



TO : MEMBERS OF WORKING GROUP 1 : SUBGROUP 2
 CO-ORDINATORS OF WORKING GROUP 1

FROM : CODESA ADMINISTRATION

QUERIES : LOVEDALIA

RE : DRAFT AGENDA - 9 MARCH
 DRAFT MINUTES - 2 MARCH
 DELEGATE FACT SHEET NO 2

ANC
 Negotiations Comm (011) 333-9090
 K Asmal (021) 959-2960
 P Langa (031) 304-4208

BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT
 D Schoeman (0140) 84-2943
 K C A V Sehume (0140) 84-2585
 J Esterhuizen (0140) 22072/3

CISKEI GOVERNMENT
 H J S Kayser (0401) 91189
 L Magoma (0401) 91189
 M Maki

DEMOCRATIC PARTY
 D J Dalling (021) 461-0092
 J van Eck (021) 461-0092

DIKWANKWETLA PARTY
 J S S Phatang (01438) 30318
 M M Maekane

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY
 S Felgate (0358) 20-2167
 D R Benard (011) 886-1394

INTANDO YESIZWE PARTY
 M J Mahlangu c/o
 J S Mabona (01215) 2548
 E S Masango (01215) 2918
 C N Mahlangu (01215) 2684

INYANDZA NATIONAL MOVEMENT
 T J Ndaba (013140) 879
 P R Mahlalela (01314) 72125
 M J Twala (01314) 72125

LABOUR PARTY
 C April (021) 462-2489
 D Joseph

NIC/TIC	
P Gordhan	(031) 309-2278
N Pillay	(012) 374-4792
B Nair	(031) 309-2278
M Shaik	(031) 86-7444
NATIONAL PARTY	
B Geldenhuys	(011) 412-1311
L H Fick	(021) 461-7617
NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY	
M Mohanlall	(021) 403-2971
A K Beesham	(031) 309-1272
D Chetty	(011) 837-4156 or (0324) 24894
SOLIDARITY PARTY	
P Naidoo	(031) 43-8296
C F Thandroyen	(031) 43-8296
SA COMMUNIST PARTY	
G Fraser-Moleketi	(011) 836-8366 or 838-2816
R Kassrils	(011) 836-8366 or 838-2816
M Scott	(031) 309-2278
TRANSKEI GOVERNMENT	
Z Titus	(0471) 23876
L V Ntsubane	(0471) 31-2595
UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT	
c/o Chief PR Minister	(0156) 35244
M I Moroamoche	(0156) 35181
S Maja	(0156) 35104
VENDA GOVERNMENT	
C Neluvhalani :	
Chief Gov Liaison Off	(0159) 23172
N E Mulaudzi	(0159) 22097
M E Ramulondi	(0159) 31638
XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY	
J C Ackron	(01526) 23140
B M Tlakula	See Above
N M Mtsetwene	See Above
WORKING GROUP 1 SECRETARY	
A Feinstein	(011) 491-6542 or 491-6046



F A X M E S S A G E

TO : MEMBERS OF WORKING GROUP 1, SUB-GROUP 2
FROM : CODESA ADMIN - DIANNE
DATE : 4 MARCH 1992
RE : DRAFT MINUTES - 2 MARCH
DRAFT AGENDA - 9 MARCH

Attached please find the following :

1. Draft minutes of the meeting of Working Group 1, Sub-Group 1 held on 2 March 1992.
2. Draft agenda of the meeting to Working Group 1, Sub-Group 1 to be held on 9 March 1992.
3. Delegate Fact Sheet No 2 -
Administrative Arrangements/Facilities

Should you have any queries, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Regards.



WG1SG2/AGENDA/MARCH 9

DRAFT AGENDA FOR WORKING GROUP 1 SUBGROUP 2 TO BE HELD AT THE
WTC ON 9 MARCH AT 08H00

1. Convenors opening remarks
2. Adoption of agenda
3. Ratification of Minutes
4. Matters arising from minutes
5. Continuation of Discussion
 - 5.1 National Peace Accord
 - 5.2 Security (i)
 - 5.3 Development (m)
 - 5.4 Media Release
6. Any other business
7. Date of any other meeting

CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

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



WG1 SG2 /MINUTES/2 MARCH

THESE ARE DRAFT MINUTES. THEY ARE CONFIDENTIAL AND RESTRICTED TO MEMBERS OF THE WORKING GROUP, THE DAILY MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE AND THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE. THEY ARE STILL SUBJECT TO RATIFICATION BY THE WORKING GROUP AND TO THE WORKING GROUP SUBGROUP AT ITS NEXT MEETING, THEY HAVE BEEN APPROVED BY THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE WORKING GROUP SUB-GROUP 2.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF WORKING GROUP 1 SUB-GROUP 2 (4) HELD AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE ON MONDAY 2 MARCH AT 13H30

PRESENT: SEE ADDENDUM A

LV Ntsubane (Chair)
T Motumi (Minute taker)
A Schoeman (Secretary)

1. Convenor's opening remarks

The convenor welcomed the delegates to the fourth sitting of this sub-group, and hoped meaningful progress would be made in this session.

2. Adoption of Agenda

The agenda was adopted, with an addition of Point 5.3 to the agenda to be titled : Media release. It was also the opinion of the South African government that the sub-group conclude items under stability, then proceed with points 5.1 to 5.3 on the agenda.
At this point, the Ciskei asked to make certain representations at the sub-group's earliest convenience.

3. Ratification of Minutes

3.1 Point 2.4 : line 2, Committee and its...was deleted to read National Peace Secretariat.

3.2 Point 4.3.2.1: line 1 ...socio-economic conditions, was deleted to read : on violence related crime.
Line 4 : Delete remainder of this paragraph after the words...crime rate.

3.3 Point 4.3.2.3: line 2 should read...there was substantial support for abolition

The minutes were adopted following the amendments.

4. Matters Arising from the minutes

4.1 On point 3.1 of the minutes of 24/02, it was reported to the sub-group that the CODESA Secretariat suggested requesting written submissions from the National Peace Secretariat. The NPC should then only be invited after making these written submissions. The subgroup was further informed that the Nat.Peace Sec. was eager to make the submissions.

Most delegates expressed their impatience with the fact that the Nat. Peace Sec. had still not been invited, despite such a request weeks ago. A letter from the Steering Committee dated 27/02/'92 on the matter was read to the house.

There was consensus on the proposal for a strongly worded letter to the Management Committee on the issue. The proposal for a discussion on the National Peace Accord and the input from the National Peace Secretariat was found unacceptable as it was deemed necessary that they be present. It was agreed that the National Peace Secretariat and the National Peace Committee should still be invited to present an oral briefing on 9/3/92. It was suggested the item on stability from the last meeting be completed.

4.2 The meeting agreed on the definition of Political Intimidation as :

Any action or set of actions committed by any individual, organisation, political party, government represented at CODESA, as well as the self governing territories or any agency of such government or self governing territory, that is designed by the use or the threat of use of force or violence to disrupt or interfere with, for instance the following legal rights of an individual :

- 4.2.1 Right to freedom of expression or opinion
- 4.2.2 Right of freedom of association
- 4.2.3 Right of freedom of movement

In particular, the following shall be considered forms of political intimidation, to :

- 4.2.3.1 kill, injure, apply violence to, intimidate or threaten any other person's political beliefs, words, writings or actions;
- 4.2.3.2 remove, disfigure, destroy, plagiarise or otherwise misrepresent any symbol or other material of any other political party or organisation;
- 4.2.3.3 interfere with, obstruct or threaten any other person or group travelling to or from or intending to attend, any gathering for political purposes;
- 4.2.3.4 seek to compel, by force or threat of force, any person to join any party or organisation, attend any meeting, make any contribution, resign from any post or office, boycott any occasion or commercial activity or withhold his or her labour or fail to perform a lawful obligation; or
- 4.2.3.5 obstruct or interfere with an official representative of any other political party or organisation's message to contact or address any group of people;
- 4.2.3.6 to possess, carry or display dangerous weapons or firearms by members of the general public when attending any political gathering, procession or meeting.

5. Continuation of Discussion

- 5.3 Media Release - The Convenor was mandated to draft a press release highlighting the progress made in the meeting.

ADDENDUM A

The following participants signed the register :

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS	J Zuma P Langa
BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT	KCAV Sehume J Esterhuizen
CISKEI GOVERNMENT	L Maqoma M Maki
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	DJ Dalling J van Eck
DIKWANKWETLA PARTY	JSS Phathang MH Cunukelo
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY	DR Benard I Mars
INTANDO YESIZWE PARTY	ES Masango CN Mahlangu
INYANDZA NATIONAL MOVEMENT	PR Mahlalela MJ Twala
LABOUR PARTY	E Samuels J Scholtz
NIC/TIC	E Ebrahim M Shaik
NATIONAL PARTY	BL Geldenhuys GB Myburgh
NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY	AK Beesham D Chetty
SOLIDARITY PARTY	P Naidoo CF Thandroyen
SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY	R Kassrils M Scott
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT	HJ Kriel LCA Pruis

TRANSKEI GOVERNMENT

MA Ntshinga
M Mpahlwa

UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT

MI Moroamoche
S Maja

VENDA GOVERNMENT

NE Mulaudzi
ME Ramulondi

XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY

SDW Nxumalo
E Mathe

ADDENDUM C

The following points were raised as part of the general discussion :

1. The DP proposed a procedure to seek clarity through discussion on order of tasks (from D-M). If SG3 & SG1 achieve and complete their task, then the factors of political intimidation will have been removed. Because of this, SG2 does not need to dwell on Items D,E,H and M, as these can be eliminated by SG3 and SG1. The agents of state meant to do this should also proceed.
2. The DP also said that the NPA addressed most of SG2's tasks, i.e. political intimidation, use of violence, and the creation of a socio-economic climate. There should therefore be a redefinition of D,E,M and N.
Success of measures to implement SG1's tasks can occur once a new code of conduct is drawn for the security forces. None of NPA's aims can be achieved, unless this specific issue is addressed. There is need for a revisiting of the NPA urgently, to uphold/amend its tasks, and :
 - 2.1 To check whether any of the tasks outlined have been implemented
 - 2.2 Ensuring successful implementation of the NPA, and the security forces' pivotal role in this.
 - 2.3 For M (on socio-economic conditions) to occur, there is also a need for an impartial security force.
 - 2.4 Suggest that Item I (on role and composition of the security forces, including in the TBVC states, be analyzed, as these are the primary sources of conflict.
3. The South African government in its response pointed out that it disagreed with the DP's basis for argument, that everything depends on the police, including those in TBVC states. The DP should expand whether it says only the SAP have a pivotal role to play in the peace process.
4. The NIC/TIC pointed out that the DP's motivation must be understood as being of prime importance, after which all the other items fall into place.
5. The NPP said that there needs to be neutrality and control over the security forces, and this would settle the matter.
6. The SA government highlighted that there first needs to be a look at the problem, then secondly, at ways of dealing with it. There must therefore be an input from the NPA about their problems, then we can see where we come in.
7. The DP said that it had been agreed that the NPA's input is crucial, and that on the question of political intimidation, there needs to be political tolerance. There thus needs to be agreement on these things, unless SG1 and SG3 finish.
8. Solidarity Party pointed out there was no need to hear the NPA's submissions, as they have failed dismally, so a solution should be sought elsewhere.
9. The DP said that there had been a unanimous decision to have the National Peace Secretariat, but nothing had not happened. This undermines the decisions taken by this SG2, and the Committee's decisions are therefore being stymied.

10. The IFP was of the opinion that oral submissions needed, as they are more effective than the written ones.
11. The Convenor pointed out there seems to be some reluctance on the part of the Management Committee about having the National Peace Secretariat making their input to this committee.
12. Venda pointed that there is a need to have the National Peace Secretariat briefing the SG, so as to hear their reasons for failing, to avoid getting into the same mistakes.
13. The SACP suggested that the meeting address the Peace Accord in dealing with the violence. A strong letter to the Management Committee was also suggested.
14. The NIC/TIC was of the opinion that the meeting should proceed, under the five points they had enumerated in the last meeting to serve as guidelines or terms of reference for the National Peace Committee or its Secretariat.
15. The SA government indicated that whilst it still supported submissions from the NPA, the discussion should not continue in this meeting as they (the NPA) had not made any input. There would thus be no facts on which to base the discussion.
16. The Transkei government said there seemed to be a principle against calling the NPA. This it could not understand, as most of the parties within this forum were actually signatories to the National Peace Accord, and therefore formed the very basis for its existence. Its processes need to be looked at, and the house must decide on the matter.
17. The meeting continued the discussion at length, and concluded that the Convenor should carry its decision forward.
18. The SA government argued that Point 5 cannot be discussed and that we need to continue with discussion on Stability, Security, etc.
19. The Ciskei raised the ANC's alleged destabilisation of their country, and argued that this was not conducive to a climate of free political activity. They did however leave the matter in the hands of the Convenor.
20. The DP stated that there is insufficient information on this and that the meeting could not respond to it yet.
21. The IFP requested clarity from the ANC on this matter.
22. The ANC stated that they are meeting with the Ciskei authorities this week, and the matter will be discussed.
23. Several delegations expressed their belief in the seriousness of this matter.
24. It was however stated by the NIC/TIC delegation that the parties are seeking to score cheap political points. The ANC has already said the issues are being discussed between both parties.
25. The SA government stated that the objectives of the campaign was unclear, even though it was non-violent. The meeting needed to adopt a principle on allegations such as these, and the SACP will be asked to clarify this in their submission.

26. The SA government suggested several amendments to the NIC/TIC proposed definition of Political Intimidation.
27. The meeting had discussion on these amendments. but eventually came to agreement on the nature of the definition. This definition is included in the main minutes, and in the media release.



ADMINISTRATION/FACTSHEET/2 MARCH

DELEGATE FACT SHEET NO 2 2 MARCH 1992

I. ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS/FACILITIES

The main aim of the Administration is to:

- * Ensure accurate records of all meetings
- * To provide documentation in the hands of delegates on time
- * to provide facilities for the functioning of all CODESA structures.

There are, however, a few practical problems. The main issue revolves around the programming of CODESA's activities, so as to enable the Administration to achieve this aim.

The following pattern has emerged in CODESA's activities:

- * Mondays and Tuesdays are used for meetings of WGs, WGSCs, Subgroups, Sub-committees and the DMC/MC. These meetings have increased considerably. For instance, on Monday 2 March, 22 meetings are scheduled. Immediately after these meetings, secretaries and minute takers have to start writing the minutes.
- * The deadline for the draft of the minutes, approved by the relevant chairperson, of all the above-mentioned meetings is Wednesday 12h00. This means that in the case of some minutes, less than 24 hours are allowed for a draft of the minutes of any meeting. The Secretariat has initiated a meeting with the five secretaries of the Working Groups to be held regularly on Tuesday evenings, with the following aims:
 - + To raise and discuss all administrative problems
 - + To monitor the functioning of the Working Groups
 - + To enable the Secretariat to compile a report to the DMC and
 - + To enable the Secretariat to compile the DMC/MC Agenda.

The process of faxing the draft minutes, approved by the different chairpersons, to the WG and WGSC members, is then initiated on Wednesday afternoon and takes two and a half days to complete (with 4 technically-advanced fax machines working 24 hours a day). Any problems with regard to not receiving faxed minutes, or late reception of minutes, should please be communicated to the Administration.

Against this background, it is important to also note that before CODESA 1, parties/organisations/administrations have been requested to submit the names of suitable administrative staff. This same request was made again on 12 February. As work increases, CODESA Administration is able to take on more staff. The sole test in this regard is competence.

It must be pointed out, however, that so far, parties/organisations/administrations have responded primarily to requests at the level of Security. Staff requirements for CODESA have now moved into specific areas, requiring specific competence, for example, minute taking. At present, the secretarial and administrative staff component is adequate. It is also important to note that before CODESA 1, it was approved by the Steering Committee to appoint the Consultative Business Movement (CBM) as an independent body to provide the core of the staff for the CODESA Administration. All staff appointments are therefore made under the aegis of CBM.

DELEGATE FACT SHEET NO 2

II. FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO PARTIES/ORGANISATIONS IN CODESA

In pursuance of decisions by the Management Committee of **CODESA** on 13 January 1992 and on 24 February 1992, the following is brought to your attention:

OFFICE ACCOMMODATION AND MEALS

- 1.1 Office accommodation is provided by **CODESA** for each party, organisation or administration in the *World Trade Centre*. Basic furniture (tables and chairs) will also be supplied. Any other furniture required will, however, have to be rented from **CODESA**. Please notify us immediately, should you wish to make use of this facility. Under no circumstances will you be allowed to bring in your own furniture.

It is suggested that parties, organisations or administrations make use of this opportunity to facilitate preparations for **CODESA II**.

- 1.2. 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 will include the following: telephone calls, fax costs, photocopying costs, rental of equipment and secretarial services. PLEASE NOTE THAT THE SUBSIDY IS PAYABLE ON RECEIPT OF DOCUMENTED PROOF OF ACTUAL EXPENSES AND THAT IT COMES INTO EFFECT RETROSPECTIVELY FROM 13 JANUARY 1992.
- 1.3 **CODESA** cannot supply telephone and/or fax lines. Should these be required, they will be supplied by *Telkom* for the account of each party, organisation or administration. Application forms are available at our offices and must be returned to **CODESA** to facilitate the installation thereof.
- 1.4 Please note that **CODESA** cannot provide any equipment such as word processors, fax machines or photocopiers *or render any of these services for or on behalf of parties, organisations or administrations* or their representatives on working groups. These must be provided for by each party, organisation or administration. One photocopier has been made available for the service of party offices. It is controlled by Aaron Tshehla, and is situated underneath the escalator. At present requests for copying should be given to him in writing (forms obtainable at the machine). These will be attended to on a first-come, first-served basis, PLEASE NOTE THAT ALL COPIES MADE ON THIS MACHINE WILL BE CHARGED TO THE ORGANISATION AT 15C PER COPY.
- 1.5 **CODESA only supplies meals to members of and advisers to members of working groups.** **CODESA** can make no provision in respect of meals for support staff to members of working groups, their bodyguards, private secretaries or drivers or the support staff of parties, organisations or administrations occupying offices in the *World Trade Centre*. A tuck shop is available on the premises and all such support staff, private secretaries, drivers and bodyguards can make use of it on a cash basis.
- 1.6 PLEASE NOTE THAT AS FROM 3 MARCH 1992 ALL LIQUOR AT MEALS WILL BE ON A CASH BASIS.

Please turn over

PER DIEM ALLOWANCES TO DELEGATES AND OFFICIAL ADVISERS

- 1.1 A per diem allowance of R200 per delegate or official adviser for the days on which meetings of **CODESA** are attended may now be claimed. This will only apply to persons not receiving remuneration from State sources. It, however, excludes state/administration officials who have been granted leave without pay to attend meetings of **CODESA**. Documented proof of this will be required.
- 1.2 Income tax will have to be deducted from per diem allowance payments. Delegates claiming per diem allowances must please complete a registration form (available from our Financial office and a separate claim form for allowances.
- 1.3 Allowance may be claimed retrospectively from 13 January 1992.

CLAIMS FOR TRANSPORT AND SUBSISTENCE

- 1.1 Claims for transport and subsistence must please be completed and submitted individually for each separate meeting by every representative and adviser. Only claim forms bearing the printed date for the specific meeting can be accepted.
- 1.2 Faxed copies of claims, flight tickets and hotel bills are unfortunately unacceptable. All claims must please be original and accompanied by original proof of expenditure.
- 1.3 **CODESA** does not refund telephone calls, valet services, bar charges, cigarettes or any claims for meals taken at hotels in stead of those offered at the *World Trade Centre* on the days of meetings.
- 1.4 When claiming for cost of travelling by car, please note that the car registration number must please be supplied and that the kilometers travelled should reflect the shortest route. The engine capacity of your vehicle must also be stated in cubic centimeters.
- 1.5 **CODESA** only refunds air fares in the economic class. Bookings made through one of our accredited travel agencies may also only be made in the economic class. To facilitate problems experienced with travel, accommodation and transport problems, **CODESA** now has a special **CODESA TRAVEL OFFICE** in the *World Trade Centre* co-ordinating with the various agencies and you should not hesitate to call them at (011) 397 2452.
- 1.6 Hotel accommodation booked through any of our accredited agencies must please be made at least 48 hours prior to day of arrival. Should you not take up the accommodation booked for you, you will be personally held responsible for the "no show"-fee charged to **CODESA**. This also applies in respect of accommodation not used for the full period booked.
- 1.7 **CODESA** only accepts responsibility for hotel accommodation (when necessary) on the night before and/or after meetings.
- 1.8 **CODESA** can unfortunately not accept claims for 5-star hotels and/or suites. Should delegates or advisers make their own arrangements for accommodation in such hotels, **CODESA** can only refund an amount equivalent to the tariff negotiated by **CODESA** with either the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn or the Airport Sun.

Please turn over

- 1.9 When transport is required from airports in Johannesburg, requests should be made at least 24 hours prior to your arrival. Once again, if you have requested transport and do not make use of it on arrival, you will be personally held responsible for the costs incurred.
- 1.10 **CODESA** does not accept claims for car hire.
- 1.11 Please note that **CODESA** only accepts responsibility for transport arrangements between hotels, the airports and the *World Trade Centre* for official meetings of **CODESA**. We do not provide transport for representatives, their advisers or support staff to attend meetings other than those of **CODESA** in the *World Trade Centre*, elsewhere in Johannesburg or its surroundings.

dpcod59 2 March 1992

Please turn over