

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 the 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.

## MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE/MINUTES/24 FEBRUARY

Addendum A

The following delegates and advisers signed the attendance register:

| Party/Organisation/<br>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 Makhuvu       | PN Ranwashe       |
| XPP                                   | EPP Mhinga      | JC Akron          |

Also present were:

Chair:

Dr Z de Beer

T Eloff (Committee Secretary)

## 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.

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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)  
Prof S Maphalala (Univ Zululand)



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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.



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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.



**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.

"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.

## CODESA PRESS STATEMENT: 24 FEBRUARY 1992

### We 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 godsdienstrege 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-Afrikaners - 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.