



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

**FROM : CODESA ADMINISTRATION**

**QUERIES : LOVEDALIA**

**RE : DRAFT MINUTES - 31 MARCH  
DRAFT AGENDA - 7 APRIL**

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✓ ANC  
Negotiations Comm (011) 333-4509

✓ 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**

✓ L S Mqalo (0401) 95-2148

• L Maqoma (0401) 91189

✓ M Maki (0401) 95-1403

**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 (051) 30-7562

**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 (021) 45-1953

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**

**DATE : 1 APRIL 1992**

**RE : DRAFT AGENDA - 7 APRIL 1992**  
**DRAFT MINUTES - 31 MARCH 1992**  
**SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS**

Attached please find the following :

1. Draft agenda for meeting on 7 April 1992
2. draft minutes for meeting on 31 March 1992
3. Schedule of meetings.

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

Regards.



**DRAFT AGENDA OF WGSG2 MEETING TO BE HELD ON 7/4 AT THE WORLD  
TRADE CENTRE AT 09H30 -16H00**

1. CHAIRPERSON'S OPENING
2. ATTENDANCE AND APOLOGIES
3. ADOPTION OF AGENDA
4. RATIFICATION OF MINUTES
5. MATTERS ARISING FROM MINUTES
6. CONTINUATION OF DISCUSSION
  - 6.1 NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD
  - 6.2 SECURITY (I) AND (E)
7. REPORT TO MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE
8. DATE OF NEXT MEETING

THESE ARE DRAFT MINUTES AS APPROVED BY THE CHAIRPERSON. THEY ARE CONFIDENTIAL AND RESTRICTED TO THE 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.

**MINUTES OF THE SIXTH MEETING OF WORKING GROUP 1 SUBGROUP 2 HELD AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE ON TUESDAY 31 MARCH AT 08H30**

PRESENT : SEE ADDENDUM A

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

**1. Convenor's opening remarks**

- 1.1 The convenor raised a point of concern about time, and said in spite of the fact that the meeting started thirty minutes later, delegates were still arriving late.
- 1.2 The convenor gave a further report on the role of rapporteurs. Each of them would have full participatory rights in their own Sub-Group, and also the right to attend meetings of other subgroups in the WG1, although as observers. They would be accountable to the WGSC, and would also help prepare the report to the MC at the end of each meeting.

**2. Apologies**

The following apologies were made on behalf of delegates who were either sick or would arrive late:

R.P.Mahlalela - Intando Yesizwe Party, sick  
D Dalling - Democratic Party, sick, replaced by Mr Bester  
HJ Coetsee - South African Government, to arrive later  
D Chetty - National People's Party, to arrive later

**3. Adoption of the agenda**

The agenda was adopted

**4. Ratification of Minutes**

There were additions to the points raised under the National Peace Accord at the meeting of the 24/03.(see addendum)

**5. Matters Arising**

Parties were to come with proposals in the next meeting (7/4) on the National Peace Accord so as to finalise discussion on this matter.

**6. Continuation of discussion**

**6.1 Security, Item (i) in Terms of Reference**

There was agreement reached on NIC/TIC submission (see Addendum C of 24/03 minutes) on the Security Forces, with the following amendments :

- 6.1.1 Point 1.3 should read : " The Security Forces of South Africa shall...
- 6.1.2 Point 1.3.1 should read...be bound by the principle of constitutional supremacy.
- 6.1.3 Points 1.3.2 to 1.3.5 were adopted as is.
- 6.1.4 Points 1.4.1 to 1.4.3 : No agreement was reached on these points, and they would be discussed after position papers have been submitted in the next meeting.
- 6.1.5 Point 1.4.4 would be finalised after details of operations had been tabled and possible amendments agreed upon at the next meeting of 7/4 of SG2.
- 6.1.6 Point 1.4.5 was adopted as is
- 6.1.7 Point 1.4.6 was adopted as is, with the proviso that it would be further discussed and finalised in future.
- 6.1.8 Point 1.4.7 was amended to read as follows :
  - " The implementation of a programme of orientation designed with the view to improve security force - community relations, specifically with regard to respect for human rights, non-racialism and democracy.

**7. Report to Management Committee (See Addendum D)**

**8. Date of next Meeting**

The date of the next SG2 meeting will on 7/4 at 08h30 to 16h00



ADDENDUM A

The following participants signed the register :

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS	J Zuma
CISKEI GOVERNMENT	P Langa
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	L Maqoma
DIKWANKWETLA PARTY	M Maki
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY	HJ Bester
INTANDO YESIZWE PARTY	J van Eck
INYANDZA NATIONAL MOVEMENT	JSS Phathang
LABOUR PARTY	MH Cunukelo
NIC/TIC	I Mars
NATIONAL PARTY	AM Mncwango
NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY	ES Masango
SOLIDARITY PARTY	CN Mahlangu
SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY	MJ Twala
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT	A Delport
TRANSKEI GOVERNMENT	J Scholtz
UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT	E Ebrahim
VENDA GOVERNMENT	M Shaik
XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY	BL Geldenhuys
G.B.Myburgh - Rapporteur.	LH Fick
	AK Beesham
	D Chetty
	P Naidoo
	CF Thandroyen
	R Kasrils
	M Scott
	HJ Coetsee
	LCA Pruis
	MA Ntshinga
	M Mpahlwa
	MI Moroamoche
	S Maja
	NE Mulaudzi
	ME Ramulondi
	SDW Nxumalo
	E Mathe

ADDENDUM B

A single submission by the IFP was made.



## ADDENDUM C

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

1. The NIC/TIC gave the lead on the paper they had submitted in the earlier discussion on the security forces, most of which was adopted after some amendments/being referred to later meeting.
2. The SA govt wanted to know whether point 1.3.1 of the NIC/TIC paper referred to a body above parliament to control the security forces.
3. In response NIC/TIC said it meant that at the end of the day, the rights of the individual were protected. This was to be as reflected in a new constitution, with a Bill of Rights. These would be the bastion around which the security forces were to operate.
4. The NP suggested that point 1.3.1 be replaced by 1.4.5 as it meant the same thing in their view.
5. The NIC/TIC said that when the mechanisms of public accountability exist, then these would be part of civil supremacy- the rights of individual citizens were superior to all others. At the moment there were 22 laws violating individual liberties. There needs to be Rule of Law, not rule by law.
6. The SA govt said the trend of the NIC/TIC paper was to address an ideal situation in the future. Most of its points are however highly commendable, but practicalities of points 1.4.1 and 1.4.2 were still difficult to achieve at this stage.
7. The DP said reshaping the security forces is the most important task, as there cannot be a transitional govt and free and fair political activity whilst the security forces are still controlling the situation on the ground as they are. The emergence of CODESA was evidence of the existence of an unrepresentative nature of the political order- the same applies to the security forces. Reference to public accountability means that in new govt, the security must be different, and be bound by the rules as they shall have been laid down.  
The DP is of the view that there needs to be an integration of all security forces, including those of the TBVC states.
8. The UPF expressed strong reservations about the lack of progress in the SG, saying that CODESA 2 would not continue without the report of the SG/WG. There needs to a definite undertaking on integration, if not, then the meeting needs to look at the impediments for the creation of a climate for free political activity.
9. The chairperson concurred with the UPF that little progress had been made.
10. The ANC said the point made relating to the bilateral meetings important, and the SG must in its discussion bear that in mind. There also needs to be a look at what the different parties think, with a view to dovetailing the common positions.  
The point made by the NP on point 1.3.5 incorrect, as we need to seriously look at who are in the command structures of the security forces, despite the fact that the majority of some of the units might be black, they still don't give a true reflection of the SAn society's reality.  
Point 1.4.1 looks at security forces of a new country, with a single, central command, but what is interim, immediate arrangement. There should be standards created in the new security forces, where every SAn can feel free to join. Also, what is meant by reconstitution in the long term ?
11. The SACP said the point made by the UPF on progress was important and should not be ignored. The submission is very useful, but the input on point 1.4 made by the NP is useful. The NIC/TIC



should also delete point 1.4.8 of their paper, it would not assist SG in reaching consensus. The SACP said the current bilateral between govt /ANC should not hold up progress in WG1. It further suggested that in the next meeting, there must be a report back from Messrs Coetsee and Zuma.

12. The ANC supported the SACP on the point about the NIC/TIC deleting 1.4.8 in their paper, and said this would avoid lengthy debate.
13. On the point regarding bilateral raised by the SACP, the govt said its report back would not be detailed, or else it would negate the bilateral nature of the discussion.
14. The ANC said it would also indicate progress made.
15. The SACP said it seemed the issue of the bilateral was being used as ransom to stall CODESA 2. The whole issue needed to be looked at in this relation. If there is no progress, then a decision must be made whether it is an issue for CODESA or not.
16. The SP asked if it could be ascertained whether the two parties in question were happy with the progress being made.
17. The govt/ANC both said they were making progress.
18. The Ciskei said on point 1.4.1, a number of principles needed to apply, otherwise in support of 1.3. Furthermore, the sooner the integrated single defence force, the better, especially where there will be an option of a committee to advise the supreme commander.
19. The SA govt said 1.4.1 was complicated, and it needed time to make an input in the next meeting.
20. The LP said there were two important principles which needed to be kept in mind - the role of the security forces in protection and safe-guarding the citizens of the country; safe-guarding the state. There also needs to be legitimisation of the security forces. For urgent attention, request that the SG look at the Code of Conduct for the SADF/security forces being finalised for inclusion in the NPA; secondly, establishing the Council of Defence, as legislated in Act 7.3 of the Defence Act. There will also be a need to consider the role, composition and tasks of the defence force, as well as confidence building measures.
21. The DP said the LP proposals could be raised in concert with NIC/TIC paper under discussion.
22. The LP quickly pointed out their submission addressed items under 1.4 of said paper.
23. The NP said it favoured joint control under interim arrangements.
24. The govt said 1.4.1 was isolated from constitutional mechanisms, but the security forces need to be under the control of the parties making up the interim govt.
25. The IYP said joint control was necessary and needn't be postponed.
26. The SA govt said it would have a paper on 1.4.1 and 1.4.2 in the next meeting. The govt also said it needed to know institution which will be in charge of 1.4.4
27. The DP said methods to ensure accountability need to be ensured.
28. The Ciskei said the security forces need not be subjected to political control, the code of conduct should serve as well as 1.4.7 would.



29. The INM said all police officers must be exposed to the political processes under way.
30. The govt said this process had in fact already started, with the police being exposed to a culture of human rights. If the opposite impression had occurred, then it is only certain individuals in the security forces, and laws exist to bring them to book. Otherwise govt is in agreement that there must be a spirit of awareness, alertness and discussion about the political situation.  
On the interim govt, we must be clear what we want- reorientation to a rights culture is fine, this through orientation of the security forces, hence accept 1.4.7 as re-worded, but with out 'reorientation', which has a connotation of encampment/drilling etc.
31. The DP said the issue raised by govt difficult to understand, as there had been a process of reorientation of for e.g the Riot Unit, which is now called the Internal Stability Unit, and is in the process of trying to restore its image and relations with the community. Therefore in the issue of joint control, joint input should be made on the content of the reorientation.

## 7 National Peace Accord

7.1.1 It was agreed that Parties should submit proposals to improve the Peace Accord

7.1.2 It was agreed that these proposals should be submitted to the SubGroup on 7/4/92 and that this matter be finalised

## 7.2. The Security Forces (i) :

The following principles were accepted:

7.2.1. be bound by the principle of constitutional supremacy

7.2.2 be politically non-partisan

7.2.3 be committed to resolving conflict primarily through non-violent means.

7.2.4. respect human rights, non-racialism and democracy

7.2.5 strive to be representative of South African society as a whole.

7.3 No consensus was reached on the following points, however it was agreed that position papers on these issues would be delivered on 7/4:

7.3.1 The immediate establishment of joint control of security forces.

7.3.2 The reconstitution with a view to establishing new national legitimate and representative security forces, inclusive of the SADF, MK and the TBVC states and self governing territories.

7.3.3 All special forces and formations not included in the reconstitution above shall be dismantled.

7.4. It was agreed that the matter of the termination of all operations and use of methods that limit free political activity would be finalised on 7/4

7.5 It was accepted that the implementation of mechanisms that will ensure public accountability of the security forces was required.

7.6 The need for the implementation of a Code of Conduct was accepted .There will however be further discussion on this issue in the SubGroup





**SCHEDULE FOR CODESA WORKING GROUP 1 MEETINGS**

TUESDAY	7/4:	SUBGROUP 2	08H30 -16H00
MONDAY	20/4	STEERING COMMITTEE (JAN SMUTS HOLIDAY INN)	20H00 - 23H00
TUESDAY	21/4	SUBGROUP 1	08H30 -15H00
		SUBGROUP 3	15H30 -19H00
		SUBGROUP 2	19H30 -22H30
SATURDAY	25/4	SUBGROUP 3	08H30 -15H00
		SUBGROUP 2	15H30 -19H00
		SUBGROUP 1	19H30 -22H30
MONDAY	27/4	STEERING COMMITTEE	08H00 -10H00
		WG1 PLENARY	10H30 -17H00
TUESDAY	28/4	WG1 PLENARY	09H00 -16H00
		(AND POSSIBLE SG'S)	
		STEERING COMMITTEE	16H30 -19H30

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**SUGGESTED FUTURE SCHEDULE NOT YET CONFIRMED**

MONDAY	4/5	SUBGROUP 2	08H30 -15H00
		SUBGROUP 1	15H30 -19H00
		SUBGROUP 3	19H30 -22H30
TUESDAY	5/5	SUBGROUP 1	08H30 -15H00
		SUBGROUP 3	15H30 -19H30
		SUBGROUP 2	19H30 -22H30
SATURDAY	9/5	STEERING COMMITTEE	11H00 -16H00
MONDAY	11/5	WG1 PLENARY	09H00 -16H00
TUESDAY	12/5	WG1 PLENARY	09H00 -16H00
		STEERING COMMITTEE	16H30 -19H30