coalition, and a chief player in the broadcast deregulation process, would like the opportunity to participate in, address or observe the proceedings of the CODESA MEDIA COMMISSION and/or be considered for a participant role following the resolutions of the Media Sub-Committee on the media and broadcasting during the negotiation process.

We also would still like to pursue a possible briefing session with the Media Sub-Committee at its earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

MATTHEWS MK MALEFANE

CHAIRMAN

**...iike Alliansie
van Suid-Afrika**

KASA

P.O. BOX 24508
INNESDALE 0031
SOUTH AFRICA
TEL (012) 215655



**Church Alliance
of South Africa**

CASA

HEAD OFFICE: 385 VOORTREKKERS ROAD
PRETORIA 0084
SOUTH AFRICA
FAX:

The Chairman
CODESA
260 Walker Street
SUNNYSIDE
0002

13 December 1991

BY HAND

For Attention: Mr. Fanie van der Merwe

Dear Sir,

During our recent Executive Board meeting, it was decided that due to the fact that CASA represents a majority of Christian churches in South Africa, we feel that the input we can give at meetings of CODESA, can be of profound importance.

As a Christian organisation we are grateful for the tremendous strides taken by our leaders to lead our beloved country to peace, stability and future constitutional talks. Such talks we believe, must be strengthened by the Biblical imperative which demands the basis for the whole humanity, should it want to succeed.

We therefore wish to make a delegation available to attend all future CODESA meetings.

Attached please find various brochures which sets out the objectives of our organisation and the churches we represent.

Yours faithfully

ROBBIE M. ENGELBRECHT
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY



Mataele Residents Association
143 umfuyane Section
TAMBISA

1628
18-12-9
925-1539

The Secretary
Code SA
P. O Box 307
ISANDLO
1600

To whom it may concern
Dear Sir.

We the above mentioned association would like to be invited to attend the Codesa no. 2

We hope and trust our request will be highly considered

Your's Respectfully

B K Madalika



NATIONAL FORUM

PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS FOR A PROSPEROUS FUTURE

Dr. G. Van Der Viljoen,
Minister - Constitutional Development,
260 Walker Street,
PRETORIA

12th December 1991

Dear Dr. Van Der Viljoen,

The National Forum is made up of members from all over the country with fourteen regions represented. The majority of our members are in local government in control of numerous townships and have experienced hardship and intimidation due to our stand for peaceful change.

As you are no doubt aware, the National Forum was also a signatory of the Peace Accord and is represented on its various sub committee's.

The National Forum has provided a political home for our members who are not represented by any other political structure due to our moderate view for peaceful change and the power of negotiation.

Taking into account our experience at both local government and business level we feel it is imperative the National Forum be represented in the forthcoming Multi Party Conference and sincerely believe we have something to offer in these talks.

There is power in negotiation, we believe we genuinely represent the silent majority who pray for peace amongst all the people of South Africa and trust you will agree and include the National Forum, as requested previously, in the forthcoming Multi Party Conference.

We look forward to your reply.

J.S.A. MAVUSO
PRESIDENT - NATIONAL FORUM

PO BOX 411 HALFWAY HOUSE MIDRAND 1685
TEL: (011) 314.1053 FAX: (011) 314.1054

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH AFRICA
DIE SIELKUNDEVERENIGING VAN SUID-AFRIKA



2729
PRETORIA
0001 SOUTH AFRICA/SUID-AFRIKA

3261981/3261911
Fax 3261981

1991-12-18

Mr. Theuns Eloff
Secretariat: CODESA
World Trade Centre
KEMPTONPARK

Dear Mr. Eloff

OBSERVER STATUS: CODESA: PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH
AFRICA

Your telephonic conversation with Mr. Johan Olwagen refers.

The Psychological Association of South Africa is extremely interested in the discussions on a new dispensation for South Africa. This interest stems from the fact that the sociopolitical future of South Africa has become an integral part of the lives of South Africans and thus influences behaviour. This influence should be monitored. It can be best monitored by observing the discussions and the reaction of South Africans on the declarations made by the different role players during the discussions.

I therefore apply for observer status for the Psychological Association of South Africa at the discussions for a new compensation.

Attached please find a copy of a letter and presentation attached to the letter, that has been sent to all the different role players in the discussions.

I am personally not available from 21 December 1991 to 5 January 1992 as I will be on holiday. Should you wish to contact the Psychological Association of South Africa (PASA) during this time, you can contact either one of two of the following members involved in this matter:

Mr. Johan Olwagen

Mr. Deon Crafford

Should you wish to contact me after 5 January 1992, you can do so at the following telephone numbers:

Home: (012) 57-1751 or 57-3685

With kind regards



Dr. Louise Olivier

President: Psychological Association of South Africa.

I am personally not available from 21 December 1991 to 5 January 1992 as I will be on holiday. Should you wish to contact the Psychological Association of South Africa (PASA) during this time, you can contact either one of two of the following members involved in this matter:

Mr. Johan Olwagen telephone number: (012) 664-0733
Mr. Deon Crafford telephone number: (012) 319-3288

Should you wish to contact me after 5 January 1992, you can do so at the following telephone numbers:

Home: (012) 57-1751 or 57-3685
Work: (012) 21-5951/2

With kind regards



Dr. Louise Olivier
President: Psychological Association of South Africa.

12/17/91 16:15

2001

Return Exiles Committee
To: Mr. Zac Debeer
The Chairman of the CODESA

Return Exile Committee
P.O. Box 47605
Greyville
4023

Telephone number:
(0358)791051 Mr. Makana or
Pat Hlongwane (031)5091808

We are the A.N.C. Ex.Detainees we have arrived in South Africa on 17.3.1991 from Uganda in the A.N.C.Prison. So now we are preparing to go to court with the A.N.C.as they call us enemy agents,we were held in different countries in Africa. So now our request is that you should also involve our case in the Multi Party Conferance as the people who want their voice to be heard in South Africa,if you can just involve our case in your Conferance,we will be very happy. So if you have any objection repport back to us,so we will be very glad if you can inform us early.

We are calling for independant Commission of inquiry which will be set up by O.A.U.,U.N.,RED CROSS,S.AFRICAN CHURCHES,COMMON WEALTH before we go to court with the A.N.C. IN HAIG.

CHAIRMAN :Pat Hlongwane
SECRETARY:Sipho Laliso
TREASURE :Sipho Ngema

OTHERS

Sphiwe Muzi Lombu
Keke Kheswa
Mandla Mapu
John Bester
Charlton Mavundla
Fongani Ntshangase
Linda Ntshangase

SIGNED BY: 

(fax) 011-3972211

NATIONAL OFFICE
NASIONALE KANTOOR

THE SOUTH AFRICAN RED CROSS SOCIETY
DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE ROOKRUISVERENIGING (Reg No. 05/08539/08)

PO BOX 8726, JOHANNESBURG 2000
TELEPHONE: (011) 292449, 292440 AND 292490
TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS: "REDCROSS"
TELEX: 4-84644 SA
TELEFAX: (011) 23-5427
Fund Raising Number 0110001700006

POSBUS 8726, JOHANNESBURG 2000
TELEFOON: (011) 292449, 292440 EN 292490
TELEGRAFIESE ADRES: "REDCROSS"
TELEKS: 4-84644 SA
TELEFAX: (011) 23-5427
Fondsinsamelingsnommer 0110001700006



NEW FAX NUMBER

KINDLY NOTE THAT OUR FAX NO
WILL CHANGE DURING AUGUST TO
333-5427

REF/VERW

DATE/DATUM 10 December 1991

TELEFAX TRANSMISSION

TO : CODESA

cc

FROM : NATIONAL DIRECTOR OPERATIONS AND PROGRAMMES

ATTENTION : MR S S VAN DER MERWE

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING THIS ONE : 1

MESSAGE :

Dear Mr van der Merwe

It would be very much appreciated if the South African Red Cross Society could be invited to send a representative to attend the relevant meetings of CODESA as an observer.

The mission of the Society is : to render services to prevent and to alleviate human suffering and to foster human dignity in all communities by addressing needs of the people in accordance with the fundamental principles of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. The Principles are : impartiality, neutrality, voluntary service, humanity, independence, universality and unity:

The activities in which the Society is involved (inter-alia) are :

First Aid
Disaster Relief (inclusive of assistance for displaced people due to the violence)

Health Education
Youth Programmes
Referral Agent of assistance
Dissemination of Humanitarian Law
Creches

Taking cognisance of the disadvantaged at all times and addressing their expressed needs within the mandate of the Society.


K R GOWER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR OPERATIONS AND PROGRAMMES

KRG/jc

2-4 26/9



Phone:.....
 Fax:.....

Address: P.O. Box 8204.....
 CUMBERWOOD.....
 3235.....

18th November 1991

The Hon/Minister Viljoen,
 Minister of Constitutional Development,
 Private Bag X
 PRETORIA.

Dear sir,

I am directed by my executive committee, to inform you sir, of our intentions and willingness to be represented at the proposed Multi Party Conference. We also want to contribute in a way to the future of South Africa.

This organisation was formed and established in November 1990 in Pietermaritzburg. We are now in the process of forming branches through out the Country.

Kindly advise what criterion is required in order to be able to participate in these negotiations for a new South Africa.

Thanking you in anticipation of your early favourable reply.

Yours faithfully,

I. B. Zondi President.

I. B. Zondi.

1991-11-22



The South African Council of Churches

"Come Holy Spirit, Renew The Whole Creation"

1991-12-17

Mr M Morobe
CODESA
Secretariat

Dear Mr Morobe

re : Request of the WCC to attend the CODESA meeting as part of the International Observers.

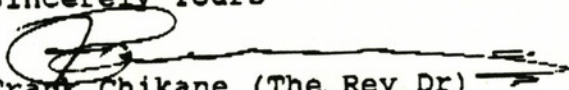
The World Council of Churches (WCC) called to enquire as to whether the Preparatory Committee for CODESA could consider inviting the WCC to be part of the International Observers to this forthcoming historical meeting.

As you would know the WCC has played an important role in conflict ridden areas around the world, particularly in peace making. The General Secretary of the WCC, Dr Emilio Castro, in his recent visit to South Africa committed the WCC to assist in whatever way possible within its scope in the resolution of the political and socio-economic situation in South Africa.

Should your committee respond favourably the WCC intends sending two representatives as observers.

I shall be pleased to hear from you soon.

Sincerely Yours


Frank Chikane (The Rev Dr)
General Secretary

c.c Rev Dr K Mgojo, President SACC
Ms B Bam, Deputy Genreal Secretary SACC
Rev B Pityana, WCC

Dr Zac De Beer (Fax no. 011-788 4418)

Khotso House, 62 Marshall Street,
Marshalltown, Johannesburg 2001
PO Box 4921, Jhb 2000

Tel: General Secretariat - 011 - 832 3541/9
Programs: 492 1380/9; Fax: 492 1448
Telex: 486296; Teletex: 450614

URGENTCODESA STEERING COMMITTEE

ATT: MR. MURPHY

Re: Request for observer status at Codesa

The Basotho National Party (B.N.P) of Lesotho humbly requests observer status at the forthcoming conference.

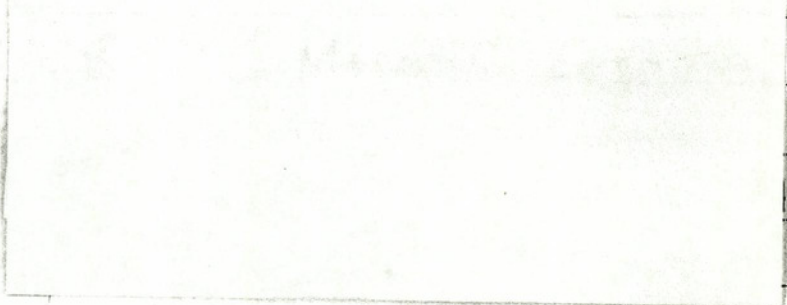
Apart from Lesotho's geographical location and economic ties as well as its historical relationship to South Africa, - Lesotho's future form of relationship to South Africa is of upper-most importance to Lesotho.

The BNP just held its party congress on 7th and 8th December, 1991, where it was electing a new President for the party to fill-in the gap left by the death of the late Dr. Leabua Jonathan.

It has always been the view of the BNP that the sooner the Basotho of Lesotho can get themselves actively involved into this crucial issue the better for all parties concerned.

Indeed there are various options and possibilities of approaching this important matter. The BNP finds the subject so crucial that in his inaugural address, Mr. Evaristus Ratselisitsoe Sakhonyane, the newly elected BNP President, suggested to the congress that the party was going to appoint some people on a full-time basis to be liaising on this matter as soon as possible. Such appointments are already in the pipeline. The party congress fully agreed that this should be done urgently.

FOR PURPOSES OF CONTACTING THE BNP
PRESIDENT, HERE ARE HIS CONTACT
NUMBERS:



If any problems are encountered, please
urgently contact the writer.

Faithfully yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several overlapping loops and horizontal strokes, positioned above the typed name.

RAACHKAMA

In view of all these points and a host of other possible issues, it is in this light that the Basotho National Party humbly seeks observer status at CODESA.

If granted, the party will be represented by the following:

MR. EVARISTUS RATSILISITSOE SEKHONYANA - President, BNP
 DR. E. MALIE - Chairman, BNP
 CHIEF LEKHOOANE JONATHAN - Secretary - General, BNP

For purposes of contactability, please contact the writer at the following contact numbers:

331-5611 > EXT. 219 (WORKING HOURS)
 331-5651

In cases of not getting hold of me at work immediately, an answering machine has been left on at the home number for any time when I may be away for a few minutes. I will get back to you immediately if you don't get me immediately.

We look forward to urgently hearing from you.
 Yours sincerely



ISAAC NKAMA

In view of all these points and a host of other possible issues, it is in this light that the Basotho National Party humbly seeks observer status at COPESA.

If granted, the party will be represented by the following:

- MR. EVARISTUS RATSILISITSOE SEKHONYANA - President, BNP
- DR. E. MALIE - Chairman, BNP
- CHIEF LEKHOORANA JONATHAN - Secretary - General, BNP

For purposes of contactability, please contact the writer at the following contact numbers:

331-5611 > EXT. 219 (WORKING HOURS)
331-5651

725-4879 - Home

In cases of not getting hold of me at work immediately, an answering machine has been left on at the home number for any time when I may be away for a few minutes. I will get back to you immediately if you don't get me immediately.

We look forward to urgently hearing from you.

Yours sincerely



ISAAC NKAMA

FOR PURPOSES OF CONTACTING THE BNP
PRESIDENT, HERE ARE HIS CONTACT
NUMBERS:

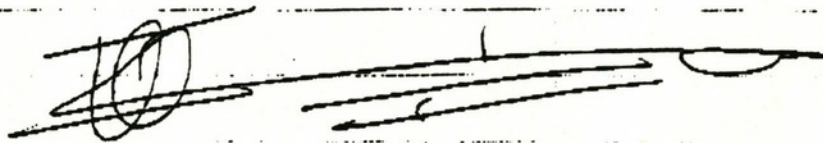
(09266) 323138 (MASERU, LESOTHO)

(09266) 750284 (QUTHING, LESOTHO)

(09266) 750252 (QUTHING, LESOTHO)

If any problems are encountered, please
urgently contact the writer.

Faithfully yours,



ISAACKAMA