



TO : ALL MEMBERS OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE
 FROM : CODESA ADMINISTRATION
 QUERIES : LOVEDALIA / GERDA
 RE : MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF 30 MARCH 1992

J Zuma	ANC	011-333-4509
R Cronje	Bophuthatswana Govt	0140-84-2943
SG Mothibe	Bophuthatswana Govt	0140-84-2406
H Kayser	Ciskei Govt	0401-95-1205
SV Notshe	Ciskei Govt	0401-95-1205
C Eglin	Democratic Party	021-461-0092
T J Mohapi	Dikwankwetla Party	01438-30318
SOM Moji	Dikwankwetla Party	01438-31218
F T Mdlalose	Inkatha Freedom Party	0358-20-2470
N J Mahlangu	Intando Yesizwe	01215-2808
S S Ripinga	Inyandza Nat Mvmnt	01314-72089 or 01314-72453
P Hendrickse	Labour Party	021-45-1953
E Samuels	Labour Party	
P J Gordhan	NIC/TIC	031-309-2278
C Salojee	NIC/TIC	031-309-2278
R Meyer	National Party	021-45-5870 or 012-347-0118
A Rajbansi	Nat People's Party	021-403-2971
J N Reddy	Solidarity Party	031-301-1077 or 021-461-7912
B Dookie	Solidarity Party	031-301-1077
J Slovo	SA Communist Party	011-836-8366
GvN Viljoen	SA Govt	021-461-0851
HG Coetsee	SA Govt	021-452-783
Z Titus	Transkei Govt	0471-23876
M J Mahlangu	United People's Fnt	0156-37149
S Makhuva	Venda Govt	0159-23172
E E P Mhinga	Ximoko Prog Party	01526-23412

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

DRAFT MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE HELD AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE ON MONDAY 30 MARCH 1992 AT 16h00.

PRESENT: Addendum A

APOLOGIES: HJ Coetsee (SA Government)
R Cronje (Bophuthatswana)
H Kayser (Ciskei)
SOM Moji (Dikwankwetla)
I Omar (Solidarity)
JN Reddy (Solidarity)
E Samuels (Labour)

MJ Mahlangu (UFP - late arrival)

1. **Chairperson's opening remarks**

The delegates were welcomed and an apology made for the late start of the meeting. An appeal was made to delegates to be punctual.

2. **Apologies**

Apologies were noted.

3. **Adoption of agenda**

The agenda was adopted with no amendments.

4. **Ratification of the minutes of the meeting held on 9 March 1992**

The minutes were ratified with the following amendments:

- 4.1 The word "tri-partite" was substituted for the word "tri-lateral" in points 4.2.4 and 4.4.
- 4.2 The word "February" was substituted for the word "March" in points 4.2.2, 4.2.3 and 4.4.
- 4.3 In the attendance register SG Mothibe was the Delegate for the Bophuthatswana Government and T Scheepers the Adviser.
- 4.4 In the attendance register C Salojee was the Delegate for NIC/TIC and Z Yacoob the Adviser.

4.5 The initials of the Adviser from IYP should read MB Ntuli.

5. DMC report (Addendum B)

5.1 Women's participation in Codesa: (Addendum C)

The draft proposal, presented to the MC by the DMC, on the status, composition and terms of reference of the Gender Advisory Committee was accepted by consensus with no amendments.

5.2 Formation of a drafting sub-committee:

5.2.1 The historical background of this sub-committee was discussed and the following was noted:

- * The delegates were referred to the Declaration of Intent, where reference is made to the setting up of a mechanism to draft legislation (but not agreements), as well as to the Terms of Reference of WG 5.
- * There is an overlap in responsibility in the area of drafting between the MC and WG 5.
- * WGSC 5 and the DMC have agreed on the need for a drafting sub-committee and the process and the parties to be involved.
- * It was agreed that there will be further discussion between WGSC 5 and the DMC on the structure of the drafting sub-committee.
- * It was noted that the MC and the DMC need to be more aware of their relationship with WG 5 so that a more positive climate could be created. It was also noted that the representatives of the MC should communicate more effectively with their respective participants at WG 5 to minimise misunderstandings.

5.2.2 A meeting was held on 30 March 1992 with members of the DMC, the Secretariat and WGSC 5 in this regard. The following report on the meeting was submitted to the MC:

Sub-group 2 of WG 5 has started mapping out a process for the drafting sub-committee. This process could be accepted by WG 5 and the MC. It was suggested at the meeting that the process to be adopted by the drafting sub-committee has three elements:

- * Policy extraction
- * Drafting
- * Checking (to peruse documentation to see if they correctly reflect the agreements)

It was agreed by all that the process needs to be managed and that the parties that need to participate in this process are the following:

- * The participants of WG 5
- * The WG rapporteurs
- * Experts who will assist in giving expression to agreements arrived at

5.2.3 It was suggested that a meeting take place with 2 or 3 representatives each from the DMC and the WGSC 5, to discuss the structure of the drafting sub-committee. Representatives from sub-group 2 of WG 5 must be part of this meeting.

5.2.4 It was noted that a meeting was held on 24 March 1992 at 16h00 with representatives of WGSC 1, 2, 3 and 4 and the DMC to discuss co-ordination and the drafting sub-committee. It was agreed that there is a need for a further meeting with all the WGSC's.

5.3 Co-ordination of Working Groups:

5.3.1 It was agreed that the meeting between the DMC Chairperson, the Secretariat and 2 representatives of WGSC 1, 2, 3 and 4 was very fruitful.

5.3.2 It was noted that WGSC 5 did not attend the meeting as WG 5 did not meet on that day and to inform them had been difficult.

5.3.3 Two issues arose from this meeting:

- * Each WG would need to outline what it wanted to achieve by Codesa 2 so that Codesa 2 would be a meaningful exercise.
- * The need for co-ordination between WG's was stressed. A range of suggestions in this regard was submitted to the MC under point 3.3 of the DMC report, and was accepted by the meeting.

5.4 Recess for Codesa:

5.4.1 It was agreed to discuss the dates for Codesa 2 in conjunction with the April recess as the two issues are linked.

5.4.2 It was agreed that Codesa would not meet in the week commencing 13 April. The next meetings of Codesa would be on 21 and 22 April 1992.

5.4.3 It was agreed that Codesa 2 would take place on 15 and 16 May 1992. It was further agreed that this should be a firm date.

5.5 British Elections

5.5.1 The British Government extended an invitation addressed to the Chairperson of the DMC, to send a delegation of four or five people to observe the British elections. This matter was considered at the last DMC meeting and after further negotiations with the British government, the following was agreed:

- * The invitation be accepted
- * The delegation number be increased to 7
- * The proposed delegation undertake the visit on behalf of Codesa

5.5.2 It was noted that although the delegation is a balanced one, efforts should be made to include another woman from the participants at Codesa, in the delegation. The DMC would look into this matter.

5.5.3 The delegation was approved by the MC.

5.5.4 It was suggested that this delegation should be given high profile publicity to show that Codesa has international recognition.

5.6 Representations from Ciskei:

The report was noted.

5.7 Marketing of Codesa:

5.7.1 It was noted that the Secretariat is preparing a proposal for the DMC and the MC on the content and the mechanism of the marketing program.

5.7.2 It was noted that disinformation in the form of pamphlets distorting the views of participants are circulating in schools.

5.8 Media Leaks:

The report was noted.

5.9 Letter from the Rustenburg Church Leadership Committee:

5.9.1 It was agreed that the MC supported the DMC recommendation in this regard.

5.9.2 A letter should be sent by Chairperson of DMC to L Alberts, F Chikane and M Cassidy to say that the MC has considered the matter and expressed full support. The letter should also note that the Chairperson is available for further discussion on how to carry the matter forward.

6. Progress in the Working Groups

6.1 It was agreed that the MC must communicate the date of Codesa 2 to the WGs and to urge the WGs to complete their work by the time Codesa 2 meets.

6.2 A joint meeting between the DMC and all WGSC's was suggested with the view to discuss overlapping issues in good time before Codesa 2.

6.3 It was suggested that the joint meeting between the WGSC's and the DMC could decide on further measures to facilitate the process.

7. Sub-committees

7.1 Participation of the Zulu King and Traditional Leaders: (Addendum D)

The interim report submitted by this sub-committee to the MC was noted.

7.2 Declaration of Intent:

- 7.2.1 The minutes of the meeting of 9 March 1992 were referred to, and paragraphs 3 and 4 were submitted by the sub-committee to the MC for its approval and comment.
- 7.2.2 It was agreed, by consensus, to accept paragraph 3 as a recommendation to Codesa 2, as an addendum to The Declaration of Intent.
- 7.2.3 It was agreed, that the issue of paragraph 4 be made a separate item on the agenda of the next MC meeting. This would also allow the parties/organisations to consult with their principals.
- 7.2.4 It was noted that this sub-committee had concluded its business.

8. Codesa 2

- 8.1 Codesa 2 will take place on 15 and 16 May 1992.
- 8.2 It was suggested that the DMC look into the practical and logistical arrangements for Codesa 2 and submit recommendations at the next meeting of the MC.

9. Other business**9.1 April Break**

Codesa will take a break in the week commencing 13 April 1992.

- 9.2 It was noted that the MC Chairperson had taken part in the John Robbie talk show on radio 702 as part of the Codesa marketing exercise.
- 9.3 It was noted that a meeting between the MC Chairperson, J Zuma, Z Titus and 10 women from Orlando West in Soweto took place. It was reported that the matter was discussed with R Meyer with whom it was agreed that the necessary steps to assist the women with their concerns about the incidents of violence taking place where they live, will be taken.
- 9.4 It was agreed that the following points should form part of a media statement to be released at 08h00 on 31 March 1992:
 - * The dates of Codesa 2
 - * The April recess for Codesa
 - * The Gender Advisory Committee
 - * The Rustenburg Church Leadership Committee Proposal
 - * The Codesa Delegation to attend the British Elections
 - * The Addendum to the Declaration of Intent to be submitted to Codesa 2

10. Date of next meeting

The next meeting of the MC will take place on Monday 27 April 1992 at 15h30.

The meeting adjourned at 18h00.

Addendum A

The following delegates and advisers signed the attendance register:

Party/Organisation Administration	Delegate	Adviser
ANC	J Zuma	M Maharaj
Bophuthatswana Government	SG Mothibe	TE Scheepers
Ciskei Government	SV Notshe	
Dikwankwetla Party	TJ Mohapi	
DP	C Eglin	Z de Beer
IFP	FT Mdlalose	BS Ngubane
IYP	NJ Mahlangu	MB Ntuli
INM	SS Ripinga	TJ Ndaba
Labour Party	P Hendrickse	J Douw
National Party	R Meyer	D de Villiers
NIC/TIC	C Salojee	I Pillay
NPP	A Rajbansi	E Joosab
SACP	J Slovo	
SA Government	G van N Viljoen	
Solidarity	B Dookie	DS Rajah
Transkei Government	Z Titus	TT Matanzima
UPF	MJ Mahlangu	
Venda Government	S Makhuvha	S Moeti
XPP	EPP Mhinga	JC Akron

Also present were:

Chair	PJ Gordhan
	T Eloff (Secretary)
	G Hutchings (Minutes)

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DMC REPORT

The following are some of the matters addressed by the DMC since the last MC meeting.

1. Women's participation in CODESA

This matter was referred to the DMC by the MC meeting of 9 March 1992. The DMC presents a draft proposal on the status, composition and terms of reference of the Gender Advisory Committee (pg 26 of material provided) to the MC for its decision.

2. Formation of a drafting sub-committee

The DMC has decided the following:

"The drafting sub-committee would consist of two components:

*The rapporteurs from each Working Group.

*Experts skilled in drafting and with due regard to specialised fields.

"The Secretariat, with the help of Z Titus, is to identify experts and make recommendations to the DMC."

In addition the Chair of the DMC and the Secretariat will be meeting with the WGSC5 Chairperson on Monday 30 March 1992.

3. Coordination of Working Groups

The coordination of Working Groups and preparation for CODESA 2 was discussed at a preliminary meeting of representatives of WGSCs, the Chair of the DMC and the Secretariat on 24 March 1992. Representatives of WG5 could not be present as this Working Group was not meeting on 24 March 1992. The following recommendations to the DMC emerged from this meeting.

3.1 The need for coordination between the WGs and in particular with WG5 was noted.

3.2 WGSCs 3 and 4 reported that they had had a joint meeting which they found to be beneficial to the respective WGs.

3.3 After discussion, the following suggestions were made in respect of coordination between the WGs and will be submitted to the DMC as recommendations:

* Periodic meetings between the WGSCs as and when

necessary.

- * A plenary session with the DMC and all the WGSC chairpersons.
- * An information circular between WGs to keep each WG informed of progress in other WGs.
- * The DMC to attend WGSC/WG meetings as observers.
- * Noting that WG5 had structured itself into 4 Task Groups, each charged with looking into agreements, etc. within a given WG, it may be possible to enable each Task Group to attend the relevant WG sessions as observers.

4. Recess for CODESA

The DMC has agreed in principle that no meetings of CODESA should take place during the week beginning 13 April 1992 in order to allow the administration a well-earned rest. CODESA meeting would then resume on 21 and 22 April 1992. This matter is to be finalised at the MC meeting on 30 March 1992.

5. British Elections

The British Government has invited a CODESA delegation to observe the British elections (**attach letter of invitation**).

The DMC was of the view that this was a valuable opportunity to observe a fair and free electoral process with a view to extracting lessons for our own situation. Further discussions with the British Government resulted in the number of representatives being increased to 7. The following guideline was used to constitute the delegation: in the first instance persons from the DMC who are available, secondly members of the MC and if possible one representative of WG1.

The delegation is as follows:

- 5.1 Mr P.G. Gordhan Chairperson of CODESA Management Committee (MC) and the DMC, representative of the Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress at CODESA.
- 5.2 P. Hendrickse Member of the MC and DMC of CODESA. Representative of the Labour Party at CODESA.
- 5.3 Mr. N. J. Mahlangu Member of the MC of CODESA. Representative of the Intando We Sizwe Party at CODESA.
- 5.4 Dr. F. Mdlalose Member of the MC and DMC of CODESA. Representative of the Inkatha Freedom Party of CODESA.
- 5.5 Prof. S.S. Ripinga Member of the MC and DMC of CODESA. Representative of the

Inyandza National Movement at
CODESA.

5.6 Mr. G. Bartlett Representative of the National Party at
CODESA serving on Working Group 5 and
of its Steering Committee.

5.7 Ms. J. Love Assistant to the Secretariat of CODESA.

6. Representations from Ciskei

Both Dr. Keyser from the Ciskei Government and Mr. Ramaphosa from the ANC were invited to be present at the DMC meeting of 23 March, 1992 following a request from Dr. Keyser. The Ciskei Government, ANC and SA Government were given an opportunity to address the DMC. After consultation among themselves, the above parties reported to the DMC that they intend to resolve any outstanding issues at a trilateral meeting to be held shortly.

7. Marketing of CODESA

It was agreed that there is a need to market Codesa so that the public can feel part of Codesa and get an insight into the negotiation process taking place in Codesa. The Secretariat is to look into this matter and submit recommendations as soon as possible. It was suggested that a full-time person to facilitate the process may be required.

8. Media leaks

It was agreed that Codesa should interact with the media more frequently and openly to project Codesa in a positive light.

CODESA GENDER ADVISORY COMMITTEE (GAC)**1. Composition:**

- 1.1 GAC shall be composed preferably of women.
- 1.2 Each participant in CODESA shall nominate one person to serve on GAC.
- 1.3 Substitution shall be allowed.
- 1.4 GAC shall be free to determine mechanisms by which the chairing of its meetings shall be effected.

2. Terms of Reference:

- 2.1 CODESA is committed amongst other things towards the creation of a non-sexist democracy.
- 2.2 GAC shall look into the Terms of Reference of each of the Working Groups and advise on the gender implications thereof.
- 2.3 GAC shall look into agreements arrived at in Working Groups and decisions of the Management Committee and advise on their gender implications.

3. Status of GAC:

- 3.1 The GAC shall be a Sub-Committee of the Management Committee (MC) whose primary function shall be to advise on the matters specified in items 2.2 and 2.3.

4. Functioning of the GAC:

- 4.1 The exact manner in which the GAC shall perform its advisory function shall be worked out by discussion and agreement between the GAC and the DMC. Such modalities shall include consultation between the GAC and the Steering Committees of each of the Working Groups.

5. Decision-making mechanism:

- 5.1 The Standing Rules adopted at CODESA 1 shall apply to the deliberation of GAC.
- 5.2 Where no consensus or sufficient consensus is reached, minority reports may be filed.

ZKTLMCRPRT/3003

ZULU KING/TRAD LEADERS/REPORT TO MC/30 MARCH 1992

**PROGRESS REPORT FROM THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE PARTICIPATION OF
THE ZULU KING AND OTHER TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN CODESA
TO THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE ON 30 MARCH 1992**

1. **Meetings**

The sub-committee met on 18 March 1992 and 30 March 1992.

2. **Hearings on 18 and 19 March 1992**

The sub-committee was presented with oral submissions on 18 and 19 March 1992 by the following groups/individuals:

- * VJ Matthews - Expert
- * Professor Maphalala - Expert
- * Ciskei Delegation
- * Ciskei Delegation from Paramount Chief Sandile
- * Contralesa
- * Kangwane Council of Chiefs
- * Lebowa Delegation
- * Qwa Qwa Delegation
- * Transkei Delegation
- * Venda Delegation
- * Ximoko Progressive Party Delegation

The following written submissions have been presented to the sub-committee:

- * Letter from MB Sandile
- * Letter from Prince A Leloka II Tsotets
- * Letter from Prince SJ Mahlangu
- * Letter from Bophuthatswana Government
- * Submission from Amandebele Ndzundza Sekhulumu
- * Submission from Ndzundza Fene Tribal Authority
- * Submission from Manala Ngibe Tribal Authority
- * Submission from Manala Tribal Authority
- * Submission from Ndzundza Somphalali Tribal Authority
- * Submission from Chief Moses Sonkalane Makerame Mabhena
- * Submission from Mabhoko Tribal Authority
- * Submission from Mr MP Skosana
- * Submission from Professor HW Vilikazi
- * Submission from Prof H Ngubane
- * Submission from Ximoko Progressive Party
- * Submission from Contralesa
- * Submission from Transkei
- * Memorandum from Transkei
- * Submission from Dr Mopeli
- * Submission from Paramount Chief Mota
- * Facsimile from Nathaniel Sekhumbuzo Bongani Mkhathshwa
- * Submission from NJJ Olivier
- * Submission from MN Ramodike, Leader of The United People's Front
- * Submission from MS Mankuroane (Paramount Chief of Batlhaping-Tau)

ZULU KING/TRAD LEADERS/REPORT TO MC/30 MARCH 1992

- * Transcription of presentation by Dr G Van N Viljoen to sub-committee
- * Submission of answers to specific questions raised during a meeting of the sub-committee by G Van N Viljoen
- * Submission from IFP
- * Submission from IFP re the removal of some major obstacles to the achievement of a climate conducive to peaceful negotiation

A summary of the proceedings and the written submissions is being prepared for consideration by the sub-committee. A part of this summary was already discussed at the meeting of 30 March 1992.

3. Issues Identified

- 3.1 Consensus has been reached on the principle of participation.
- 3.2 The same principle should apply to the participation of the Zulu King and all other Traditional Leaders.
- 3.3 The nature and form of this are still being discussed.

4. Next Meeting

The next meeting of the sub-committee is scheduled for Monday 21 April 1992 at 07h30.