

[3.16]

[6]



TO : ALL MEMBERS OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE
FROM : CODESA ADMINISTRATION
RE : DRAFT MINUTES - 15 JUNE 1992

PLEASE NOTE - IF THE FAX NUMBER BEING USED BELOW IS NOT CORRECT, KINDLY ADVISE US OF THE CORRECT NUMBER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE!

ANC
 J Zuma 011-333-4509
 M C Ramaphosa c/o J Zuma 011-333-4509

BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT
 R Cronje 0140-84-2943 or 84-2733
 S G Mothibe 0140-84-2406
 T Scheepers 0140-89-5103

CISKEI GOVERNMENT
 H Kayser 0401-95-1205
 S V Notshe 0401-95-2267
 G F Godden 0401-91375

DEMOCRATIC PARTY
 C Eglin 021-461-0092
 Z de Beer 021-461-0092
 J Selfe 021-461-5276

DIKWANKWETLA PARTY
 T J Mohapi 01438-30318
 S O M Moji 01438-31218
 D T Mokoena 01438-36306

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY
 F T Mdlalose 0358-20-2470
 B S Ngubane 0358-20-2470
 W S Felgate 0358-20-2167

INTANDO YESIZWE PARTY
 N J Mahlangu 01215-2391
 M B Ntuli 01215-2548
 J Kekana 012-807-1777

INYANDZE NATIONAL MOVEMENT
 S S Ripinga 01314-72453
 T J Ndaba c/o S Ripinga 01314-72453
 G G Zama c/o S Ripinga 01314-72453

LABOUR PARTY
 P Hendrickse 021-45-1953
 E Samuels 021-45-1953
 J Douw 021-45-1953

| | | |
|-------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| NIC/TIC | | |
| P J Gordhan | | 031-309-2278 |
| C Salojee | | 011-837-4153 |
| Z Yacoob | | 031-306-8429 |
| F M Meer | | 031-309-5732 |
| NATIONAL PARTY | | |
| D de Villiers | | 021-45-3216 |
| J T Delport | | 021-461-0851 |
| J Scheepers | | 021-461-5302 |
| NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY | | |
| A Rajbansi | | 021-403-2971 |
| E Joosab | | 021-461-7617 |
| A K Bheesham c/o A Rajbansi | | 021-403-2971 |
| SOLIDARITY PARTY | | |
| J N Reddy | | 031-301-1077 or 021-461-7912 |
| K Moodley c/o J N Reddy | | As above |
| S A COMMUNIST PARTY | | |
| J Slovo | | 011-836-8366 |
| S Shilowa | | 011-834-3008 |
| G Fraser-Moleketi | | 011-836-8366 |
| S A GOVERNMENT | | |
| R Meyer | | 021-461-0851 and 012-341-1389 |
| H J Coetsee c/o J Jacobs | | 012-343-8043 |
| L Wessels c/o J Jacobs | | 012-343-8043 |
| TRANSKEI GOVERNMENT | | |
| Z Titus | | 0471-23876 |
| T T Matanzima | | 0471-31-2307 |
| M Mpahlwa | | 0471-23876 |
| UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT | | |
| M J Mahlangu c/o M C Ramusi | | 01521-91-2528 |
| M I Moroamoche c/o M C Ramusi | | 01521-91-2528 |
| M C Ramusi | | 01521-91-2528 |
| VENDA GOVERNMENT | | |
| S Makhuva | | 0159-23172 |
| A L Mphaphuli | | Not known |
| XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY | | |
| E E P Mhinga | | 01526-23412 |
| J C Ackron | | 01526-23140 |
| E E Ngobeni c/o J C Ackron | | 01526-23140 |

Also to :

| | | |
|-------------|------------------|--------------|
| Rev K Reddy | Solidarity Party | 011-333-0981 |
| M N Raju | Solidarity Party | 031-37-4261 |



TO: ALL MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE MEMBERS
FROM: CODESA ADMINISTRATION
RE: MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE MINUTES

Included you will find minutes of the MC meeting of 15 June 1992.

Please note that a MC pack will be couriered to you in the week of 23 June 1992.

CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

PO Box 307, Isando, 1600, South Africa.
Telephone (011) 397-1198/99. Fax (011) 397-2211

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

DRAFT MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE HELD AT 10H30 ON 15 JUNE 1992 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

PRESENT: See Addendum A

APOLOGIES: SE Moeti (Venda)
EPP Mhinga (Ximoko Progressive Party)
SS Ripinga (INM)
J Scheepers (National Party)

1. Chairperson's opening remarks

The members were welcomed. An appeal was made for progress during the meeting.

2. Apologies

The apologies were noted.

3. Agenda

The agenda was adopted with the following additions:

- * The addition of an Item 7.4 to read:
"Additional members for Sub-Committees"
- * The addition of an Item to become Item 9 to read:
"Concerns about the negotiation process
9.1 Legislation before Parliament
9.2 Mass Action"
- * The numbering following the new Item 9 was amended accordingly.

4. Minutes of the meeting of 1 June 1992

The minutes were ratified with the following amendments:

- * The third point under Item 5.2.4 : "preventative" should read "preventive".
- * Item 5.2.6, the second sentence : "decide" is replaced by "assess and report to the MC".

- * Item 6.2 should read "It was agreed to defer this issue until the item of the DMC is resolved and it was agreed that the present Chairperson should continue until the next MC meeting."

5. MC matters

5.1 DMC composition:

It was agreed to defer this issue until the next MC meeting as no agreement was reached.

5.2 Chairpersonship:

5.2.1 It was agreed to defer this issue until the next MC meeting as no agreement was reached.

5.2.2 It was agreed that the present Chairperson would chair the meeting until a replacement was agreed upon.

6. Opening up of CODESA to greater public scrutiny

6.1 At the level of principle:

6.1.1 It was agreed that openness compatible with constructive negotiations was necessary.

6.1.2 It was agreed that the public has a right to be informed and educated about matters in relation to the negotiation process, that greater press accessibility to CODESA processes needs to be facilitated and that confidence needs to be built in the negotiations process.

6.2 Methods to give effect to the principle:

After discussion, it was agreed that a Sub-Committee to be set up, will discuss methods to give effect to the principle of openness and submit recommendations to the MC. Methods should include recommendations on the opening up of the MC meetings and other possibilities as suggested by members.

6.3 The following guidelines were agreed upon:

6.3.1 Consideration should be given for the provision for "in-committee" sessions. Issues on which such "in-committee" sessions were necessary, could be identified by the DMC, when appointed.

6.3.2 There is a need for media accreditation and a media code.

6.3.3 There would be a trial period.

6.3.4 MC minutes and tapes of the meeting made by the Administration would reflect the final version of MC decisions.

6.3.5 Provision should be created for the MC Chairperson or any other Codesa organ, as mandated by the MC, to take up with the media any discrepancies, incorrect

reporting or distortions of actual happenings.

6.3.6 These guidelines apply to the opening up of MC meetings only.

6.4 The establishment of a Sub-Committee:

6.4.1 It was agreed to appoint a Sub-Committee to, on the basis of the suggested guidelines and the agreed principles, to submit recommendations on:

- * How and on what basis MC meetings could be opened to the press.
- * Other steps that need to be taken for a better communication strategy on behalf of Codesa.
- * Accreditation of the media and a media code.
- * Any other relevant matters.

6.4.2 It was suggested that the DMC form this Sub-Committee, but as no agreement was reached on the composition of the DMC, this was not possible.

6.4.3 It was agreed that the Sub-Committee would consist of 6 members and that the appointment of the Sub-Committee would be deferred until the next MC meeting.

6.5 It was noted that, according to the Standing Rules of Codesa, the MC shall determine the extent of access the media has to other meetings of Codesa.

7. Sub-Committees

7.1 The following was noted in respect of the relationship between the MC and the Sub-Committees:

7.1.1 It was agreed that ideally the Sub-Committee should submit recommendations to the MC, who should then ratify them.

7.1.2 It was noted that the MC is aware that there is, at this point, it was not possible for the MC to consider everything that Sub-Committees recommend, prior to some of those being implemented.

7.1.3 It was further noted that the MC reserves the right to give feedback to the Sub-Committee even ex post facto, if in the view of the MC something unacceptable has happened.

7.1.4 It was agreed that the Chairpersons or duly appointed representatives of Sub-Committees should be present at MC meetings in order to assist the MC in the processing of Sub-Committee reports.

7.1.5 It was agreed that Sub-Committees should communicate the priorities in respect of their work to the MC.

- 7.1.6 It was agreed to discuss the summary report on progress of MCSC1. It was also agreed that although these were draft minutes, any member could raise any matter within the draft minutes that they believe the MC should have its attention drawn to.
- 7.2 Report of Sub-Committee 1 (MCSC1)
- 7.2.1 A summary report (Addendum B) on progress and draft minutes from MCSC1 was noted.
- 7.2.2 The following was noted in respect of the summary report of progress from MCSC1:
- * The recommendation to create 4 Task Groups for MCSC1 and their allocated tasks were agreed to.
 - * It was agreed that the composition of the Task Groups must be revisited by the Sub-Committee.
 - * The Sub-Committee should take into account the overlapping membership in the Task Groups, in order to establish whether this facilitates the work.
 - * Further issues to be revisited by the MCSC1 are the desirability of Rapporteurs as convenors and co-convenors of Task Groups and the unbalanced composition of Task Group 3 on Media.
- 7.2.3 It was agreed that the MC convene WG 1 on 30 June 1992 as per the recommendation from MCSC1. MCSC1 would be requested to take account of the fact that all delegates needed sufficient time to study documentation to prepare for the meeting.
- 7.2.4 It was agreed to, via the Sub-Committee, request Task Group 1 and 2 of MCSC1 to postpone their meetings of 16 June 1992.
- 7.3 Report of Sub-Committee 4 (MCSC4):
- 7.3.1 The progress report (Addendum C) and draft minutes from MCSC4 was noted.
- 7.3.2 It was noted that on the progress report from MCSC4, the title under GF Godden's name should be erased from the document. It was further noted that in the first paragraph on the second page, second line, the word "motivation" should read "moratorium".
- 7.3.3 Item 4.1.2.2 of the draft minutes of MCSC 4 refers. It was agreed that the concept of bi-lateral negotiations in this regard was unacceptable and that the Sub-Committee would be notified accordingly.
- 7.3.4 Item 5 of the draft minutes of MCSC4 refers. It was noted that the MC members that are representatives on MCSC4 should take note of the relevant paragraph in the Terms of Reference which states very clearly how and when the Working Groups should be convened.

7.3.5 It was agreed to adopt the Terms of Reference for MCSC4.

7.4 Sub-Committee 3 (MCSC3):

It was noted that MCSC3 was scheduled to meet at 16h00 on 15 June 1992.

8. **Follow up from Codesa 2**

8.1 WG 2 Issues:

It was agreed that the last Chairperson of WG 2, Mr Richards and the Secretary of WG 2, Mr Philips, be requested to prepare a report on the status of discussions (including working papers/documents) in WG 2 prior to Codesa 2. This report should be distributed before the next MC meeting. MC members should propose ideas on the nature and composition of the structure/s to discuss WG 2 issues further at the next MC meeting.

9. **Concerns about the negotiations process**

9.1 Legislation before Parliament:

9.1.1 It was noted that the ANC is of the view that the Government should not push through Parliament legislation that preempts Codesa work or that could affect the negotiations process.

9.1.2 The legislation referred to was the proposed legislation in connection with powers to tap telephones, the Interim Local Government Bill and the Defence Amendment Bill.

9.1.3 After discussion, it was agreed that the relevant legislation would be distributed to the MC for the purposes of information.

9.1.4 It was further agreed that criteria should be defined at the next MC meeting, as to what proposed legislation should fall within the ambit of the concerns of Codesa.

9.1.5 That in the view of the ANC and certain other participants the fact that there was no consensus on the moratorium should be called a deadlock.

9.1.6 It was agreed that there was no consensus on the request for a moratorium on legislation before parliament.

9.1.7 It was suggested that a process to take matters such as these further is an issue that could be further discussed.

9.2 Mass Action

9.2.1 The SA Government noted its concern that the planned mass action by the ANC Alliance could adversely affect the negotiations process.

9.2.2 After discussion, it was agreed that all citizens have the right to peaceful protest.

9.2.3 It was noted that no agreement was reached on the need or lack of need for mass

action.

- 9.2.4 It was further noted that this item would be discussed further at the next MC meeting.

10. **GAC**

It was agreed that this item stand down until the next MC meeting.

11. **Any other business**

11.1 Correspondence

11.1.1 Letter from the Ambassador of the United States of America to the MC.

The following was noted:

- * The American Embassy has agreed to the number of 19 for the proposed delegation to observe the American election processes.
- * All parties/organisations/administrations participating at Codesa are to submit, to the Secretariat, by Friday 19 June the name of their nominated person. This person should be available from 10 July for 3 weeks.

11.1.2 Letter in respect of Arbor Day (Addendum D).

It was agreed that members of the MC would be available to participate in this tree planting ceremony.

12. **Future meetings**

The next meeting of the MC is scheduled for 29 June 1992 at 09h00 at the World Trade Centre.

Addendum A

The following members signed the attendance register:

| Organisation/Party/ Administration | Delegates | Advisers |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
| ANC | J Zuma | M Maharaj |
| Bophuthatswana | MC Ramaphosa | T Scheepers |
| Ciskei | R Cronje | GF Godden |
| Democratic Party | SG Mothibe | J Selfe |
| Dikwankwetla Party | H Kayser | DT Mokoena |
| IFP | SV Notshe | WS Felgate |
| IYP | C Eglin | E Kekana |
| INM | ZJ de Beer | GG Zama |
| Labour Party | TJ Mohapi | J Douw |
| NIC/TIC | SOM Moji | C Govender |
| National Party | FT Mdlalose | |
| NPP | BS Ngubane | AK Bheesham |
| Solidarity Party | NJ Mahlangu | CK Reddy |
| SA Government | MB Ntuli | L Wessels |
| SACP | PMH Maduna | |
| Transkei | P Hendrickse | M Mpahlwa |
| UPF | E Samuels | MC Ramusi |
| Venda | C Salojee | |
| XPP | Z Yacoob | |
| Also present were: | D de Villiers | |
| | JT Delpont | |
| | A Rajbansi | |
| | E Joosab | |
| | DS Rajah | |
| | K Moodley | |
| | R Meyer | |
| | HJ Coetsee | |
| | J Slovo | |
| | S Shilowa | |
| | Z Titus | |
| | TT Matanzima | |
| | MJ Mahlangu | |
| | MI Moroamoche | |
| | S Makhuvha | |
| | AL Mphaphuli | |
| | SE Mathumbu | |
| | JC Ackron | |
| | PJ Gordhan (Chairperson) | |
| | SS van der Merwe (Secretariat) | |
| | T Eloff (Secretary) | |
| | G Hutchings (Minutes) | |

SUMMARY OF PROGRESS IN SUB-COMMITTEE 1

FOR THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

1. 4 Task Groups have been established, dealing with:
 - 1.1 Political Prisoners;
 - 1.2 Security, emergency and discriminatory legislation;
 - 1.3 Media;
 - 1.4 Refugees;
2. A list of the members of the Task Groups is attached, as is the schedule of meetings.
3. The 4 Task Groups will give their first progress reports at the sub-committee meeting of the 29 June.
4. In the interim the sub-committee will meet on 23rd June 1992 to discuss outstanding matters that will not be considered in the Task Groups.
5. The sub-committee suggests that a plenary session of Working Group 1 be called by the Management Committee for the 30th June. This will enable the Task Groups to have made some progress. If the MC feels that a WG1 plenary meeting needs to take place before this date, it should advise the chair -Mr. Mick Webb - as a matter of urgency.
6. The meeting agreed that Mr. V Ntsubane, of the Transkei, will deputize in the absence of Mr. Webb.



SUB-COMMITTEE 1 TASK GROUP 3 (MEDIA) have appointed a committee of experts who will draw up a Bill legislating the creation of SAITCOM.

It will consist of:

- 2 experts nominated by Government
- 2 experts nominated by the ANC
- 1 expert nominated by each of the other parties in the Task Group

The convenor of the Task Group will convene this meeting.

CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

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

ADDENDUM C

Progress Report by Sub Committee 4 to the Management Committee to be presented at M.C. meeting scheduled for 15 June 1992 at 10.00hrs

The Steering Committee of Working Group 4 convened on 8 June 1992 under the Chairpersonship of Ms Stella Sigcau.

In addressing the mandate given to the WG SC.4 difficulty was experienced in addressing issues relating to:

- (a) planning a work schedule to complete the terms of reference allotted
- (b) establishing a modus operandi for the sub committee and
- (c) planning a schedule of meeting for the sub-committee.

The reason for not being successful in accomplishing these tasks was due to the fact that the M.C. had provided no guidelines to the time schedule between Codesa 2 and proposed Codesa 3.

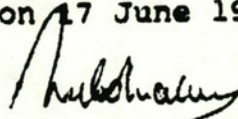
The Sub Committee addressed the issue of Chairmanship of the Sub committee and resolved to adopt a process of a rotating Chairperson for 2 meetings in succession. It was also agreed that Ms S Sigcau would continue in the role of permanent reporter to the M C.

In regard to the issue relating to the reservations of Ciskei and Bop in relation to the WG's report to Codesa 2 it was resolved that the reservations expressed by Bop would be included in the report. In regard to Ciskei it was felt that the position had been rectified by the statement made by Brig Gqozo at Codesa 2 which had been fully recorded in the proceedings of Codesa 2.

Ciskei were also of the opinion that other sections of WG 4's report to Codesa 2 required re-drafting but Sub Committee 4 resolved to address these issues in the course of dealing with all outstanding issues falling within its terms of reference.

The Sub Committee also addressed the issue of land motivation imposed by Codesa. It was agreed that those issues relating to communities in terms of promises made or compensation for land taken away would be investigated and TBVC delegates were requested to supply details to the Sub Committee at its next meeting.

It was agreed that the Sub Committee would re-assemble on 17 June 1992 at 10.00hrs.



h.
G F GODDEN
DEPARTMENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE

action.

- 9.2.4 It was further noted that this item would be discussed further at the next MC meeting.

10. **GAC**

It was agreed that this item stand down until the next MC meeting.

11. **Any other business**

11.1 Correspondence

- 11.1.1 Letter from the Ambassador of the United States of America to the MC.

The following was noted:

- * The American Embassy has agreed to the number of 19 for the proposed delegation to observe the American election processes.
- * All parties/organisations/administrations participating at Codesa are to submit, to the Secretariat, by Friday 19 June the name of their nominated person. This person should be available from 10 July for 3 weeks.

- 11.1.2 Letter in respect of Arbor Day

It was agreed that members of the MC would be available to participate in this tree planting ceremony.

12. **Future meetings**

The next meeting of the MC is scheduled for 29 June 1992 at 09h00 at the World Trade Centre.