

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

MINUTES OF THE DMC MEETING HELD AT 16H30 ON MONDAY 24 FEBRUARY 1992 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

PRESENT: PJ Gordhan (Chairperson)
Z de Beer
P Hendrickse
RP Meyer
Z Titus
J Zuma

M Maharaj (Secretariat)
SS van der Merwe (Secretariat)

T Eloff (minutes)

1. **Chairperson's opening remarks**

The delegates were welcomed.

2. **Apologies**

No apologies were noted.

3. **Adoption of the agenda**

The agenda was adopted after having added the item "Any other business".

4. **Preparation for the MC meeting of 24 February, 17h00**

4.1 **Agenda for the meeting**

The draft agenda was agreed upon.

4.2 **Financial assistance**

The report from the Secretariat was accepted as a proposal to the MC, with the following amendment:

Items 5.2 and 5.3 should be combined and would be applicable to expenses related to telephones, faxes, lease of equipment and photocopying. Documented proof of such expenses should be presented.

4.3 **Report back regarding WG4**

A report by Mr Z Titus, chairing of a meeting between DMC members and the Chairperson

of WG4 was noted. It was also noted that certain matters were communicated to WG4 in this regard (attached as addendum A).

4.4 Report back regarding WG5

A report by the Chairperson, Mr Pravin Gordhan, was noted. A letter sent to the chair of WGSC5 Mr Mtshali was also noted (attached as addendum B).

5. Ratification of the minutes of the DMC meeting of 17 February 1992

It was agreed that, due to time constraints, this should stand over until a next meeting.

6. Report on the meeting between the Secretariat and representatives of the WGSc's

6.1 It was noted that, with regard to item 5.1 of this report, one of the rapporteurs from WG3 came from within the WG.

6.2 A few spelling errors were noted in the report and corrected.

7. Any other business

7.1 A request from Dr John Maree that the Old Mutual scenario be presented to CODESA participants, was noted. It was agreed to put the matter on the agenda of the next DMC meeting.

7.2 With regard to the mechanism for processing requests from WG's to the DMC, it was agreed that WGSC's should put such requests before the Secretariat, who will discuss it with the Chairperson of the WGSC and deal with the matter, if possible. If the matter requires further consultation, the Secretariat should do so by contacting DMC members.

7.3 With regard to the decision on the position of members of the Secretariat as advisers to their respective parties/organisations, it was agreed to suspend the implementation of the decision recorded in item 6.3 of the minutes of the meeting of 17 February 1992 until further notice.

8. Date of next meeting

This meeting will take place on Monday 2 March at 17h00.

Addendum A

**STATEMENT AFTER THE DMC MEETING WITH THE CHAIRPERSON
OF WORKING GROUP 4 ON 24 FEBRUARY 1992 AT 09H30**

At this meeting the DMC gave due consideration to the matters raised by Working Group 4. After examining various options and having considered the Standing Rules adopted by Codesa I, the DMC mandated the chairperson of Working Group 4 to report back to the Working Group as follows :

1. The DMC points out that the Standing Rules apply generally to all Working Group's.
2. Despite the fact that Working Group 4 itself is comprised of various parties, it would appear that there is a need for the DMC to meet with the Bophuthatswana Government and the South African Government individually in this regard. In view of the fact that the objections were raised within the Working Group itself, the DMC finds it difficult to direct that it meets with the two parties. However, it finds it necessary that its offer to meet with the two parties should be given serious thought.
3. Should the offer be accepted, the DMC has resolved that after the initial meetings with the two parties, it will look at other ways and means to facilitate this matter further.

TO: Chairperson WGSC5
FROM: Chairperson DMC
DATE: 21 February 1992

Re: The document received by the DMC from WGSC5 on 17th February

Regarding Item 1: The minutes of the DMC meeting of 6th February 1992 have now been amended to incorporate the amendments suggested in the note from the WGSC5. This however, does not resolve the necessity to have a detailed delineation between the functions of WG5 and the Management Committee/Daily Management Committee.

Regarding Item 2: The Secretariat has been asked to attend to this matter and I understand that minutes have been circulated to members of the WGSC5 and will be available to Working Group members on Monday 24th February 1992.

Regarding Item 3:

- a) The Secretariat is a "normal CODESA structure" as is evident in the organogram appended to this letter which was approved at CODESA 1.
- b) At the beginning of the meeting the question of Chairpersonship of that meeting was tabled and the meeting unanimously nominated the Secretariat member present to Chair the meeting.
- c) Insofar as the circulation of the agenda is concerned: prior to the meeting on 17 February 1992 between the WGSCs and the Secretariat, all WGSCs had been sent extracts of the minutes and decisions of meetings of the MC, DMC, WGs and WGSCs. These extracts were sent with a covering note (which is attached to this letter) which tables the matters arising from these extracts for the purposes of the meeting's agenda. As there were no additional items raised by the WGSCs, Mr Van Der Merwe proceeded with the items as they appeared in the covering note. As this was the first meeting, the Secretariat - as the note indicates - preferred not to prescribe what should be discussed and simply drew upon what was evident from minutes and looked forward to the input of WGSCs for their views.



B1

TO: REPRESENTATIVES OF WGSC'S ATTENDING THE JOINT MEETING WITH
THE SECRETARIAT ON MONDAY 17 FEBRUARY 1992 AT 08H00 AT THE
WORLD TRADE CENTRE

FROM: CODESA SECRETARIAT

Enclosed herewith are extracts of minutes and decisions of meetings of the MC, DMC, WG's and WGSC's. These cover the following issues:

1. Interaction between WG's and the relationship between WG's/WGSC's and the DMC/MC.
2. Working Groups and the media
3. Chairpersonship of Working Groups
4. Rapporteurs in the Working Groups
5. The mechanisms for handling, tabling and copying of submissions by parties/organisations/administrations to WG's

We are sending these to you as background information and on the assumption that issues to be dealt with at the joint meeting will flow from these extracts.

The meeting may, of course, add any other issues on to the agenda.

Regards

M Maharaj and SS van der Merwe
CODESA SECRETARIAT

CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

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ISSUES TO BE ADDRESSED AT THE MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARIAT AND REPRESENTATIVES OF WORKING GROUP STEERING COMMITTEES, TO TAKE PLACE AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE ON MONDAY 17 FEBRUARY AT 08H00

Extracts from MC, DMC, Working Group and WGSC minutes

DMC Minutes 6 February:

- Item 3.2 The MC, and the DMC as its executive body, have been charged to supervise and to co-ordinate Working Group activities by CODESA 1.
- Item 3.3 That the DMC suggestion that a distinction be made between process/procedure and content is useful in delineating the respective roles of the DMC and WGSC5.
- Item 3.6 The Secretariat should investigate appropriate communication mechanisms between the two bodies, and between WG5 and other Working Groups, with regard to the circulation of minutes and the dissemination of information emerging from the Working Groups.
- Item 3.7 With this in mind, the Secretariat should meet with two members of each of the WGs, and it should report back to the DMC on this matter at the next DMC meeting.
- Item 3.9 A sub-meeting between the Secretariat and members of WGSC5 should delineate specific responsibilities as contained in the Terms of Reference of WG5 on the basis of the mechanisms detailed above.
- Item 3.11 Regarding the role of the Group Secretary, he/she should, if called upon to do so by the chairperson, provide information to the Working Group as requested. However, his/her function is essentially administrative.
- Item 3.12 Regarding the role of the Secretariat, it was noted that this is the executive arm of the DMC and a mechanism for co-ordinating the activities of CODESA with this in mind.
- Item 3.14 Regarding the communication of decisions recorded in the minutes, as outlined under Item 3.6 above:
- 3.14.1 Minutes should be approved before the decisions recorded therein are circulated.
 - 3.14.2 Specific decisions of the DMC in respect of the WGSCs may be recorded in separate minutes and approved by the chairperson for immediate circulation, noting that such decisions should be ratified as a part of the overall minutes of the meeting in question at its next session.
 - 3.14.3 All DMC decisions concerning WG5 should be communicated in document form to WGSC5.

WORKING GROUP STEERING COMMITTEES\MEETING WITH SECRETARIAT\17 FEBRUARY

- Item 4.1.1 The procedure for the presentation of submissions at Working Group meetings should be determined by the Working Group and its chairperson.
- Item 4.1.3 Mechanisms for Working Group reports to the next full plenary of CODESA should be addressed by the MC, noting the need for balance amongst the rapporteurs.
- Item 4.1.4 Regarding rapporteurs:
- 4.1.4.1 These should be appointed from amongst Working Group delegates or advisers. The participating organisations concerned may call in substitutes for the persons in question.
 - 4.1.4.2 The Secretariat should formulate and circulate guidelines for the tasks of the rapporteurs, recommending that the number of rapporteurs does not exceed two per Working Group.
- Item 7.4 Media statements on behalf of Working Groups:
- It was agreed that:
- 7.4.1 The mechanism currently employed should be continued.
 - 7.4.2 In the event of the DMC not meeting after the WGs and therefore not being available to formulate a media statement, the Secretariat should meet with the chairpersons of each Working Group (either individually or collectively) to draft an appropriate statement.

MC minutes 10 February

- Item 5.3.1 It was agreed that the DMC should investigate the merits of a more uniform rotation mechanism for the Working Group chairpersonship, noting the autonomous nature of the WGs.

Working Group 1 & WGSC1

WGSC1 3 February

- 2.1.4 That, noting that a media conference is planned to be held after the MC meeting on 10 February in order to invite submissions to each WG, it was proposed that the Chair should establish what latitude WGSC1, on behalf of WG1, has in planning its own advertisement and;
- 2.1.5 that, bearing in mind the area of work of WG1, the chair make a recommendation to the MC that, while WGSC1 recognises the need for a press conference it sees, in addition, a need for its own advertisement, to be inclusive of the Terms of Reference of all Working Groups.

WG1 6 February

WORKING GROUP STEERING COMMITTEES\MEETING WITH SECRETARIAT\17 FEBRUARY

- 4.3.2 That the Chair undertake to raise with the MC the possibility of all documentation being sent to all delegates and advisers instead of just the heads of delegations.

Working Group 2 & WGSC2

Nothing relevant.

Working Group 3 & WGSC3

Most recent minutes of WGSC3 not available.

WG3 6 February

- Item 4.3.1 It was decided to request the MC to draw up guidelines for the uniform appointment of chairpersons for the WGs. Uniformity in terms of the time the chair presides, as well as the principle of impartiality and others enunciated in the first WG3 meeting, should be kept in mind.

Working Group 4 & WGSC4

Nothing relevant.

Working Group 5 & WGSC5

WGSC5 10 February (not yet approved by the chairperson)

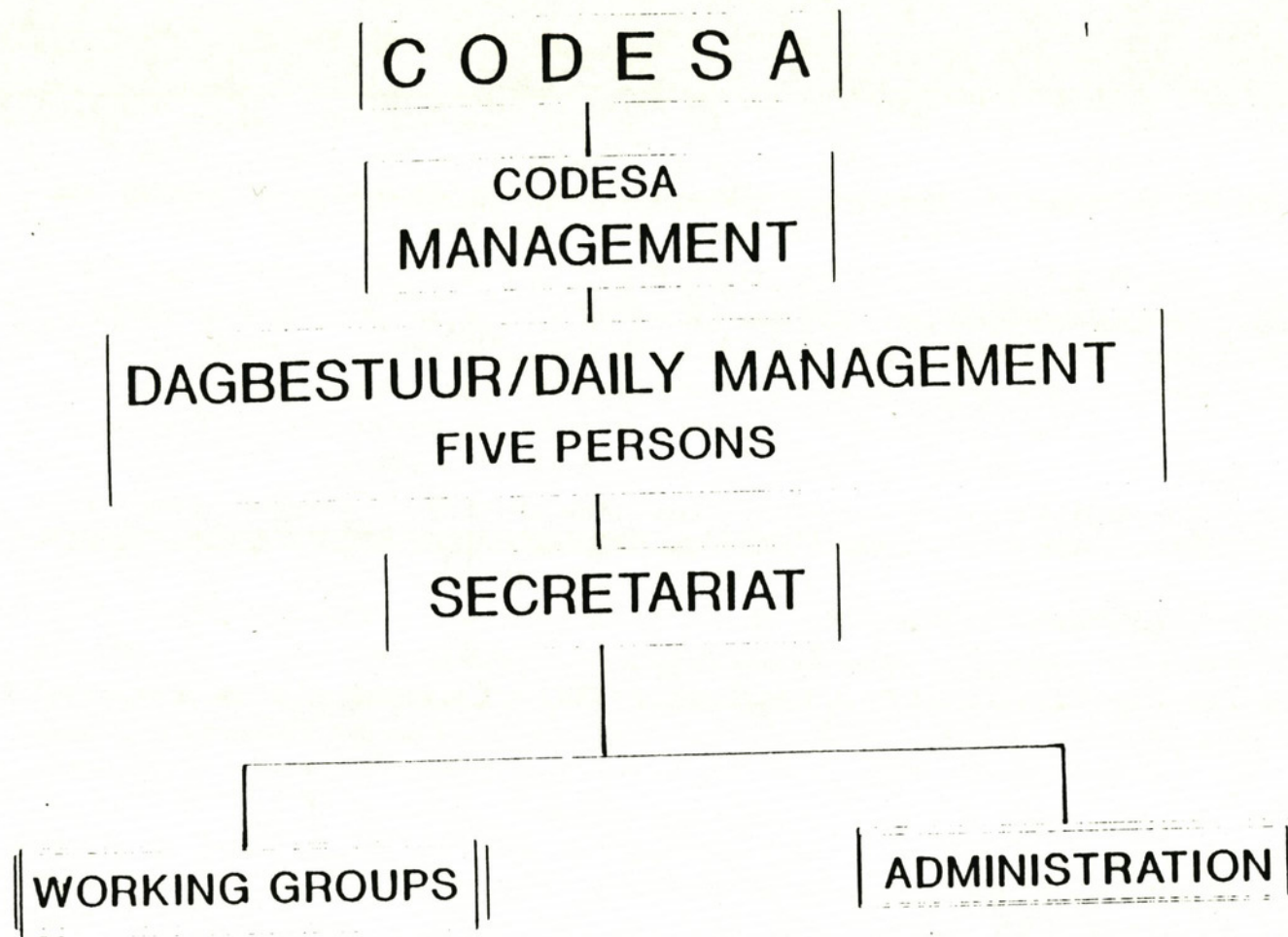
- Item 2 Under a point of order, the issue of substitutes for members of WGSC5 was raised. It was agreed that.....the chairperson should also raise the issue with the DMC.
- Item 6.1.1 It was also agreed to recommend to the DMC, through the Secretariat, that Item 3.3 of the minutes of the DMC (6 February) should read "**administrative** process/procedure and political process and content".
- Item 6.1.2 It was agreed to recommend to WG5 that Item 1.1.4 'b' and 'e' of the Terms of Reference should be managed by the DMC and the Secretariat respectively. This was done on the understanding that the two items ultimately stay the responsibility of WG5.

Guidelines for Chairpersons of Working Groups of CODESA

- Item 3.3 Typing and photocopying facilities will be available before, during and after meetings for Working Group and sub-committee documents. This will, however, not apply to documents submitted to Working Groups or sub-committees by individual parties.
- Item 3.4 Any minute or document finally adopted by a Working Group should be signed by the Chairperson/s, so as to indicate that it is the authorised version.

STRUCTURE FOR CODESA

B3



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 24 FEBRUARY AT 17H00.

PRESENT: ADDENDUM A

APOLOGIES: G. Fraser-Moleketi

1. **Chairperson's opening remarks**

Delegates were welcomed and an apology extended for the late start due to other meetings. It was agreed that Dr De Beer, as a member of the DMC, will be allowed to observe part of the meeting.

2. **Apologies**

Apologies were noted for G. Fraser-Moleketi and, Prof SS Ripinga. Dr Viljoen, Mr Meyer and Mr Zuma indicated they would have to leave the meeting early to attend another meeting.

3. **Adoption of the agenda**

3.1 With regard to the timeous distribution of documentation for meetings, the following proposal from the Secretariat and the Chairperson was accepted:

3.1.1 The cut-off point for receiving documentation to be included in the MC agenda, will be 12H00 of the Monday one week before an MC meeting. It logically follows that the MC meeting will be 1 week later.

3.1.2 The agenda and/or other documents will then be couriered to MC members not later than Wednesday 12h00.

3.1.3 MC members were requested to stay in active contact with CODESA Administration and especially to communicate the fact that documents have not been received by Thursday morning.

3.1.4 MC members were also requested to inform CODESA Administration if they should leave their normal addresses on a Thursday or Friday.

3.1.5 A possibility that can be investigated, is to deliver 1 copy of the documentation in the offices of parties/administrations/organisations at the WTC.

3.2 With regard to the frequency of WG meetings, it was agreed that:

3.2.1 Some concern exists in the MC that the hectic schedule of meetings might impair the effectiveness of work.

3.2.2 There is a mechanism in place to communicate this concern, viz. the meeting of the WGSC's and the Secretariat (on behalf of the DMC), and this should be utilised in this regard.

3.2.3 WG's are free to exercise their right to arrange their meetings with even more flexibility, taking this concern into account.

The draft agenda was adopted with the amendment that items 5 and 9 would be dealt with simultaneously.

4. Minutes of 10 February 1992

4.1 **Ratification**

The minutes were ratified with the following amendments:

4.1.1 The last word of item 1.3 was changed to "agreed to".

4.1.2 Item 4.2.1.1 now reads as follows: "CODESA is a body of political organisations/ parties/ administrations".

4.2 **Matters arising**

It was noted that these were included in the agenda.

5. Broadening participation in the CODESA process

5.1 **General**

It was noted that, as yet, few completed questionnaires had been received from applicants. Research in order to establish information about applicants is continuing. It was agreed that the DMC should start processing the applications as soon as possible.

5.2 **Women's participation in CODESA**

Noting the amount of applications and petitions in this regard, it was agreed that the DMC should monitor this issue and raise it with the MC if and when necessary.

6. Progress in the Working Groups

6.1 A report from the Secretariat in this regard was noted.

6.2 Members of the MC in various WGs made contributions on the progress in those groups.

6.3 It was agreed that the date for CODESA II should appear on the agenda of the next MC meeting.

7. Financial assistance

7.1 The proposed memorandum by the Secretariat (attached as addendum A) was accepted, with the following amendments:

7.1.1 Item 5.1 should include the following sentence after the words "from State sources": "This excludes State/ administration officials who have been granted leave without pay to attend CODESA meetings. Documentary proof of this will be required."

7.1.2 Items 5.2 and 5.3 are to be combined, to read as follows: "A maximum monthly subsidy of R2000-00 per party/ organisation will be paid in respect of CODESA expences related to their offices at thew World Trade Centre. These would include the following:

- * Telephone calls
- * Fax costs
- * Photocopying costs
- * Rental of equipment
- * Secretarial services

7.2 The subsidy will be payable on receipt of documented proof of actual expenses.

7.3 The subsidy will come into effect retrospectively from 13 January 1992."

7.4 It was reiterated that with regard to photocopying the following guidelines are in effect:

7.4.1 Submissions by individual participants will not be copied by the Administration but by participants themselves on the basis of provision in (7.1.2) above.

7.4.2 Submissions from groups outside CODESA, as well as official documents of CODESA structures will be photocopied.

8. Reports from Subcommittees

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

The report of the subcommittee (attached as addendum B) was noted.

8.2 **Declaration of Intent**

The report of the subcommittee was noted (attached as addendum C). A document tabled by the Bophuthatswana Government was also noted (attached as addendum D). It was agreed that this will be discussed at the next MC meeting.

9. Report on the Secretariat and administrative arrangements

9.1 **The position of the Secretariat**

The recommendations contained in items 6.1 and 6.2 of the minutes of the DMC meeting of 17 February 1992 were accepted by consensus. It was noted that there had been an earlier agreement in the DMC meeting that the decision should be suspended after discussion it was agreed that implementation of item 6.3 should be postponed until 18 March 1992.

9.2 **Administrative arrangements/facilities**

The report, as presented by the Secretariat and contained in the MC agenda, was accepted by consensus. Attention of MC members was drawn to the requests by the administration for minute-takers.

10. **Any other business**

10.1 A draft statement submitted by Mr MJ Mahlangu was accepted as amended (attached as addendum E). It was agreed that this should be issued in all languages. In this context the need to popularise CODESA was also raised.

10.2 Following a suggestion that all CODESA's activities should be opened by prayer, it was agreed that the suggestion that 2 minutes of silent prayer be adhered to at the beginning of all CODESA meetings, will be discussed at the next meeting of the MC.

11. **Date of next meeting**

The next meeting of the MC will take place on Monday 2 March at 17h00 at the WTC.

The meeting adjourned.

MIN2402.MM (3)

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE/MINUTES/24 FEBRUARY

Addendum A

The following delegates and advisers signed the attendance register:

Party/Organisation/ Administration	Delegate	Adviser
ANC	J Zuma	M Maharaj
Bophuthatswana Government	R Cronje	SG Mothibe
Ciskei Government	HJS Kayser	
Dikwankwetla Party	TJ Mohapi	SOM Moji
DP	CW Eglin	J Selfe
IFP	FT Mdlalose	BS Ngubane
INM	SS Ripinga	TJ Ndaba
IYP	NJ Mahlangu	MB Ntuli
Labour Party	P Hendrickse	E Samuels
National Party	R Meyer	D de Villiers
NIC/TIC	P Gordhan	C Salojee
NPP	A Rajbansi	E Joosab
SACP	J Slovo	G Fraser-Moleketi
SA Government	G van N Viljoen	
Solidarity	I Omar	CK Reddy
Transkei Government	Z Titus	TT Matanzima
UPF	MJ Mahlangu	MI Moroamoche
Venda Government	S Makhuva	PN Ranwashe
XPP	EPP Mhinga	JC Akron

Also present were:

Chair:

Dr Z de Beer

T Eloff (Committee Secretary)

FINREPR.T.SD (1)

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO PARTIES/ORGANISATIONS IN CODESA

1. The Secretariat has been asked to make recommendations to the DMC on financial assistance to parties participating in CODESA.
2. At the moment, participating parties/organisations/administrations are receiving the following assistance:
 - 2.1 Transport costs of delegates and advisers to and from CODESA meetings
 - 2.2 Accommodation and subsistence costs of delegates and advisers when attending meetings
 - 2.3 Each party is given a furnished office at the World Trade Centre.
3. What must now be considered is whether parties etc should be given additional financial assistance regarding their participation in CODESA. Two forms of assistance have been mentioned:
 - 3.1 First suggestion:
 - 3.1.1 Ad hoc assistance by way of a daily allowance to delegates and advisers not receiving remuneration from State sources
 - 3.1.2 The installation of one fax machine and telephone line in each party's office at the World Trade Centre and paying its operational costs up to R400 per month
 - 3.1.3 Providing copying facilities at a cost of up to R1 250 per party per month
 - 3.2 Second suggestion:

The payment of a fixed sum to parties etc to assist them with their overall expenses in participating in CODESA.
4. A question of principle to be considered is whether political parties should receive State funds to help them propagate their own particular ideals. This is a principle still to be discussed and agreed upon between the various South African parties. Although it may not at first glance appear to be so, the funding of CODESA participating parties on an overall scale, would bring this principle into question. The position of parties outside CODESA would also have to be considered. It is consequently suggested that Working Group 5 be asked to consider and make recommendations on this question, especially in so far as State assistance is advisable and justifiable in pursuance of the democratic ideal.
5. The following proposal was accepted at the meeting of the Management Committee held on 24 February 1992:
 - 5.1 A modest per diem allowance of say R200 per delegate or official adviser could be recommended for the days on which CODESA meetings are attended. This will only cover persons not receiving remuneration from State sources. This excludes State/administration officials who have been granted leave without pay to attend CODESA meetings. Documented proof of this will be required. This allowance can be claimed just as subsistence and transport costs are claimed now.

5.2 A maximum monthly subsidy of R2 000 per party/organisation/administration will be paid in respect of expenses for CODESA and offices at the World Trade Centre. These would include the following:

- + Telephone calls
- + Fax costs
- + Photocopying costs
- + Rental of equipment
- + Secretarial services

The subsidy will be payable on receipt of documented proof of actual expenses.
The subsidy will come into effect retrospectively from 13 January 1992.

SUBCOMMITTEE ZULU KING, TRAD. LEADERS/MINUTES/24 FEBRUARY 1992

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MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE PARTICIPATION OF THE ZULU KING AND TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN CODESA HELD AT 15H00 ON MONDAY 24 FEBRUARY 1992 AT THE WTC

- PRESENT:
- CW Eglin
 - MJ Mahlangu
 - NJ Mahlangu
 - FT Mdlalose
 - TJ Mohapi (Convenor)
 - TT Matanzima
 - J Slovo
 - J Zuma
- T Eloff (secretary, minutes)

1. Chairperson's opening remarks

The Chairperson welcomed the delegates and underlined the importance and urgency of the issue.

2. Adoption of the agenda

It was agreed to bring the item "Future Strategies" forward to item 4 of the agenda. The agenda was thereafter adopted.

3. Terms of Reference

The meeting took note of its Terms of Reference, specifically item 2.2.1, addressing the issue of evidence.

4. Future Strategies

4.1 It was agreed that, notwithstanding the letter of invitation already sent to members of the MC inviting submissions, a new invitation should also be put to heads of delegations of CODESA participants. The secretary was charged with this task.

4.2 It was agreed that the letter to experts proposed by Dr Mdlalose should be sent in amended form to the following experts (attached as addendum A):

- Prof NJJ Olivier (DP adviser)
- Prof D Welsh (UCT)
- Prof S Maphalala (Univ Zululand)

SUBCOMMITTEE ZULU KING, TRAD. LEADERS/MINUTES/24 FEBRUARY 1992

Prof H Vilakazi (Univ Zululand)
Prof H Ngubane (UCT)
Prof M Wiechers (UNISA)

It was also agreed that other committee members would submit further names of experts by the end of the week. The deadline for receiving of written submissions was put as 12 March 1992.

- 4.3 It was agreed that a third letter will be addressed to the heads of states/administrations of the TBVC countries and the self-governing territories, requesting them to facilitate the giving of evidence to the subcommittee by traditional leaders in their regions/countries. The Terms of Reference of the subcommittee should also be included in this letter.
- 4.4 It was agreed that whatever submissions are received as a result of the above mentioned process, will be considered with those already received.
- 4.5 It was agreed that the financial implications of submissions from experts should be investigated by the secretary, in consultation with the Financial Administration.

5. Submissions and applications received to date

It was agreed that committee members will be ready to comment on submissions/applications already received at the next meeting.

6. Progress report to the Management Committee

It was agreed that the secretary will draft a written report on basis of the decisions taken, for the chairperson to deliver at the Management Committee meeting.

7. Date of next meeting

It was agreed that the next meeting will take place on Tuesday 3 March at 10H00 and members were requested to make themselves available at until 16H00. It was also agreed to approach Dr Gerrit Viljoen (who had indicated willingness to do so) and Mr Nelson Mandela to give evidence to the subcommittee.

The meeting adjourned.



ZULU KING SUBCOMMITTEE/FIRST REPORT/24 FEBRUARY

INTERIM REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE PARTICIPATION IN CODESA OF THE ZULU KING AND TRADITIONAL LEADERS

The Sub-committee met for the first time on 24 February 1992. It agreed to report to the Management Committee the following agreements:

1. In addition to a letter written to all members of the Management Committee, it was agreed to write to all delegations, inviting the participants to submit views on these issues.
2. It was agreed to write letters to an agreed panel of experts, inviting them to give their views on a consultancy basis.
3. It was further agreed that with regard to submissions by Traditional Leaders, a letter will be written to the heads of administration of the TBVC states and the self-governing territories, requesting them to facilitate the giving of evidence by traditional leaders.
4. It was agreed that the cut-off date for all submissions will be 12 March 1992.
5. It was finally agreed that submissions/applications already received will be considered with whatever others may emerge for the above-mentioned process.
6. The Sub-committee will need professional assistance plus financial aid in this matter later on.

TJ MOHAPI



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MINUTES OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE DECLARATION OF INTENT AND PROPOSED AMENDMENTS HELD ON MONDAY 24 FEBRUARY 1992 AT 08H30 AT THE WTC

PRESENT :

- R Cronje (Bop Govt)
- C W Eglin (DP, Convener)
- F T Mdlalose (IFP)
- J Slovo (SACP)
- GvN Viljoen (SA Govt)
- J Zuma (ANC)

T Eloff (Minutes)

1. Ratification of the Minutes of the Meeting of 17 February 1992

1.1 The first sentence under paragraph 2.1 was deleted and replaced with the following :

"The following proposal was made :"

1.2 The following sentence was added before paragraph 2.2 :

"Dr Mdlalose requested that this matter be taken back to the IFP for its consideration and to report back at a future meeting."

1.3 The first paragraph of Item 2.2.1 was deleted and replaced by an amended paragraph 2.2.2, reading as follows :

"It was agreed that the formulation listed below should be circulated to all sub-committee members as soon as possible, for their comments at the next meeting of the sub-committee."

1.4 The second paragraph of Item 2.2.1 was retained.

2. First and Second Proposed Amendments

It was reported that the IFP has not had the opportunity to consider the proposal. It is still under consideration.

3. Third Proposed Amendment

This matter was still in abeyance. An interim report will be given by the convener at the Management Committee of 24 February 1992. No final report is available yet.

4. Next Meeting

It was agreed that the next meeting of the sub-committee will take place on Monday, 2 March 1992 at 08h30.

The meeting adjourned.

CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

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MINUTES OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE DECLARATION OF INTENT AND PROPOSED AMENDMENTS HELD ON MONDAY 17 FEBRUARY 1992 AT 15H00 AT THE WTC

ADOPTED AT THE MEETING HELD ON 24 FEBRUARY 1992

- PRESENT :**
- C W Eglin (DP, Convener)
 - F T Mdlalose (IFP, assisted by A Macaulay)
 - J Slovo (SACP)
 - GvN Viljoen (SA Govt)
 - J Zuma (ANC)

 - T Eloff (Minutes)

 - Mr R Cronje (Bophuthatswana Govt) was not present

1. Terms of Reference

The Terms of Reference of the Sub-Committee was noted (Addendum A).

2. Discussion of the IFP's Proposed Amendments (Addendum B).

The proposed amendments by the IFP were discussed. To facilitate this, a document by Mr Eglin was tabled (Addendum C).

2.1 First and Second Proposed Amendments

The following proposal was made :

The Management Committee, and then CODESA II, issue a formal statement, which will become an annexure to the Declaration of Intent, making it clear that, irrespective of their individual views, the seventeen organisations/parties/administrations who signed the Declaration of Intent declare that :

- * the Declaration is neutral on the issue of a unitary versus a federal state; and
- * nothing in the declaration is construed as preventing any signatory from advocating a unitary, federal or other democratic form of state, or the separation of powers between the central government and the regions, during the proceedings of CODESA or any of its Committees or Working Groups.

Dr Mdlalose requested that this matter be taken back to the IFP for its consideration and to report back at a future meeting.

2.2 Third Proposed Amendment

- 2.2.1 It was agreed that the formulation set out below should be circulated to all sub-committee members as soon as possible, for their comments at the next meeting of the sub-committee.

DECMINS1702.MM (5)

"We the representative of the IFP/Bophuthatswana Government, further solemnly declare to be bound by agreements we reach together with other participants in CODESA in accordance with the standing rules and hereby commit ourselves to the implementation thereof within our capacity, powers and authority".

3. **Next Meeting**

It was agreed that the next meeting of the sub-committee will take place on Monday 24 February 1992 at 08h30.

The meeting adjourned.

RESERVATIONSRECORDED AND TABLED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF BOPHUTHATSWANA
REGARDING ITS PARTICIPATION IN CODESA

1. Pursuant to its sovereignty and its refusal on or since 20 December 1991, to accede to the Declaration of Intent of CODESA, it is hereby expressly and categorically declared for the information of all signatories and others involved in CODESA, that the presence and participation of representatives of the Government of Bophuthatswana in the proceedings of any of the working groups of CODESA, or any plenary sessions thereof since 20 December 1991, or in the future does not imply any departure from the said refusal. Furthermore, that participation by the said Government in the operations and functioning of CODESA does not expressly, impliedly or tacitly mean or can be construed to mean that the said Government has consented to the said Declaration of Intent.

2. Concerning any ruling at any session or meeting of CODESA or its working groups, to the effect that "sufficient consensus" is the appropriate measure required for proper decision making in any particular case, the Bophuthatswana Government places on record that, it specifically reserves the right to disassociate itself from decisions of CODESA taken by "sufficient consensus", where such decisions affect Bophuthatswana.

3. We, the Government of Bophuthatswana declare ourselves, subject to the proviso and reservation stipulated herein, to be bound by agreements we conclude or reach together with other participants in CODESA in accordance with the standing rules, and hereby commit ourselves to the implementation thereof within our capacity, powers and authority: Provided that we shall not be bound by, nor shall we be obliged to implement any decision of CODESA, if such decision directly or indirectly conflicts with, affects or impinges on the sovereign independent status or autonomy of Bophuthatswana, or in any way pertains to the incorporation of its territory, or any part thereof, in South Africa or any other State whether federal, confederal, federation or confederation or of any other constitutional nature whatsoever, unless the Government of Bophuthatswana acting within its powers and capacity aforesaid has expressly consented to any such decision, or has signified its approval thereto.

PRESS1.DD (1)

DMC/PRESS STATEMENT/24 FEBRUARY

CODESA PRESS STATEMENT: 24 FEBRUARY 1992We dare not turn our back on history

We are gathered here at CODESA to find a way towards a new democratic South Africa. The door is open to all political groupings to join us in the knowledge that they are free to advance any view consistent with democracy in our effort to reach a just negotiated settlement.

It is only through the process of frank discussion and negotiation that a peaceful road can be found to build a future in which all our people can work together to create a life of peace, justice and security for all.

It is only through this process that we can begin to seek an answer to satisfy the just aspirations of our diverse peoples in their quest to assert and to protect their cultural, language and religious rights.

We declare that there is no unbridgeable gap between unity and diversity. All of us here are committed to seeking a route of individual freedom; a route without domination of one group over another within our common border.

There is no other way for South Africa to find its rightful place among the comity of nations in our interdependent world.

There is no other way to avoid a future of turmoil, unending strife and economic collapse for every inhabitant of our land.

All South Africans - black and white - stand at the crossroads. The negotiation process is not just an option; there is no alternative. The choice before us is either to participate in it or to move inexorably towards the nightmare of chaos and civil war.

We dare not turn our backs on history. We appeal to all in our land who value the future of themselves and their children to support the process of negotiation that has been started at CODESA.



KODESA MEDIAVERKLARING: 24 FEBRUARIE 1992

Ons durf nie ons rug op hierdie geskiedkundige oomblik draai nie

Ons vergader in KODESA om die pad na 'n nuwe, demokratiese Suid-Afrika te verken. Die deur is oop vir alle politieke groeperinge om by ons aan te sluit, in die wete dat hulle enige voorstelle versoenbaar met die demokrasie kan maak in die soeke na 'n regverdigde, onderhandelde skikking.

Dit is slegs deur 'n proses van reguit praat en onderhandel dat 'n vreedsame weg gevind sal word om 'n toekoms te bou waarin al ons mense kan saamwerk om vrede, geregtigheid en sekuriteit vir almal te verseker.

Dit is slegs deur hierdie proses dat ons kan begin om antwoorde te soek om die geregverdigde aansprake van ons verskeidenheid van volkere te bevredig in hulle strewe om hulle kulturele-, taal- en godsdienste te vestig en te beskerm.

Ons verklaar dat daar nie 'n onoorbrugbare kloof tussen eenheid en verskeidenheid is nie. Almal van ons is verbind daartoe om die pad na die vryheid van die individu te vind; 'n pad sonder die oorheersing van een groep oor 'n ander binne ons gemeenskaplike grense.

Daar is vir Suid-Afrika geen ander manier om in die interafhanklike wêreld waarin ons leef, sy regmatige plek in die galery van nasies in te neem nie.

Daar is ook geen ander manier om 'n toekoms van wanorde, aanhoudende konflik en ekonomiese verval vir elke inwoner van ons land te voorkom nie.

Alle Suid-Afrikane - swart en wit - staan by 'n kruispad. Die onderhandelingsproses is nie maar net 'n opsie nie; daar is geen alternatief nie. Die keuse wat ons konfronteer, is om of daaraan deel te neem of om onafwendbaar op 'n afgrond van chaos en burgeroorlog af te stuur.

Ons mag nie hierdie geskiedkundige oomblik die rug keer nie. Ons doen 'n beroep op almal in ons land wat hul eie toekoms en die van hulle kinders op die hart dra, om die proses van onderhandeling wat by KODESA begin is, te ondersteun.

Uitgereik deur die Voorsitter van die Bestuurskomitee van KODESA, mnr. Pravin Gordhan.

Goedgekeur deur die Bestuurskomitee van KODESA op 'n vergadering op 24 Februarie 1992.



24 February 1992

TO : CHAIRPERSON - DMC

CC : MEMBERS OF DMC
WORKING GROUP CHAIRPERSONS

FROM : KEN ANDREW
CHAIRPERSON - WORKING GROUP 3

VARIOUS MATTERS NEEDING ATTENTION

Arising from meetings of Working Group 3 and the Working Group Steering Committee 3 on 17 February 1992, I have been asked to convey certain recommendations and requests to you.

1. Rapporteurs

Working Group 3 believes that rapporteurs have an important role to play. We also believe that it is undesirable that persons serving as delegates or advisers simultaneously act as rapporteurs.

It is our request, therefore, that rapporteurs who are not in the employ of a government be remunerated and have travel and subsistence expenses paid by Codesa.

2. Sub-Groups and Sub-Committees

Working Group 3 wishes to know whether the Daily Management Committee or the Management Committee has set down guidelines in respect of the structuring of sub-committees or sub-groups of working groups.

3. Co-ordination

It was felt that the progress of Working Group 2 and Working Group 4 needed to be closely monitored and a mechanism to prevent unnecessary overlap be found.

Working Group 3's assignment of interim arrangements can be substantially affected by decisions in respect of the process and body to draft a new constitution, and the future of the TBVC states.

Working Group 3 felt it was within its terms of reference to discuss the role of the TBVC and self-governing states in interim arrangements.

The comments of the Daily Management Committee and/or Management Committee in respect of the above matters would be greatly appreciated.

KEN ANDREW
Chairperson : Working Group 3

CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

PO Box 507, Isando, 1600, South Africa.
Telephone (011) 597-1198/99. Fax (011) 597-2211

Phone (09266) 323138

Fax (09266) 310088

28



Basotho National Party

P.O. BOX MS 124—MASERU
LESOTHO

26 February 1992

The Secretariat
Convention for a Democratic South Africa
P.O. Box 397
ISANDO
1600

Attention: MR MURPHY MOROBE
FAX NO. 397-2211

Dear Sir,

BNP'S APPLICATION FOR OBSERVER STATUS AT CODESA

I represent the Basotho National Party, a Lesotho party founded by the late Dr Leabua Johathan - former Prime Minister of Lesotho and a Prime Minister Lesotho was privileged to have. It is my honour on behalf of the party and its membership to present this application for my party to be accorded observer status at CODESA.

In 1910, incorporation with South Africa was considered. The only reason why Basotho people refused was because of the existence of unlegislated apartheid. This is a historical fact. Lesotho then took a geo-political development under the British as a protectorate until 1966. There was never any other reason except for that of apartheid.

In 1912 when the African National Congress was formed, the representative of the then Paramount Chief of Basutoland found himself sometimes chairing meetings at the formation of the ANC. The ANC, realising the significant role and contribution of the Basotho people in South Africa's political development, incorporated it into its freedom charter that Basutoland was one of the three British protectorates that had a special form of past, present and future relationship with South Africa. Motiako Leballo, a Lesotho citizen, was chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress.

- 2 -

Lesotho, along with South Africa, are both members of the South African Customs Union. The bulk of Lesotho's workforce spends most of its working life in South Africa - contributing towards the development of South Africa. The Central Bank of Lesotho works very closely with the South African Reserve Bank. Both countries are members of the Rand Monetary Area.

Furthermore, the dependance of Lesotho's whole economy evolves around selling labour to South Africa. Lesotho is independent by evolution and history - it's form of relationship and link to South Africa is different from any other country. The Basotho National Party, despite the impoverishment of Lesotho, has never isolated itself from the political developments of South Africa.

The Basotho might be asked for an option. This is a very important option and it is in the interest of Lesotho citizens to know of an option from an informed stand-point. This is not contrary to the commendable work that CODESA is doing in trying to democratise South Africa. What affects South Africa, politically and economically, affects Lesotho. Geographically, Lesotho is right in the middle of South Africa. South Africa's destiny is Lesotho's destiny. The very constructive work that is going on at CODESA will directly affect Lesotho.

It was for these reasons that the membership of the BNP mandated it's late President and former Prime Minister of Lesotho, the late Dr Leabua Johathan, to keep the party close to political developments in South Africa. In it's last general conference in Maseru on 7 - 8 December 1991, the membership again mandated the executive of the party to continue on that path and to make it a matter of priority and extreme importance. It is deduceable from all the above that Lesotho will be affected by what goes at CODESA.

As previously indicated, the Basotho would wish to choose their destiny from a position of knowledge. This is very important. The BNP cannot speak for others because we do not know how much importance others put on this very crucial matter. They are best qualified to speak for themselves. What is important is that this application is being made by a party that is more than likely to form a government within six months from the date of this application. This is after the democratically held elections scheduled for September.

- 3 -

In the unlikely event of the party not succeeding to form a government, the information obtained at CODESA shall be passed on to a democratically elected government in Lesotho. Ours is a national and not a sectarian interest.

Our membership asks for the urgent attendance of this matter. It is for all these reasons that the BNP asks for observer status at the convention for a Democratic South Africa.

We are aware of the good work of Working Group 1 - which deals with the role of the International Community at CODESA, but feel that because of the unique present and historical relationship that Lesotho has with South Africa, it cannot be classified under the International Community for this purpose. This is a unique situation and that is a formality which will obscure the real nature of the geo-political relationship between Lesotho and South Africa. Our destiny wholly evolves around CODESA.

A sympathetic consideration given to this unique situation will be very highly appreciated. The BNP is eager to know whether or not - although not fully participating in CODESA - it will at least be given the opportunity to observe that which directly involves their country's destiny.

On behalf of the executive and membership of the BNP, I would like to convey my personal good wishes to the Administrative, Management and Steering Committees and all those involved at CODESA in general. You have our best wishes.

Yours faithfully,

E. R. SEKHONYANA

President



Phone 22249 (09266) 323138

Fax (09266) 310088



Basotho National Party

P.O. BOX MS 124—MASERU
LESOTHO

26 February 1992

The Secretariat
CODESA
P.O. Box 307
ISANDO
1600

Fax: (011) 397-2211

Attention: MR MURPHY MOROBE

Dear Sir,

CONTACTIBILITY

For purposes of the BNP receiving the feed-back rapidly, please contact the following person:-

ISAAC NKAMA
P.O. Box 7360
JOHANNESBURG 2000

Tel: (011) 331-5611

Any contact with him will be received by me immediately.

Yours faithfully,

E.R. SEKHONYANA

President

J. GOVENDER
30 DIP CLAY CLOSE
CLAYFIELD
PHOENIX
4051
NATAL

12 FEBRUARY 1992

Received 21/02/92

THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE OF CODESA
P.O. BOX307
ISANDO
1600

SIR

RE: RIGHT WING PARTICIPATION

With reference to letter of 07-02-92 from the HONOURABLE the MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT, and with regards to the absence of RIGHT WING PARTICIPATION and the unreasonable refusal of the CONSERVATIVE PARTY to participate at CODESA. We the founder leaders and members of the UNITED ASIAN FRONT are hopeful that in this respect and in the light of the belief that the negotiation process should be as inclusive as possible; that the MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE OF CODESA will not be hesitant in securing a representation from the UNITED ASIAN FRONT.

We at the UNITED ASIAN FRONT, as you will notice from our past correspondence to the Government and various other Leaders, are a willing participant with regards to self determination and had sought participation in the creating of a new SOUTH AFRICA as early as 1990. We refer letter of 02 August 1990 to the Honourable the STATE PRESIDENT.

In this regard and in the absence of Right Wing Representation from Parties within the Indian Community at CODESA, we do hereby most humbly apply for admission to CODESA with the sincerest hope of assisting in the negotiation process in the creating of a new blessed democratic South Africa.

In conclusion we wish the MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE OF CODESA to be further informed that we at the UNITED ASIAN FRONT are even more determined more serious and more concerned than the CONSERVATIVE PARTY or any other Right Wing Organisation in the country with regards to self determination; this is why our participation is of the utmost importance not only because it will fill a vacuum but will also project the views and plans to self determination.

Thanking you and most humly we anticipate an early and favourable response.

YOURS SINCERELY

Govender... FOUNDER: LEADER FOR UNITED ASIAN FRONT.

Please find attached various correspondence with regards to our concern and seriousness in participating with regards to self determination.

Republiek van Suid-Afrika



Republic of South Africa

Ministerie van Staatkundige Ontwikkeling
Ministry of Constitutional Development

Verwysing 3A-5/5/1
Reference

Privaatsak X9123
Private Bag
Kaapstad
Cape Town
8000

Mr J Govender
30 Dip Clay Close
Clayfield
PHOENIX
4015

1992-02-07

Dear Mr Govender

Your letter of 15 December 1991 to the State President has been referred to me for attention.

The Government appreciates your concern for a new and democratic South Africa and has taken note of your concern for rightwing participation in CODESA. In this regard agreement was reached by CODESA 1 that the Management Committee of CODESA should consider the question of other participants, i.e. other political parties, political organisations and administrations not represented at CODESA 1. It was agreed that the Management Committee should attend to applications by other organisations to join CODESA, as well as other means of expanding participation in CODESA. It is therefore not the Government who decides on participation in CODESA. However, the Government believes that the negotiation process should be as inclusive as possible and suggests that you apply for admission to the Management Committee of CODESA at P O Box 307, Isando, 1600.

Yours sincerely

G VAN N VILJOEN
MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

J. Govender
30 Dipelny Close
Clayfield
1100111X
4051

02 August 1990

The Honourable President
Mr F.W. De Klerk
c/o Union Buildings
Pretoria
South Africa

Honourable Sir

PARTICIPATION IN THE CREATING OF A NEW SOUTH AFRICA

It is with much love, respect and admiration for you Sir, as the new, the Honourable President of the Republic of South Africa, as well as for the people of your community, we the Ancestral children of Asia, Founder and members of this New Party, the United Asian Front, wish you and your Government to be informed that we are now preparing to be in readiness in order to participate when negotiations concerning the new Political Dispensation begins with the Government.

We wish you and the Government to be assured that we as a community will most certainly, most positively and most seriously contribute in making the New South Africa a reality. As it should be wisely remembered and acknowledged that without the sincere and serious participation by sincere and very concerned and serious people of this community, the New South Africa will be a reality to only but a selected few, to the rest of the people of the country; it will be nothing but a frightening nightmarish dream.

So as far as our proposals are concerned it is nothing new to the Government, they have established African States with an African Government, e.g. Transkei - Ciskei. If our proposals is to be rejected, as not being possible and far from reality, then Sir, in all fairness to the people of this Asian Community and in the light of our seriousness in pursuing these goals then it must be tested and contested when negotiations begin.

Super Negotiators

We wish you and your Government to be once again assured that our expert and dynamic team of negotiators will be equipped to achieve even the impossible.

You are Sir, no doubt a great and respected leader of your people, and they have no doubt that you will lead them into a new and happier future, of which we have no doubt as well. The only key and we emphasize the only key to the door of success is this Asian Community; there can be no other; the magic formula to the solutions concerning the impossible to overcome problems can only be obtained from those that pursue a pure goal.

In conclusion, and in all seriousness we now await the response of you and your Government. We wish to be informed as to what the Government would require of us in order to take our place at the negotiating table when real negotiations begins, and what assistance if any that we can receive in order to put our Party on an equal footing with other political parties that will be destined to take part.

We wish you Sir, as the Honorable the most courageous new President every success in the creating of the new South Africa and may all the Gods and Spirits of your Ancestors and that of ours guide you and your government in its decisions concerning our proposals.

Thanking you and hoping Sir, for an early and favourable reply.

Yours faithfully

Mr J. Govender

D A T E

Photo Copy of CARBON COPY



I.4 (6194)

Uniegebou
Pretoria

Union Buildings
Pretoria

Mr J Govender
30 Dipclay Close
Clayfield
PHOENIX
4051

1990-12-06

Dear Mr Govender

With reference to your letter of 2 August 1990 the following:

Any suggestions that can help the Government in the negotiation process towards the construction of a "New South Africa" are appreciated. You are no doubt also aware of our point of view that all parties with proven support should partake in such negotiation.

You will agree then that, because your organisation is virtually unknown within the general political spectrum, an indication of your support base will be useful in the consideration of the suggestions made in your letter.

With kind regards

F W DE KLERK

J. Goender
 30 Dip blay bloc
 Blayfield
 Phoenix - 4051
 Natal
 30th December 19

The Honourable President,
 The Hon. Mr F. W. Dekker,
 c/o Union Buildings
 Pretoria - 0001
 Honourable Sir,

Re: CODESA

We the founder and members of the United As
 Front do hereby send our warmest and sincerest
 greetings and congratulations to you and the
 government for convening, participating and mak
 the beginning of CODESA a great success.

Although there had been no right wing -
 representation, we are pleased and encourage
 to note that consideration is to be given to
 encourage and include other participants -
 especially those that are of paramount im
 portance; Namely the delegation of the Zulus
 as well as the Conservative Party.

In this respect and in the absence of right
 wing representation from Parties within the
 Indian community, we are hopeful that the
 government will not be hesitant in assisting
 and securing a representation from the United
 Asian Front.

We are aware of the requirements with regards to
 letter of 6-12-1990 from the government with which

(2)

we are still busy working. This too we wish to mention should not be an obstacle in securing our participation. We are certain that from our past and recent correspondence the government is fully aware of our difficulties.

In the light of democracy and in the absence of direct voting representation especially from the United Asian Front we see no reason for any difficulties arising with the government to assist with regard to obtaining that which the government requests of us, more so because of the importance of securing a right voting representation, and in the light of their refusal by the United Asian Party and other right voting organisations to participate at CODESA.

We are fully convinced that the government and other participants at CODESA would welcome and acknowledge the fact that in the United Asian Front they have a willing participant sharing and supporting the same views and proposals of the United Asian Party and other organisations with regards to self-determination. We are also convinced that their participation should encourage some if not all who share the same views and proposals to participate and hopefully contribute in making the New South Africa a reality for all at CODESA.

In conclusion we are hopeful that taking into consideration the afore mentioned as well as our past correspondence to the government and various Asian leaders abroad, the government will have no problems in assisting and securing a right voting representation from the United Asian Front. Your kind and humble cooperation in this matter of great importance and urgency will be

(3) greatly appreciated and rewarded.

Thanking you once again, and hoping for an
early and positive response.

Yours Sincerely
F. Fawcett - J. Fawcett

P/S my sincerest apologies for not having the letter
type written, I am sure that once again the
Government will understand my difficulties,
especially with regards to the emergency on the
my correspondence sent to them. As I am sure
you will agree that time is so important.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

1. To negotiate a homeland for the people of the Asian Community, namely to have the Province of Natal declared for Asian Occupation to establish a Indian state with an Indian Government.
2. Maintain and preserve the identity and culture of the Asian Community and guard against all forms of perversion eg; marrying or forced into marriage across the colour line.
3. Establish a police and defence force consisting of solely Asian men and women, to guard against whatever violence or conflict that may be directed against the Asian community.
4. Establish direct diplomatic and trade relations with other Asian Countries and Communities, e.g. India and China.
5. Provide every Asian with a decent if not a luxury home and a generous portion of land, which had been long over due; in fact almost 130 years had passed since.
6. Create a super and problem free super Asian Community, establish our very own super system of education, build our very own super schools colleges and universities for our people; build super hospitals and health centres, super religious institutions and places of worship. Create our very own television and radio and film industry; build a super economy; eradicate poverty, crime, unemployment and illiteracy - etc. etc. for ever.
7. Encourage immigration of Asians of other Countries and communities in order to assist in the creating of a new super and problem free Asian Community in the New South Africa.
8. Eradicate all forms of racial hatred intimidations, conflicts and confrontations.
9. Create a super and dynamic team of super ^{negotiators to AS} negotiations to represent the Asian community when negotiations begins with the Government concerning the new South Africa and our new way of life here.
- 10 To NEGOTIATE AND ENCOURAGE REPATRIATION when ALL ELSE FAILS FOR US PEOPLE OF INDIAN ORIGIN here IN SOUTH AFRICA.

J.GOVENDER
30 DIPCLAY CLOSE
CLAYFIELD
PHOENIX
4051

14-01-91

A.TREANICHT
C/O HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
PARLIAMENT HOUSE
CAPE TOWN
8000

HONOURABLE SIR,

RE: NEW SOUTH AFRICA

GREETINGS TO YOU AND ALL MEMBERS OF YOUR ^{PARTY} FAMILY. WE THE FOUNDER AND MEMBERS OF THE UNITED ASIAN FRONT DO HEREBY WISH TO INFORM YOU AND MEMBERS OF YOUR PARTY ABOUT OUR RECENT CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE GOVERNMENT, OF WHICH WE ARE CERTAIN WILL BE OF SOME INTEREST TO YOU, WITH REGARD TO SELF DETERMINATION. WE WILL BE REALLY PLEASED TO KNOW AS TO WHAT THE OPINION OF YOUR PARTY WOULD BE, AND WHAT SUPPORT IF ANY, THAT WE COULD RECEIVE; YOUR CO-OPERATION AND RESPONSE IN THIS MATTER, OF SERIOUSNESS AND CONCERN WILL BE GREATLY APPRECIATED. YOU ARE SIR NO DOUBT A GREAT AND RESPECTED LEADER AMONG YOUR PEOPLE, AND ~~WE ARE~~ THE GOALS OF THE C.P WILL BE REALISED SOONER THAN ONE EXPECTS.

THANKING YOU AND HOPING SIR FOR AN EARLY RESPONSE.
WITH KIND REGARDS.

J.GOVENDER-(FOUNDER)



Reference: T30/a/1

February 6, 1991

PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF SOUTH AFRICA

Mr J Govender
30 Dipclay Close
Clayfield
PHOENIX
4051

Dear Mr Govender,

Thank you for your letter of January 29, 1991 and the copies of your aims and objectives. The latter appear to us to be very interesting and worth discussing.

Thank you once again.

Yours sincerely,

DR AP TREURNICHT MP (Waterberg)
LEADER OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY
of South Africa

APT/es

J. GOVENDER
30 D'CLAY CLOSE
CLAYFIELD
PHOENIX -4051
SOUTH AFRICA

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20 APRIL 1991

THE HONOURABLE PRESIDENT OF INDIA
THE HONOURABLE MR. VENKETARAMAN
C/O INDIAN PARLIAMENT
NEW DELHI
INDIA

HONOURABLE SIR,

RE: ANCESTRAL CHILDREN OF INDIA

^{RND}
GREETINGS TO YOU ONCE AGAIN TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIA. WITH ALL DUE RESPECT
TO YOU SIR AS BEING THE HONOURABLE PRESIDENT OF INDIA. WE THE ANCESTRAL CHILDREN
OF INDIA, FOUNDER AND MEMBERS OF THIS NEW PARTY, THE UNITED ASIAN FRONT, DO HEREBY
WISH YOU SIR TO BE INFORMED ABOUT OUR TRUE POSITION HERE.

FIRSTLY WE WISH YOU TO BE INFORMED THAT OUR LAST CORRESPONDENCE TO THE GOVT. OF
INDIA HAD RECEIVED NO RESPONSE. ALTHOUGH WE REGRET NOT WRITING TO YOU EARLIER
WE ARE TRUSTING THAT YOU WILL BE INFORMED ABOUT OUR PROPOSALS TO THE GOVT. OF
SOUTH AFRICA. WE ALSO TRUST THAT WE WILL RECEIVE YOUR OPINION AND RESPONSE AS WELL
THAT OF THE GOVT OF INDIA, WHICH IS OF THE GREATEST OF IMPORTANCE IN DECIDING THE
FUTURE DIRECTION OF OUR PARTY IN THE FUTURE POLITICS OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIAN ORIGIN
IN THE AS PROPOSED NEW SOUTH AFRICA. WE WISH TO BE ADVISED AS TO WHETHER WE ARE
TAKING THE RIGHT DECISION WITH REGARDS TO OUR PROPOSALS OF WHICH WITHOUT A DOUBT
WILL BE ACCEPTED BY 80% IF NOT ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIAN ORIGIN HERE IN SOUTH
AFRICA.

WE ARE HOPING SIR THAT YOU WILL AS THE HONOURABLE PRESIDENT TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION
OUR SERIOUSNESS IN PURSUING OUR GOALS WITH THE GOVT. OF SOUTH AFRICA IN DETERMINING
THE GRAVITY OF OUR CONCERN FOR THE INDIAN COMMUNITY HERE IN SOUTH AFRICA AS WELL
OUR LEADERSHIP PARTY, IN DETERMINING WHO ARE THE PEOPLE OR PARTY THAT REPRESENTS
THE TRUE INTERESTS OF THE ANCESTRAL CHILDREN OF INDIA. *Especially the Poor - 1860 Se*
IN THE 130 YEARS HERE, WE HAD NO LEADERSHIP, WE DONOT HAVE A HOME. NOW IN THE CHANGING
TIMES OF THE POLITICS OF SOUTH AFRICA WE ARE EMERGING WITH THIS NEW PARTY TO
UNITEDLY ACHIEVE FOR THE PEOPLE OF INDIAN ORIGIN HERE IN SOUTH AFRICA IN LESS
THAN A DECADE WHAT OTHERS WHO HAD CLAIMED TO BE OUR LEADERS HAD FAILED TO ACHIEVE
IN MORE THAN 10 DECADES. THIS WE ARE HOPING ^{will be achieved} THROUGH THE DIRECT PARTICIPATION BY
GOVT & PEOPLE OF INDIA, WE ARE HOPING SIR TO ACHIEVE THIS THROUGH YOUR HUMBLE
INTERVENTION.

WE WISH YOU SIR EVERY SUCCESS IN SOLVING THE PROBLEMS OF INDIA, WE WILL CONTINUE ~~ff~~
TO PRAY FOR YOU , THE GOVT & PEOPLE OF INDIA , AND DO REMEMBER THAT WE WILL ALWAYS
IDENTIFY WITH THE STRUGGLES OF ASIA.
THANKING YOU AND HOPING SIR FOR AN EARLY AND FAVOURABLE RESPONSE,

YOURS SINCERELY

J. GOVENDER

FOUNDER, LEADER UNITED ASIAN FRONT

WE WILL BE VERY GRATEFUL TO YOU SIR IF ONE OF YOUR REPRESENTATIVES WILL CALL ON US
WHEN IN SOUTH AFRICA,
FIND ATTACHED COPIES OF PAST CORRESPONDENCE TO THE GOVT. OF INDIA AS WELL AS
CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE GOVT OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Photo Copy of Carbon Copy

UNITED ASIAN FRONT

MEMBERS

- 1) REGINALD ANDREAS 633 ...
- 2) ...
- 3) ...
- 4) ...
- 5) ...
- 6) ...
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- 28) ...
- 29) ...

United Asiatic Front

MEMBERS

(1)

- 1. TONY PATSORE
- S. RAMAIAH 31
- S. SILLAY 24
- J. COOTHAN 310
- J. PERUMIAH 20
- M. SINGARAO 23
- S. KUNY 20
- S. NALDOO 147
- M. BECHAO 51
- HARRY KAYS 16
- J. Channayal 56
- A. Perumgam 12
- ISHWARANIL SEERESAD 13
- MURRAY KRAST 12
- MURRAY SULLIVAN 56
- SATHISESWAR NAJABAN
- NARAIN IASO 44
- SUNNY SEEMANTH
- DR. SIVAR C. C. S.
- G. GOWDER

UNITED ASIAN YOUTH MEMBERS.

MR. S. J. GOVENDER. P.O. Box 137 CHARASWAL. PHONE C322-71203

MR J KUMARAJI. P.O. Box 111

MR L/K MORGAN RAMSAY

MR V/S SULLIAM VITAL

BRIAN BARNABAS 17 TARIQ ROAD, RIVADH TOWNSHIP, VERCILLAWI, 4315

DHANNAPALAN NAIDOO 53 Cufford Cres, CLAYFIELD, P.O. Box 1

N. NARAYANAN 6 Yellow Clay Close ✓

Lukewarm reception for 'Indian homeland' party

Post Reporter

A DURBAN waiter's attempt at gaining credibility for a proposed political party which he claims would strive for Natal to be declared an Indian state has met with lukewarm reception from President FW de Klerk.

Mr Jayaseelan Govender, 42, of Clayfield in Phoenix, has plans to formally launch the United Asian Front and boasts the support of more than 50 members already.

Among the several aims and objectives of the proposed party are the following:

- To negotiate for Natal to become an Indian homeland with an Indian government.
- To maintain and preserve the identity and culture of Indians and guard against marriage across the colour line.
- To establish police and defence forces solely comprising Indian men and women who would guard against violence directed at Indians.
- To establish trade and diplomatic relations with other Asian countries and encourage immigration of Asians from other parts of the world.

Mr Govender said in a letter to Mr De Klerk his proposed party was preparing to participate in negotiations relating to a new political dis-

pensation.

He said without the participation of "very concerned" people in the community, the new South Africa would be nothing but a "nightmarish dream" for the majority in the country.

Mr Govender said his party's idea of forming an Indian homeland was not new but was merely copied from Pretoria which had created "African states with African governments" such as Ciskei and Transkei.

The United Asian Front, he said, would create a "super and problem-free Asian community with its own education and health systems, television, radio, and film industry".

He added, however, that when "all else" failed for Indians in South Africa, his party would negotiate and encourage repatriation of the community.

Interviewed by Post Natal, Mr Govender said although his ideas appealed to "simple minds", he was convinced there were many "so-called sophisticated" people who yearned for Indians in

this country to have their own homeland but were too afraid to say so publicly.

"I would like to get some kind of feedback from the community as to what Indians think of my proposals.

"Some people may think I am mad to suggest an Indian homeland. But this is not propagation of apartheid in reverse.

"Other communities preserve their cultural heritage. Why shouldn't Indians do likewise and safeguard themselves against being contaminated?" Mr Govender asked.

Mr De Klerk told Mr Govender that any suggestions that could help the Government in the negotiation process towards the construction of a new South Africa were appreciated.

"You are no doubt also aware of our point of view that all parties with proven support should partake in such negotiations.

"You will agree then that because your organisation is virtually unknown within the general political spectrum, an indication of your support base will be useful in the consideration of the suggestions made in your letter," Mr De Klerk said.



REGISTERED TRADE MARK

**NATIONAL
DINGAKA ASSOCIATION**

"THE TRADITIONAL HEALERS
ORGANISATION" EST: 1956

NDA MANAGEMENT SERVICES CC

BOX 1562
0001 PRETORIA
TVL RSA

ENQS: 15869 Mamelodi East (M W APHANE(MR)).
☎ (012) 801-1067

Our Ref.: 0392 . Your Ref.:

1002 14 16

The Secretariat ,
C O D E S A ,
Trade Centre ,
P O BOX 307 ,
KEMPTON PARK .
1620 .

Sir/s,
re: REQUEST FOR PATICIPATION IN CODESA :

As a Republic wide organised Body, we wish to take part in the making of the NEW CONSTITUTION ,for the NEW SOUTH AFRICA .

We don't want to be left out again ,like during ~~19100~~.1910 .

Greetings ,

Faithfully yours
for THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL .

**BRANCHES AND AGENCIES ALL OVER THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
ALSO IN NEIGHBOURING STATES**

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

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE PARTICIPATION OF THE ZULU KING AND TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN CODESA HELD AT 15H00 ON MONDAY 24 FEBRUARY 1992 AT THE WTC

- PRESENT:
- CW Eglin
 - MJ Mahlangu
 - NJ Mahlangu
 - FT Mdlalose
 - TJ Mohapi (Convenor)
 - TT Matanzima
 - J Slovo
 - J Zuma
- T Eloff (secretary, minutes)

1. **Chairperson's opening remarks**

The Chairperson welcomed the delegates and underlined the importance and urgency of the issue.

2. **Adoption of the agenda**

It was agreed to bring the item "Future Strategies" forward to item 4 of the agenda. The agenda was thereafter adopted.

3. **Terms of Reference**

The meeting took note of its Terms of Reference, specifically item 2.2.1, addressing the issue of evidence.

4. **Future Strategies**

4.1 It was agreed that, notwithstanding the letter of invitation already sent to members of the MC inviting submissions, a new invitation should also be put to heads of delegations of CODESA participants. The secretary was charged with this task.

4.2 It was agreed that the letter to experts proposed by Dr Mdlalose should be sent in amended form to the following experts (attached as addendum A):

- Prof NJJ Olivier (DP adviser)
- Prof D Welsh (UCT)

SUBCOMMITTEE ZULU KING, TRAD. LEADERS/MINUTES/24 FEBRUARY 1992

- Prof S Maphalala (Univ Zululand)
- Prof H Vilakazi (Univ Zululand)
- Prof H Ngubane (UCT)
- Prof M Wiechers (UNISA)

It was also agreed that other committee members would submit further names of experts by the end of the week. The deadline for receiving of written submissions was put as 12 March 1992.

- 4.3 It was agreed that a third letter will be addressed to the heads of states/administrations of the TBVC countries and the self-governing territories, requesting them to facilitate the giving of evidence to the subcommittee by traditional leaders in their regions/countries. The Terms of Reference of the subcommittee should also be included in this letter.
- 4.4 It was agreed that whatever submissions are received as a result of the above mentioned process, will be considered with those already received.
- 4.5 It was agreed that the financial implications of submissions from experts should be investigated by the secretary, in consultation with the Financial Administration.

5. **Submissions and applications received to date**

It was agreed that committee members will be ready to comment on submissions/applications already received at the next meeting.

6. **Progress report to the Management Committee**

It was agreed that the secretary will draft a written report on basis of the decisions taken, for the chairperson to deliver at the Management Committee meeting.

7. **Date of next meeting**

It was agreed that the next meeting will take place on Tuesday 3 March at 10H00 and members were requested to make themselves available at until 16H00. It was also agreed to approach Dr Gerrit Viljoen (who had indicated willingness to do so) and Mr Nelson Mandela to give evidence to the subcommittee.

The meeting adjourned.



INTERIM REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE PARTICIPATION IN CODESA OF THE ZULU KING AND TRADITIONAL LEADERS

The Sub-committee met for the first time on 24 February 1992. It agreed to report to the Management Committee the following agreements:

1. In addition to a letter written to all members of the Management Committee, it was agreed to write to all delegations, inviting the participants to submit views on these issues.
2. It was agreed to write letters to an agreed panel of experts, inviting them to give their views on a consultancy basis.
3. It was further agreed that with regard to submissions by Traditional Leaders, a letter will be written to the heads of administration of the TBVC states and the self-governing territories, requesting them to facilitate the giving of evidence by traditional leaders.
4. It was agreed that the cut-off date for all submissions will be 12 March 1992.
5. It was finally agreed that submissions/applications already received will be considered with whatever others may emerge for the above-mentioned process.
6. The Sub-committee will need professional assistance plus financial aid in this matter later on.

TJ MOHAPI



THESE ARE DRAFT MINUTES. THEY ARE CONFIDENTIAL AND RESTRICTED TO THE MEMBERS OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE. THEY ARE SUBJECT TO RATIFICATION BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE AT ITS NEXT MEETING.

MINUTES OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE DECLARATION OF INTENT AND PROPOSED AMENDMENTS HELD ON MONDAY 24 FEBRUARY 1992 AT 08H30 AT THE WTC

- PRESENT :
- R Cronje (Bop Govt)
 - C W Eglin (DP, Convener)
 - F T Mdlalose (IFP)
 - J Slovo (SACP)
 - GvN Viljoen (SA Govt)
 - J Zuma (ANC)

 - T Eloff (Minutes)

1. Ratification of the Minutes of the Meeting of 17 February 1992

- 1.1 The first sentence under paragraph 2.1 was deleted and replaced with the following :
 "The following proposal was made :"
- 1.2 The following sentence was added before paragraph 2.2 :
 "Dr Mdlalose requested that this matter be taken back to the IFP for its consideration and to report back at a future meeting."
- 1.3 The first paragraph of Item 2.2.1 was deleted and replaced by an amended paragraph 2.2.2, reading as follows :
 "It was agreed that the formulation listed below should be circulated to all sub-committee members as soon as possible, for their comments at the next meeting of the sub-committee."
- 1.4 The second paragraph of Item 2.2.1 was retained.

2. First and Second Proposed Amendments

It was reported that the IFP has not had the opportunity to consider the proposal. It is still under consideration.

3. Third Proposed Amendment

This matter was still in abeyance. An interim report will be given by the convener at the Management Committee of 24 February 1992. No final report is available yet.

4. Next Meeting

It was agreed that the next meeting of the sub-committee will take place on Monday, 2 March 1992 at 08h30.

The meeting adjourned.