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THE DMC MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE (DMC)
AT 08H15 ON 23 MARCH 1992 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

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10.2 Sub-Committee on the Development of Trade

11. Agenda of Management Committee

12. Any other business

13. Meeting closed



DRAFT AGENDA FOR THE MEETING OF
THE DAILY MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE (DMC)
AT 08H15 ON 23 MARCH 1992 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

1. Chairperson's opening remarks
2. Apologies
3. Adoption of Agenda
4. Ratification of minutes of DMC meeting of 9/3/92
5. Correspondence
 - 5.1 Dr Louw Alberts
 - 5.2 Dr AT van Wyk
 - 5.3 British Election : Observers
 - 5.4 Nedcor/Old Mutual Scenario Exercise
6. Working Groups
 - 6.1 Coordination of Working Group progress
 - 6.2 Preparation for CODESA 2
 - 6.3 Drafting Sub-Committee
 - 6.4 Response to Working Group 5 : Letter from WGSC5
7. Chairperson's report
8. Women's Sub-Committee proposal
9. Media
 - 9.1 Marketing
 - 9.2 Media leaks
10. Report's of MC Sub-Committees
 - 10.1 Sub-Committee on the Participation of the Zulu King and other Traditional Leaders CODESA
 - 10.2 Sub-Committee on the Declaration of Intent
11. Agenda of Management Committee
12. Any other business
13. Next meeting



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 07H30 ON MONDAY 9 MARCH 1992 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

PRESENT: Z de Beer
PJ Gordhan (Chairperson)
P Hendrickse
FT Mdlalose
RP Meyer
SS Ripinga
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 with the following amendments:

- 3.1 It was noted that the minutes of 2 March, and not 24 February had to be ratified.
- 3.2 The issue of "Representation of Women's Groups" was added to the agenda as item 8.1.

4. **Ratification of the minutes of 2 March**

The minutes were ratified.

5. **Progress in the Working Groups**

5.1 No new problems had been identified by the Secretariat.

5.2 **Letter from Mr Burrows and Mr Curry (WG5) (Addendum A)**

5.2.1 The letter was discussed and certain options clarified.

5.2.2 It was agreed that a discussion between the Chairperson, the Secretariat and the two gentlemen should be held.

5.2.3 It was also agreed to raise this issue at the meeting of the Management Committee.

6. **Date and venue of CODESA II**

6.1 **Date**

It was agreed to recommend to the Management Committee that CODESA II should not take place at the end of March. The decision on setting of the date would be left to the Management Committee.

8.2 **Venue**

It was agreed that the Secretariat would draw up a list of possible venues for the end of April, after having investigated the practical feasibility of each.

7. **Preparation for the MC meeting**

The draft agenda for the meeting was approved. It was also noted that there were two errors on the front page of the MC Information package: "DMC Pack" should read "MC Pack" and "United Azanian Front" should read "United Asian Front".

8. **Any other business**

8.1 **Women's participation in CODESA**

A proposal was presented in terms of which a women's subcommittee representative of all 19 participants would be formed to advise CODESA structures on issues of gender. It was agreed to raise this issue at the meeting of the MC.

10. **Date of next meeting**

This meeting will take place on Monday 23 March from 08H00-10H00.

The meeting closed.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
P O BOX 15 CAPE TOWN 8000
TELEX 520869
TELEPHONE (021) 403-2911



PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF SOUTH AFRICA

3 March 1992

Dr. Theuns Eloff
CODESA
P.O. Box 307
ISANDO
1600

Dear Dr. Eloff,

Dr. de Beer received the attached fax from Dr. Louw Alberts with the request that this matter be discussed at the Management Committee as well as at a DMC meeting.

Many thanks,

JENNY DIGGERY
Secretary to Dr. Z.J. de Beer

VERSKILLINGSKOMITEE VAN DIE NUTSTREKKE Kerklike Komitee

Dr L Alberts
PRETORIA

Faks: (012) 841 3549

Tel: (012) 47 1753

10 Februarie 1992

Dr Zach de Beer
Demokratiese Party

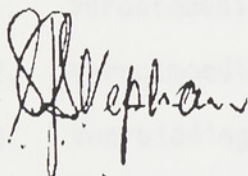
Faks: (021) 461 0092

Goagte dr De Beer

In opvolging van die samespreking tussen uself en drs Chikane en Alberts op Saterdag 1 Februarie word u vriendelik versoek om die ingeslote versoekskrif aan die KODESA afgevaardigdes voor te lê op die verskillende komitee-vlakke op 'n wyse wat u die beste ag.

Dankie vir u samewerking.

Vriendelike groete



(namens)
Lou Alberts

2 bladsye hierby ingesluit

VERSOEKSKRIF GERIG AAN POLITIEKE LEIERSKAP
IN SUID-AFRIKA
VAN DIE RUSTENBURG KERKLEIERS-KOMITEE

Die Rustenburg-kerkeberaad, gehou in November 1990 was verteenwoordigend van 'n baie wye spektrum van kerkleiers in Suid-Afrika. Onder andere is 'n besluit geneem dat daar 'n oproep moet plaasvind vir die hou van 'n Nasionale Dag van Verootmoediging en Gebed oor die hele land. Hierdie visie is daarna telkens versterk deur versoeke vanaf kerke en individue.

Die komitee (onder the gesamentlike voorsitterskap van drs Louw Alberts en Frank Chikane) wat verantwoordelik was vir die sameroeping van die genoemde kerkeberaad, het nou besluit dat die tyd ryp geword het vir so 'n nasionale dag van verootmoediging en gebed. Terwyl alle kerke in Suid-Afrika versoek sal word om die visie te implementeer is dit van groot belang dat alle politieke leiers in Suid-Afrika so 'n aksie sal ondersteun en daarmee identifiseer.

Dit word voorgestel dat die periode Maandag 1 Junie tot Sondag 7 Junie gesien word as 'n spesiale tydvak in voorbidding, verootmoediging, vergiffenis en versoening en terselfdertyd die aangesig van die Here te soek vir die toekoms van hierdie land. Verder word voorgestel dat so 'n periode 'n piek bereik op Vrydag 5 Junie wanneer kantore, winkels, besighede, ens., vanaf 11:00 tot 14:00 sal sluit ten einde alle Suid-Afrikaners in staat te stel om die naaste kerk of vergaderplek, van eie keuse, te besoek vir 'n tyd van gebed en verootmoediging. Die voorgestelde tydvak sal eindig op Pinkster Sondag, 7 Junie, by wyse van regionaal en plaaslike dienste.

Die Rustenburg-komitee sal bekendstel en versoek dat die volgende temas behandel word:

1. Verootmoediging voor God.
2. Verootmoediging teenoor mekaar as landgenote.
3. Voorbidding vir vrede en die beëindiging van geweld.
4. Voorbidding in suksesvolle onderhandelings wat sal lei na 'n geseënde, gelukkige en voorspoedige Suid-Afrika.

Met politieke leierskap se ondersteuning sal die Komitee meer vrymoedigheid hê om beide die openbare en private sektore te nader om alle werknemers in staat te stel om die voorgestelde byeenkomste op die oggend van 5 Junie by te woon.

Terwyl hierdie versoek sy oorsprong het by 'n Christelike kerklike komitee word dit aanvaar dat persone van ander religieuse groepe sal deelneem op 'n wyse wat vir hulle aanneemlik is.

(Geteken deur L Alberts, F Chikane en M Cassidy namens die Rustenburg-komitee)

REQUEST ADDRESSED TO POLITICAL LEADERSHIP
IN SOUTH AFRICA
FROM THE RUSTENBURG CHURCH LEADERSHIP COMMITTEE

The Rustenburg Church Conference held in November 1990 was representative of a very wide spectrum of church leadership in this country. Amongst others a decision was taken that a National Day of Repentance and Prayer should be called for in this country. This concept has subsequently been strengthened by many requests from individuals and churches.

The Committee (acting under the co-chairmanship of Dr Louw Alberts and Dr Frank Chikane) responsible for calling together the said convention have now decided that the time is ripe for such a National Day of Repentance and Prayer. While all the churches in South Africa will be called on to implement such a concept, it is of great importance that all political leadership in South Africa support and identify with such a venture.

It is proposed that the period Monday 1 June to Sunday 7 June be regarded as a special time to engage in acts of intercession, confession, forgiveness and reconciliation and to seek the face of God for the future of this country. Furthermore, that such a period peaks on Friday 5 June with offices, shops, business-houses, industry, etc., closing from 11:00 till 14:00, to enable all South Africans to visit the nearest place of worship of their choice for a time of meditation and intercession. The proposed period will then end on Pentecost Sunday, 7 June, in the form of regional and local services.

The Rustenburg Committee will ask and publicise that the following themes be dealt with.

1. Repentance toward God
2. Repentance toward one another as South Africans
3. Prayer for peace and the cessation of violence
4. Prayer for successful negotiations towards a just, blessed, happy and prosperous new South Africa.

With political leadership's support the Committee will have more liberty to approach both public and private sectors to let make the necessary arrangements to let all employees attend the proposed meetings on the morning of 5 June across the whole country.

While this request emanates from a Christian Church Committee it would certainly be assumed and accepted that peoples of other religious persuasions will participate in a manner acceptable to them.

(Signed by L Alberts, F Chikane and M Cassidy on behalf of the Rustenburg Committee)

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
P O BOX 15 CAPE TOWN 8000
TELEX 520869
TELEPHONE (021) 403-2911



PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF SOUTH AFRICA

2 March 1992

Dr. Theuns Eloff
CODESA
P.O. Box 307
ISANDO
1600

Dear Dr. Eloff,

Dr. de Beer has asked me to send you the attached correspondence, which is self-explanatory, with the request to you to place this matter on the agenda for one of the upcoming DMC meetings.

Many thanks,

Sincerely,

JENNY DIGGERY

Secretary to Dr. Z.J. de Beer



DEPARTEMENT GESKIEDENIS

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

429-6438

20 February 1992

Dr Zach de Beer
Box 15
CAPE TOWN
8000

*See Pse forward photocopies of these papers to
Thomas Elft. Ask him to place the matter
on a Dose Agenda.*

Dear Dr de Beer

Copy of application for accreditation to Codesa.

Having been informed by Prof. Dan Kriek of Unisa of your interest in my proposal to write a history of Codesa, I herewith attach a photostat copy of my application for accreditation for your guidance.

Your favourable action in the matter will be appreciated.

Yours sincerely

DR AT VAN WYK

Late enclosure: Letter of recommendation from Prof B J Liebenberg, Head of the Department of History, University of South Africa. not

Yours sincerely

DR AT VAN WYK

Late enclosure: Letter of recommendation from Prof B J Liebenberg, Head of the Department of History, University of South Africa. not

10
429-6438

25 February 1992

Dr Theuns Eloff
Codesa Secretariat
Box 307
ISANDO
1600

Dear Dr Eloff

APPLICATION FOR ACCREDITATION TO CODESA

I hereby apply for accreditation to Codesa as an observer or otherwise to enable me to gather information with the object of writing a history (in English or Afrikaans) along the lines of "Codesa in historical perspective".

I am a historian and author specialising in South African political history. I have published a variety of articles and books of a politico-historical nature, my latest book being The Birth of a New Afrikaner (Human & Rousseau, Cape Town, 1991).

The creation and activities of Codesa constitute perhaps the most important political development in the history of our country. It is, therefore, of utmost importance not only for the minutes of its proceedings to be preserved, but also for a qualified person to gain access to these and to interview the delegates and officials in order to tell the true story.

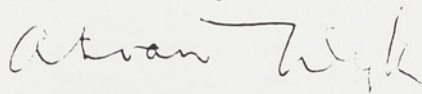
What I have in mind is a long-term project, with much groundwork to be covered pertaining to the National Convention of 1908-1909 as well as subsequent developments over many decades to the first session of Codesa in December 1991.

Only in this way will it be possible to present Codesa in full historical perspective.

During Codesa I your Media Committee favoured me with accreditation as a Freelance Historian.

Looking forward to a favourable response.

Yours sincerely



DR AT VAN WYK

Late enclosure: Letter of recommendation from Prof B J Liebenberg, Head of the Department of History, University of South Africa. *Bw.*

429-6842

25 February 1992

Dr Theuns Eloff
Codesa Secretariat
Box 307
ISANDO
1600

Dear Dr Eloff

Dr Van Wyk's application for accreditation to Codesa

I recommend that Dr At van Wyk's application for accreditation to Codesa be accepted.

Dr Van Wyk is a well-known historian and author with a variety of articles and books of a politico-historical nature to his credit.

Yours sincerely

HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT

P. Van

28 February 1992

The Chairman
Daily Management Committee
Convention for a Democratic South Africa
World Trade Centre
Johannesburg

Dear Mr Chairman,

BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION: OBSERVERS

As you will know, a General Election is to be held soon in Britain. The Prime Minister has not yet announced the date for the election, but it will in any event take place by July this year, and you will no doubt have seen speculation in the press that it will take place rather before then.

I am writing now to say that the British Government would be happy to arrange for a group of observers from CODESA to visit Britain for a few days while the campaign for the General Election is underway, to see for themselves how we manage these things in Britain. The objective of such a visit would be to enable South Africans to observe the British practice in such areas as electoral rules, the role of the Civil Service, and access to the media: this might be helpful to them as they look forward to democratic elections in this country. In this way, my Government would hope to make a small contribution to the work of CODESA.

We would envisage the delegation of observers from South Africa as comprising four or five members, including senior representatives of some of the key players in the CODESA negotiations. The British Government would be responsible for the major costs of such a visit, including air fares to and from London and hotel accommodation in the UK.

I should be grateful, therefore, if you would consider this offer with your colleagues in the Daily Management Committee, and would let me know how you would like to take it forward. As soon as the date for the General Election is announced, we shall clearly need to make the arrangements rather quickly.

With best wishes,

A. P. Wise

(ANTHONY REEVE)

FEB-19 01 10E 00.10 10.
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
P O BOX 15 CAPE TOWN 8000
TELEX 31 0869
TELEPHONE (021) 403-2111



PARLIAMENT OF THE REPUBLIC
OF SOUTH AFRICA

FAX MESSAGE

TO: Dr. Theuns Eloff, CODESA
ATTN: FAX NO:..011-397-2211.....
FROM: DR. ZACH DE BEER
OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, PARLIAMENT, SA FAX NO. (021) 461.0092
DATE: 2 MARCH 1992 PAGE 1 OF1..... TIME:

You will remember that I raised at the DMC the question of the Nedcor video, which many Codesa people would undoubtedly wish to see. I recall that you minuted it as "approved in principle". Someone from Dr. Maree's office at Nedcor will phone you during the next day or two. Please take it from there.

Yours faithfully

[Handwritten signature]
GENERAL MANAGER SERVICES



Reg Munro
General Manager
Services

3 March 1992

The Chairman
Steering Committee
CODESA Working Group 1
Box 307
ISANDO
1600

Dear Sir

Evidence to Sub-Committee of CODESA Working Group 1

Point 1.1.4 (m) in the agreed terms of reference for working group 1 highlights the need to consider how to address the issue of "the need for an improvement in socio-economic conditions."

As is widely known, NEDCOR and OLD MUTUAL sponsored a scenario exercise which addressed exactly this issue. Although the full 4-hour long presentation has been seen by many individuals and groups I would like to suggest that the appropriate sub-committee of working group 1 would find a summarised presentation useful in its consideration of issue 1.1.4 (m) above.

If the above suggestion is acceptable, please let me know when the presentation is required and how long it should be so that timeous arrangements can be made both to summarise the presentation and to have an appropriate presenter available.

Please do not hesitate to telephone me if you wish to discuss this offer.

Yours faithfully

Reg Munro - Secretary

per REG MUNRO
GENERAL MANAGER (SERVICES)

EXTRACTS FROM WORKING GROUP MINUTES OF THE WEEK OF 9 MARCH - REGARDING CO-ORDINATION OF THE WORKING GROUPS

From Draft Minutes of WG3 of 9 March:

4.3 Co-ordination of WGs 2,3 and 4

4.3.1 The issue of co-ordination between the working groups was discussed and a recommendation from the MC read.

4.3.2 It was agreed that the steering committees of WG3 and WG4 should meet. L Landers will co-ordinate with S Sigcau on this.

From Draft Minutes of WGSC3 of 9 March

4. Meeting with WGSC4

L Landers would communicate with S Sigcau and advise the WGSC3 of a meeting date.

From Draft Minutes of WG4 of 9 March

6.3.1.3 Liaison was need with sub-group 2 and WG2 and 3. Their minutes have been requested by sub-group 2.

From Draft Minutes of WGSC4 of 9 March

Note: As requested, the chairperson of Working Group 4 has set up a meeting with Working Group 3 Steering Committee for Tuesday 24 March 1992 at 17h00.

From Draft Minutes of WG4 SG1 of 9 March

4.2 The fourth paragraph of point 7.2.1 will be amended to read as follows:

It was agreed that the will of the people needs to be tested as soon as possible. In order to ascertain at what stage the referendum should take place, it was felt necessary to liaise with working groups 2 and 3. It was agreed to suggest to working group 4 that a sub-committee be formed to liaise between these three working groups.

4.4 Point 7.2.5 will be amended to read as follows:

Concern was expressed about the capacity of Codesa to play the kind of role that the sub-group envisaged for it unless its financial position could be improved. It was felt that Codesa should be bolstered by the international community and allowed to raise funds. It was felt that this problem should be drawn to the attention of working groups 2 and 3.

5.3 Liaison with working groups 2 and 3

Delegates were informed that the steering committee of working group 4 had suggested that sub-group 1 include the request for liaison between sub-group 1 and working groups 2 and 3 in its report to working group 4.

6.1 Review of progress made

6.1 The Chairperson presented a summary of proceedings.

6.1.1 During the ensuing discussion it was agreed that with regard to eligibility of voters sub-group 1 is unable to make a recommendation until it has heard the recommendations of sub-group 2 of working group 4 and working groups 2 and 3.

From Draft Minutes of WG4 SG2 of 9 March

8.3 It was further agreed that the question of the mechanics, time span and implementation of the restoration of citizenship be referred to WG5.



17
WRKGROUP\IMPLTIME\MEMODMC.WI (2)

WORKING GROUP 5\STEERING COMMITTEE\MEMO TO DMC\4 MARCH

DATE: 4 March 1992
MEMO TO: The Chairperson of the DMC, via the Secretariat
FROM: The Steering Committee of Working Group 5
RE: The work of Working Group 5

Please find attached the following documents for your attention:

- * Letter from D Curry and RM Burrows
- * Recommendations regarding the work of WG5SG1

CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

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

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE DAILY MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE FROM THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF WORKING GROUP 5 REGARDING THE WORK OF WORKING GROUP 5 SUB-GROUP 1

Sub-group 1 recommends to the Steering Committee of Working Group 5 that it sends the following messages to the Daily Management Committee, to be distributed to the relevant Working Groups:

1. To Working Groups 1 - 4

Working Group 5 asks Working Group 1 - 4 to give an indication of the time schedules they envisage with regard to all their particular tasks.

2. To Working Group 1

Working Group 5 is of the opinion that real progress in CODESA's work is dependant upon the creation of the correct climate for a negotiated change to a democratic dispensation, and therefore asks Working Group 1 to address the matter of violence in South Africa as a matter of urgency.

3. To the Daily Management Committee

That the target date for holding CODESA 2 by the end of March should be adhered to if at all possible, and that it should be ensured that Working Groups 1 - 4 have made sufficient progress on which to report in order to make CODESA 2 truly meaningful.

Yours sincerely
D. CURRY

R.H. BURROWS

FROM:

CHAIRPERSON WGSC5 (MR D CURRY)

CHAIRPERSON SUB-GROUP 2 (LEGISLATION) WG5(MR R.BURROWS)

TO : CHAIRPERSON DAILY MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

3 MARCH 1992

Dear Mr Gordhan

DECLARATION OF INTENT // TERMS OF REFERENCE WG5

Note has been taken that WG5 has constituted a sub-group to look at those particular areas of the Terms of Reference of WG5 which pertain to legislation.

In this connection clarity is requested on the following areas linked to a section of the Declaration of Intent which states:

"WE AGREE ..(2) that CODESA will establish a mechanism whose task it will be, in cooperation with administrations and the South African Government, to draft the texts of all legislation required to give effect to agreements reached in CODESA"

1. Does WG5 constitute the "mechanism" referred to above ? If not then how does this mesh with the aspect of the Terms of Reference of WG5 " to prepare in draft form the documentation which is required to give effect to such agreements" ?
2. Whether it was or is the intention to devise any other means of linking WG5 and "administrations and the South African Government" and whether "cooperation" may be fully concluded within WG5 in conjunction with the WG originating the principled decision giving rise to such legislation.
3. To what does the term "administrations" in the above quote refer ?
4. Whether there is any conflict between the Terms of Reference of WG5 and the wording of the Declaration of Intent.

It would be greatly appreciated if you, the DMC or, if necessary the MC, could respond to these questions as rapidly as possible as we appear to be fast approaching the stage where draft legislation will have to be considered by WG5.

Yours sincerely
D. CURRY

R.M.BURROWS

**REPORT OF THE CHAIRPERSON TO THE DAILY MANAGEMENT
COMMITTEE/MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE
18 MARCH 1992**

1. Justice Goldstone

WG1 SG2 had requested a meeting with Mr Justice Goldstone with a view to discussing his observations and suggestions in respect of violence in this country.

I discussed this request with Judge Goldstone on 11 and 13 March 1992. The appended letter (Appendix A) expresses his final view on the matter.

2. Mr John Hall

WG1 SG2 also requested a meeting with Mr John Hall, Chairperson of the National Peace Committee. I had a discussion with him on 16 March 1992. He has kindly agreed to avail himself on 24 March 1992 at 13h45.

3. Radio 702

Arrangements have been made to participate in the John Robbie Show in the week of 30 March.

4. Ciskei

I have been in contact with the parties involved in the trilateral discussion. Dr Kayser has been invited to the next DMC meeting on 23 March 1992.

KOMMISSIE VAN ONDERSOEK i/s
DIE VOORKOMING VAN OPENBARE
GEWELD EN INTIMIDASIE



COMMISSION OF INQUIRY re
THE PREVENTION OF PUBLIC
VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA / REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Faks: (012) 320 3812
Fax : (021) 24 2610

Tel: (012) 320 4640/1/2
Tel: (021) 23 5508/19

Verwysing/Reference:

NG Sinodale Sentrumgebou/
NG Sinodale Centre Buildings
Privaatsak/Private Bag X858
PRETORIA 0001

13 March 1992

Mr P. Gordhan
CODESA
FAX (031) 3092278

Dear Mr Gordhan

I refer to the invitation to discuss the work of the Commission with Working Group 1 of Codesa. As I informed you telephonically, after careful consideration I have come to the firm conclusion that I have no option but to decline the invitation. My reasons are the following.

- 1 The Commission is a judicial one.
2. Its principal function is to hold enquiries into the phenomenon of violence. It does that in the main by means of public hearings. After completion of an enquiry a report is submitted by the Commission to the State-President who decides whether and when to make public the findings and recommendations of the Commission.
3. It is inappropriate for a Judge or member of a judicial commission to comment on an enquiry held by him or them save by way of an official written report. To comment in any other way can lead to misunderstandings and misperceptions. To do so, whether publicly or privately, to another body or organisation can lead to incorrect and unfortunate perceptions concerning the independence of the Commission. Furthermore, questions might well be raised at such a meeting which it would be inappropriate to answer, especially on matters concerning current or future enquiries. Indeed, a refusal to answer such questions or to discuss such matters might also lead to incorrect assumptions being made concerning the Commission.
4. All of the reports already submitted to the State-President have been made public by him. It would obviously not be possible for me to discuss the evidence thus far given at enquiries which are still incomplete.

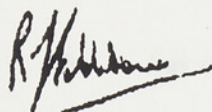
It is with regret that I do decline the invitation and my doing so should in no way be seen as a slight to Codesa or a lack of appreciation of the important role being played by it.

In order to be of assistance to Codesa I am sending to it copies of the reports which have been submitted thus far by the Commission to the State-President as well as all press statements which I have issued on behalf of the Commission.

I would also invite Codesa to submit to the Commission any ideas or suggestions concerning matters which fall within the terms of reference of the Commission.

The Commission will in future send to Codesa copies of its reports when made public and of press statements issued on its behalf.

Yours sincerely



R J GOLDSTONE
CHAIRMAN

EXTRACTS FROM THE DRAFT MINUTES OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE MEETING HELD AT WTC ON MONDAY 9 MARCH

8.2 Women's participation in CODESA

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

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

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

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

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

10. Any other business

10.1 Marketing CODESA

This issue was referred to the DMC.

10.2 Media comments and leaks on the working of CODESA

This issue was referred to the DMC.



DECLARATION

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.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE DECLARATION OF INTENT HELD ON MONDAY 9 MARCH 1992 AT 17H00 AT THE WTC

- PRESENT: CW Eglin
 FT Mdlalose
 GvN Viljoen
- T Eloff (secretary, minutes)
- apology: R Cronje

1. Chairperson's opening remarks

The Chairperson welcomed the delegates present.

2. Report from the IFP (see previous minutes, item 2)

2.1 Dr Mdlalose presented a memorandum from the IFP (Annexure A)

3. On the interpretation of the Declaration of Intent

The subcommittee taking note of both the draft statement previously prepared and the draft contained in the report by Dr Mdlalose, agreed to recommend to the MC:

that the MC and CODESA II endorse the following statement:

"For the avoidance of doubt as to the interpretation of the Declaration of Intent, it is declared by its signatories that irrespective of their individual interpretive views thereof, no provision of the Declaration, interpreted alone or in conjunction with any other provision thereof shall be construed as -

1. favouring or inhibiting or precluding the adoption of any particular constitutional model, whether unitary, federal, confederal, or otherwise, consistent with democracy;
2. preventing any participant from advocating the same or the separation, in terms of any constitutional model, of powers between a central government and the regions; during the proceedings of CODESA or any of its Committees or Working Groups;
3. and that its Addendum shall be added to and form part of the Declaration."



4. On the IFP's commitment to the CODESA process

The subcommittee took note of the IFP's statement of commitment to CODESA as set out below and agreed to report this to the MC:

"We the representatives of the IFP, solemnly declare:

- (a) the IFP to be bound by agreements we conclude or reach together with other participants in CODESA on our behalf in accordance with the Standing Rules and to which we have expressly assented if such agreements affect our vital interest, and hereby commit ourselves to the implementation thereof within our capacity, powers and authority;
- (b) that our participation in CODESA or any of its Committees or Working Groups since 20 December 1991 and in the future shall not be construed to mean or expressly, impliedly or tacitly mean that we have consented to the Declaration of Intent in its original form but only as construed in accordance with the intent of the Addendum."

It was noted that the subcommittee has now concluded its business.

The meeting adjourned.

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INKATHA

Inkatha Freedom Party

Iqembu leNkatha yeNkululeko

4 March 1992

RESPONSE TO SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE DECLARATION OF INTENT AND PROPOSED AMENDMENTS

Introduction

1. The IFP expresses its appreciation for the constructive spirit in which its Terms of Reference have been deliberated upon by the Sub-Committee's participants with a view to addressing the serious concerns of the IFP, as expressed by its tabled amendments to the Declaration of Intent.
2. With continued goodwill, the IFP considers that there is no good reason why consensus cannot be reached in the Sub-Committee's deliberations.

IFP's First and Second Proposed Amendments (Paragraphs 1 and 5 a and d of the Declaration of Intent)

3. The Sub-Committee's approach, to acknowledge the principle that there are sincerely held differing interpretive views of the intentions expressed by the language of the Declaration, is a sound starting point.
4. Likewise, the IFP sees the difficulties inherent in reverting to the signatories of the Declaration and asking them to approve formal amendments thereto. The IFP approves therefore in principle the proposed method of going forward, namely, providing a means whereby all signatories will declare that irrespective of differing interpretations which

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- may exist between them in regard to the Declaration, there will be total freedom by any participant to advocate its views on forms of government of a democratic nature during proceedings of CODESA and its Working Groups.
5. It can only be described as unfortunate and regrettable, in the IFP's view, that the wording of the Declaration had the effect of immediately excluding altogether from CODESA at least one important political player. The IFP would like to think that in the current process of re-examining the Declaration from its stand point, which is that CODESA is not sufficiently inclusive as presently constituted while political players such as Azapo, PAC and the CP are not participants, the effort should be made to arrive at a formulation to encourage such wider participation. The IFP believes that CODESA is only laying up future problems for itself and the country while it reflects its current seriously flawed inclusivity.
 6. In the IFP's view the first proposal with regard to the IFP's proposed amendments, reflected in 2.1 of the Minutes of the Sub-Committee held on 17 February 1992 does not meet the IFP's position sufficiently, for the following reasons -
 - 6.1 the formal statement proposed to be issued by the Management Committee and by CODESA must be prepared and agreed to now as part of the current deliberations and not merely left to the Management Committee later to decide upon;
 - 6.2 signatories cannot declare the Declaration of Intent "is neutral" on the issue of a unitary versus a federal state when that issue is precisely a source of serious contention;

6.3 the formal statement referred to in 6.1 should take the form of an Addendum to the Declaration of Intent to be adopted by signatories to the Declaration of Intent at CODESA II as a mark of their solemn, clear and unambiguous commitment to its terms, thus specifically incorporating it into the main document by reference as an annexure thereto;

6.4 it should be more general in its conceptualisation of constitutional models which can be freely debated in CODESA, the only rider being that they should be consistent with democracy. It should not simply or necessarily be a matter of negotiation between a straight unitary versus a federal constitutional model. This would completely accord with and add force to the paragraph of the Declaration of Intent numbered 1 under "We agree" reading "that the present and future participants shall be entitled to put forward freely to the Convention any proposal consistent with democracy".

The IFP therefore tables before the Sub-Committee the following proposed Addendum for consideration

RESOLVED :

For the avoidance of doubt as to the interpretation of the Declaration of Intent, it is declared by its signatories that irrespective of their individual interpretive views thereon, no provision of the Declaration, interpreted alone or in conjunction with any other provision thereof shall be construed as -

1. favouring or inhibiting or precluding the adoption of any particular constitutional model, whether unitary, federal, confederal, or otherwise, consistent with democracy;
2. preventing any participant from advocating the same or the separation, in terms of any constitutional model, of powers between a central government and the regions; during the proceedings of CODESA or any of its Committees or Working Groups; and that this Addendum shall be added to and form part of the Declaration.

IFP's Third Proposed Amendment
(Final Paragraph of the Declaration of Intent)

7. The second proposal to the IFP's proposed amendments, reflected in 2.2 of the Minutes of the Sub-Committee dated 17 February 1991, in the IFP's view might be interpreted as meaning that if an agreement is arrived at by "sufficient consensus" in accordance with the standing rules, then the IFP would be bound thereby, even though it had not expressly assented thereto or may even have dissented therefrom. The following amending proposal is therefore tabled by the IFP for consideration -

"We the representatives of the IFP, solemnly declare :-

- the IFP*
- (a) ~~it~~ to be bound by agreements we conclude or reach together with other participants in CODESA on ~~its~~ *our* behalf in accordance with the Standing Rules and to which we have expressly assented if such agreements affect ~~its~~ *our* vital interest, and hereby commit ourselves to the implementation thereof within our capacity, powers and authority;

(b) that our participation in CODESA or any of its Committees or Working Groups since 20 December 1991 and in the future shall not be construed to mean or expressly, impliedly or tacitly mean that we have consented to the Declaration of Intent in its original form but only as construed in accordance with the intent of the Addendum".

