



MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE PACK FOR 30 MARCH 1992



DRAFT AGENDA OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE TO BE HELD AT  
THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE ON MONDAY 30 MARCH AT 13H00

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MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE/AGENDA/30 MARCH

DRAFT AGENDA OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE TO BE HELD AT  
THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE ON MONDAY 30 MARCH AT 15H30

1. Opening
2. Apologies
3. Adoption of Agenda
4. Ratification of minutes of the previous meeting held on 9 March
5. DMC Report
6. Progress in the Working Groups
7. Sub-committees
  - 7.1 Participation of the Zulu King and Traditional Leaders
  - 7.2 Declaration of Intent
8. CODESA II
9. Any other business
  - 9.1 April Break
10. Date of next meeting
11. Closure



MC/903/MM

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE/MINUTES/9 MARCH 1992

THESE ARE DRAFT MINUTES. THEY ARE CONFIDENTIAL AND RESTRICTED TO MEMBERS OF THE MC. THEY ARE STILL SUBJECT TO RATIFICATION BY THE MC AT ITS NEXT MEETING.

**MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE HELD AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE ON MONDAY 9 MARCH AT 08H30 AND 15H15.**

PRESENT:                   ADDENDUM A

APOLOGIES:               I Omar (Solidarity)  
                              R Cronje (Bop Govt)  
                              HJ Coetsee (SA Govt)

1.     Chairperson's opening remarks

Delegates were welcomed and an appeal made that, due to time constraints, the delegates should try to be as brief and concise as possible.

2.     Apologies

Apologies were noted for I Omar, R Cronje and HJ Coetsee.

3.     Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted with the following amendments:

- 3.1     A new item 4 was inserted, being a proposal by the Ciskei on the continuance of the activities of CODESA.
- 3.2     The following items were added to "Any other business" (new item 10):
  - 3.2.1   The marketing of CODESA
  - 3.2.2   Media comments and leaks about progress in the Working Groups
  - 3.2.3   The role of chairpersons in CODESA

4.     Ciskei proposal

- 4.1     A Ciskei proposal, co-signed by the IFP, Dikwankwetla Party and Ximoko Progressive Party, was tabled (addendum B) and discussed.
- 4.2     After discussion, the following was agreed:

CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

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- 4.2.1 All participants in CODESA should be mindful of their commitment to the Declaration of Intent. All participants understand that difficulties will inevitably arise, but the constructive way in which this matter was discussed, boded well for future meetings.
- 4.2.2 The MC supported and encouraged the tripartite meeting between the Ciskei Government, the ANC and the SA Government, to be held on Tuesday 10 February, and hoped that the parties will come to a constructive resolution of this problem.
- 4.2.3 CODESA's activities will, in the meantime, continue, but any participant is free to reopen this issue by calling for a special meeting of the MC, after the meeting of 10 February 1992.
- 4.2.4 The sentiments of the Ciskei, in terms of the alleged ANC actions, were noted by the meeting, but would be left to be resolved on a tripartite basis.
- 4.2.5 In the light of this meeting, all participants are urged to handle media statements in a manner which will not tarnish or hamper the CODESA process, but facilitate a constructive resolution of this problem.

The meeting adjourned for 15 minutes. DMC is still attending to this

- 4.3 The issue of the media conference held by Ciskei and other parties during a short break was briefly discussed. It was noted that this has complicated the matter. The ANC indicated that they will have a media conference at 11H00. The Chair noted with regret the appeal before the break was ignored.

The meeting adjourned until 15H15. DMC and its recommendations as per the minutes of 2 March 1992

- 4.4 An ANC statement was tabled and noted (addendum C). The ANC confirmed that, in the light of the tripartite meeting scheduled for 10 February, all activities in this regard were postponed.

5. Minutes of 24 February 1992

4.1 **Ratification**

The minutes were ratified with the following amendments:

- 4.1.1 The last words in item 2 "another meeting" were substituted for "to other matters".
- 4.1.2 In item 10 the initial should read "NJ" and not "MJ".
- 4.1.3 In item 11 the date was changed to 9 March.

It was noted that the addenda referred to in the minutes had not been faxed with the minutes. The secretary will attend to this issue.

6. Reports from Subcommittees

6.1 **The King of the Zulus and Other Traditional Leaders**

The report of the subcommittee (as per the minutes of the meeting of 3 March, addendum D) was noted.

6.2 **Declaration of Intent**

No progress report was available, due to the postponement of the meeting of this subcommittee to 17H00 on 9 March 1992.

7. Progress in the Working Groups

7.1 **Coordination**

It was noted that the DMC is still attending to this.

7.2 **Rapporteurs**

The recommendations of the DMC, as per the minutes of 2 March 1992, section 5, were accepted.

7.3 **Meeting with WGSC4**

The handling of the DMC and its recommendations as per the minutes of 2 March 1992, section 9, were accepted.

7.4 **Request from WG5**

With regard to the possible overlap in the Declaration of Intent clause about the establishment of a structure to look at legislation, and the Terms of Reference of WG5, the following was agreed:

7.4.1 WG5, together with other WG's look into the policy elements of what is required, i.e. what kinds of provision have to be contained in any amendments and any new legislation.

7.4.2 The structure that is established to do this drafting will be set up by the MC in consultation with WG5. This structure would have to have legal and other skills required and should be constituted in a way in which the participants would be comfortable with.

7.4.3 With these guidelines in mind, the matter was referred back to the DMC, with the

mandate to implement the decision and report back. Any participating organisation who so wished, was invited to make representations to the DMC in this regard.

8. **Broadening participation in the CODESA process**

8.1 A progress report by the Secretariat was noted. This highlighted that six responses had so far been received after the questionnaire had been sent to applicants. Information from media coverage of applicants' activities in 1991 was also tabled.

It was noted that the Secretariat is proceeding with processing the information to facilitate the development of guidelines for broadening participation.

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.

9. **Date and venue for CODESA II**

9.1 **Date**

Mindful of their responsibilities to co-participants and the country as a whole, the meeting agreed that:

9.1.1 CODESA II will not take place at the end of March.

9.1.2 The date of CODESA II is likely to be the end of April.

9.1.3 The decision on this issue will be taken at the next meeting of the MC.

9.1.4 The WG's will be advised accordingly and requested that, in a meeting the DMC and/or Secretariat and WGSC's, the question of what issues should be on CODESA's II agenda, be discussed.



The following delegates and advisers signed the attendance register:

Party Administration	9.2	<b>Venue</b>	Delegate	Adviser
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It was agreed that the venue for CODESA II would be the World Trade Centre.

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.

10.3 **The role of chairperson's WG's**

Mr Rajbansi would write a letter to the DMC for their follow-up.

10.4 **The media briefing**

It was agreed that the following issues would be addressed by the chairperson at the media briefing:

10.4.1 CODESA II

10.4.2 The Ciskei issue

10.4.3 The statement by WG3 (addendum E)

10.4.4 Peace (WG1)

11. Date of next meeting

The next meeting of the MC will take place on Monday 30 March from 15H30 to 18H30 at the WTC.

The meeting adjourned.

Addendum A

The following delegates and advisers signed the attendance register:

Party/Organisation/ Administration	Delegate	Adviser
ANC	J Zuma	M Maharaj
Bophuthatswana Government	T Scheepers	SG Mothibe
Ciskei Government	H Kayser	SV Notshe
Dikwankwetla Party	TJ Mohapi	SOM Moji
DP	C Eglin	Z de Beer
IFP	FT Mdlalose	BS Ngubane
IYP	NJ Mahlangu	MIB Ntuli
INM	SS Ripinga	TJ Ndaba
Labour Party	P Hendrickse	E Samuels
National Party	R Meyer	D de Villiers
NIC/TIC	Z Yacoob	C Salojee
NPP	A Rajbansi	E Joosab
SACP	J Slovo	G Fraser-Moleketi
S A Government	GvN Viljoen	
Solidarity	JN Reddy	B Dookie
Transkei Government	Z Titus	TT Matanzima
UPF	MJ Mahlangu	MI Moroamoche
Venda Governemnt	S Makhuva	AL Mphaphuli
XPP	EPP Mhinga	JC Ackron

Also present were:

Chair

PJ Gordhan

T Eloff (Committee Secretary)

P Saxby (minutes)

WE BELIEVE THAT THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS CAMPAIGN TO DESTABILISE CISKEI IS CLEARLY CONTRARY TO THE LETTER AND SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD AND SHOWS CONTEMPT FOR AND LACK OF FAITH IN THE DECLARATION OF INTENT OF CODESA.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE PARTIES CANNOT IN GOOD FAITH CONTINUE WITH THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS WHILE THIS THREAT REMAINS IN EXISTENCE AND THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ACTS UNILATERALLY IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE NATIONAL PEACE ACCORD AND THE DECLARATION OF INTENT.

WE, ACCORDINGLY, CALL UPON THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE TO SUSPEND THE PROCEEDINGS AT CODESA UNTIL SUCH TIME AS IT HAS OBTAINED AN UNCONDITIONAL UNDERTAKING FROM MR CYRIL RAMAPHOSA ON BEHALF OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS THAT THE CAMPAIGN WILL BE WITHDRAWN.

F. T. MDLALOSE

*[Handwritten signature]* IFF

N. NOGCANTSI

*[Handwritten signature]* CISKEI GOVERNMENT.

*[Handwritten signature]*

E. P. P. MHINGA XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PA

*[Handwritten signature]*

R. H. MORELI DIKUANKWETA



BORDER REGION  
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AFRICAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS

**AGENDA**

**REGIONAL GENERAL COUNCIL  
22 FEBRUARY 1992**

1. WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION
2. REPORT ON CODESA AND THE PEACE INITIATIVE
3. THE CISKEI CRISIS
4. ELECTION OF THE PUBLICITY SECRETARY
5. ANNOUNCEMENTS FROM THE SECRETERIAT
6. CLOSURE



**THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN**

CAMPAIGN AROUND CISKEI CRISIS

1. Objectives of the campaign:

- \* Weaken Gqozo's position at Codesa
- \* isolate Gqozo politically
- \* expose SA's agenda in Ciskei, and in particular to expose the MI programme within Ciskei
- \* bring about an interim administration in Ciskei
- \* consequently to weaken SA's position at Codesa

2. Messages of the campaign:

- Gqozo does not represent Ciskei's people at Codesa
- there is an absence of a free political climate in Ciskei, and Gqozo is a stumbling block to peace in the region
- Gqozo is not fit to govern Ciskei even during the transition
- in the interests of South Africa Gqozo must resign and an interim administration be appointed
- reincorporation of Ciskei must take place through proper consultation with democratic structures and in line with the overall programme of Codesa
- an interim government at a national level is the only way to prevent further SA attempts to destabilise the transition process
- the people demand democratic elections for a constituent assembly to ensure a stable and prosperous future for all South Africans

These and other messages would need to be used tactically at different moments to ensure we develop popular understanding of the issues in a programmatic manner.

3. Elements of the campaign:

- # mass action, which builds up from local activities to a major event such as a "people's assembly"
- # defiance of all existing Ciskei regulations
- # establishment of a broad-based popular front for the removal of Gqozo
- # a symbolic "voting for removal of Gqozo" campaign in which booths are set up around region, and people vote for ANC or Gqozo
- # organisation within Ciskei administration, security forces and dismissed workers and public officials, as part of a broad front activity
- # appointment of an interim administration within Ciskei, which takes over the government in a variety of symbolic ways e.g. occupying government buildings
- # national and international campaign to pressurise SA government on Ciskei situation

#### 4. Campaign programme

- Sat 22.2.92 Regional general council finalises and adopts campaign on Ciskei crisis
- Branches form campaign committees and undertake the following actions;
- formation of local popular front committees that draw together all potential supporters of our demands
  - defiance of all Ciskei legislation
  - door to door visits to mobilise support for our demands and for the coming events
  - organisation of local Ciskei civil servants
- Sat 29.2.92 ANC regional campaigns committee meets to
- strategise for alliance and other meetings
  - prepare campaign media
  - prepare for regional events
  - draw up a roster for regional leadership to visit all branches and popularise the campaign
- Sun 1.3.92 Tripartite alliance meets to discuss campaign and launches a broad-based popular front for the removal of Gqozo
- Mon 2.3.92 Consultation with ANC womens' league
- Tue 3.3.92 Consultation with ANC's youth league
- Wed 4.3.92 Consultation with BOCCO
- Mon 9.3.92 Popular front organisations meet
- Tue 10.3.92 Press conference and public launch of campaign, with public signing of demands for removal of Gqozo. Support for Dispatch position on Ciskei.
- Wed 11.3.92 Pickets outlining our demands are held in all urban centres, to coincide with press release
- Door to door work and distribution of campaign media, together with local public meetings to mobilise support for campaign activities
- Sat 14.3.92 Setting up of voting booths in major urban centres, collecting votes for new administration in Ciskei
- Mobile voting booths travel around rural villages
- Sat 21.3.92 Sharpeville day: subregional rallies are held to popularise demands and mobilise support for peoples' assembly
- Fri 3.4.92 Cde. Mandela visits Border region, attends press conference to announce peoples' assembly

- Mon 6.4.92 Solomon Mahlangu day: Peoples' Assembly held in King Williamstown, at which an interim administration for Ciskei is announced
- Tue 7.4.92 Interim administration symbolically occupies Bisho. Presentation of signatures to Bisho. Further campaign activity based on assessment of campaign so far
- Fri 1.5.92 May day rallies in all subregions to consolidate campaign work and report back to our constituents

Budget for campaign activities:

1. Travel

1.1 Car hire @ R95/day x 60 days	R 5 200
1.2 Petrol @ R45/day x 60 days	R 2 700
1.3 Transport costs for sub-regional rallies @ R 2000/rally x 6 rallies	R 12 000
1.4 Transport costs for people' assembly	R 30 000

2. Venues and equipment

2.1 Hire of venues for sub-regional rallies @ R 500/rally x 6 rallies	R 3 000
2.2 Hire of stadium for people's assembly	R 1 200
2.3 Sound system x 6 rallies + people's assembly	R 6 000
2.4 Stage hire x 6 rallies + people's assembly	R 5 500
2.5 Construction of voting booths @ R65/booth x 30 booths	R 1 950

3. Salaries

3.1 Temporary organisers @ R 1000/organiser x 20 organisers	R 20 000
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4. Media and advertising

4.1 Newspaper advertisements	R 8 000
4.2 Sky advertisements	R 2 000
4.3 Banners @ R 300/banner x 20 banners	R 6 000
4.4 Printing of pamphlets, posters, etc.	R 25 000

5. Catering

5.1 Catering for marshalls at rallies and people's assembly	R 3 500
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6. Sundries and contingency

R 10 000

TOTAL

R 142 550

African National Congress  
Press Statement - The Ciskei Crisis

The ANC regrets the move by the Ciskei Government to bring a regional dispute to CODESA by suggesting that the Management Committee should suspend the proceedings at CODESA until such time that there is an unconditional undertaking from the Secretary General on behalf of the ANC that the campaign be withdrawn. This move is unhelpful given that the Ciskei Govt. is party to a bi-lateral meeting facilitated by the SA govt. that is due to take place tomorrow at 11:30 a.m. Arrangements for this meeting were known to the Ciskei govt. before this morning's meeting.

We further express our disapproval that the Ciskei govt. raised the matter at CODESA this morning has chosen to go public whilst the Management Committee was in the midst of discussing the issue.


All the steps are clearly calculated to sensationalise the issue and is contrary to the spirit of resolving matters through negotiations and discussion.

From the moment this issue arose the ANC HQ has been involved in discussions with its region, the Ciskei administration and the South African government in order to find an effective solution. Our commitment to the negotiation process is unchallengeable. The issue is not what is alleged to be destabilisation of the Ciskei by the ANC. The fact of the matter is that there is no political freedom in the Ciskei. Efforts to even hold report-back meetings on progress at Codesa are frustrated by the continuous refusal to allow meetings to take place on the basis that such meetings constitute a threat to the security of Ciskei.

The ANC's attempts to meet the authorities in the Ciskei to address these serious problems have not been successful. Before the campaign as planned the ANC Border region requested a meeting with the Ciskei administration and this request was dismissed with contempt (copies of letters are available).

The campaign is aimed at ensuring a climate of free political activity in the area. We appeal to all those committed to the Codesa process not to allow this false hysteria to destabilise it.

Yours sincerely

  
LUCILLE MEYER  
Secretary General





**AFRICAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS**

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**The Chairman  
Ciskei Council of State  
Bisho**

13 February 1992

Dear sir

We would like to request a meeting with your cabinet on 19 February 1992. This meeting would be to discuss the crisis in the Ciskei.

The meeting would be between yourselves and the Regional Executive Committee of the ANC led by our national president Comrade Nelson Mandela.

We apologise for the extremely short notice but due to Cde Mandela's tight schedule we would appreciate a response before the end of today. Cde Mandela has already set aside this day for a meeting with your government.

We would further like to suggest that the meeting takes place in Bisho at a venue of your convenience, commencing at 12H00.

Yours sincerely

**LUCILLE MEYER  
Secretary General**



IRiphabliki YeCiskei  
I-Ofisi YeBhunga  
LoMbuso



Republic of Ciskei  
Office of the Council  
of State

P.O. Box 1, Bisho, Republic of Ciskei, Southern Africa. Telephone 0401-91415. Telex 25-0885CX Teletax No. (0401-91189)

17 February 1992

The Secretary-General  
African National Congress  
Border Region  
Teggies Centre  
1/3 North Street  
EAST LONDON

Dear Madam

Receipt of your communication dated 13 February 1992 is hereby confirmed.

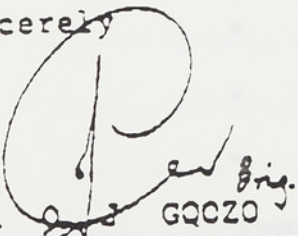
The reasons for the appointment which has been requested are irrelevant and far-fetched and do not warrant a meeting. We want to assure you that there is no crisis in Ciskei.

In fact if there was a crisis in Ciskei my government is quite competent to solve it without the assistance of the African National Congress.

The tone of your letter is arrogant, presumptuous and patronizing. We want to lodge a strong objection to Lucille Meyer communicating with my government in this manner.

In future such communication will not be answered.

Yours sincerely

  
BRIGADIER GQCZO  
CHAIRMAN : COUNCIL OF STATE



SUBCOMMITTEE ZULU KING, TRAD. LEADERS/3 MARCH 1992

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE PARTICIPATION OF THE ZULU KING AND OTHER TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN CODESA HELD AT 10H00 ON TUESDAY 3 MARCH 1992 AT THE WTC

PRESENT: TJ Mohapi (Convenor)  
 TT Matanzima  
 FT Mdlalose  
 J Slovo  
 J Zuma

T Eloff (secretary, minutes)

1. The Chairperson's opening remarks

The chairperson welcomed the members and reiterated the importance of the work of the subcommittee.

2. Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted after "Ratification of the minutes of the previous meeting and matters arising" was added as item 3.

3. Ratification of the minutes of the previous meeting and matters arising

3.1 Ratification

The minutes of the meeting of 24 February were ratified, with the amendment that Mr Slovo had apologised and had not been present at the meeting.

3.2 Matters arising

3.2.1 List of experts to give evidence

It was agreed to add the following names to the list of experts to be invited to submit evidence to the subcommittee:

- \* Prof RB Mqoke (Unitran)
- \* Prof CF Manona (Unitran)
- \* Mr VJ Matthews (Durban)

It was further agreed to invite Mr Matthews to give written or oral evidence to the next meeting of the subcommittee.

It was agreed that Mr Slovo will investigate whether the report of the Law Commission (of Justice Olivier) was in any way beneficial to the proceedings of the subcommittee that he will communicate with the secretary in this regard.

3.2.2 Expenses with regard to persons giving evidence

- \* It was agreed in principle that expenses should be met.
- \* With regard to the experts, further negotiations between the Administration and the experts was necessary.
- \* With regard to traditional leaders giving evidence, it was agreed that, if necessary, the travel and accommodation costs of a limited number of traditional leaders from each region will be carried.

3.2.3 The hearing of evidence by the subcommittee

It was agreed that a follow-up letter to the heads of delegations of all administrations should be written in which the following should be communicated:

- \* The subcommittee would like to meet with six traditional leaders from each region to hear evidence.
- \* The meetings for the hearings would take place at the World Trade Centre on the following dates and times:  
Wednesday 18 and Thursday 19 March, 10H00-17H00.
- \* Heads of Administrations should please indicate who would come and which date and time was appropriate.
- \* It was also agreed to invite a 6-person delegation of CONTRALESA to do the same.

4. Submissions and applications received to date

It was noted that, before the meeting, the following applications/submissions had been received:

- \* King G Zwelithini
- \* Transkei Kings and Chiefs
- \* King DM Mabhoko - Ndzundza Mabhoko Royal Kraal
- \* Batlokwa Tribe National Council
- \* The Lebowa College of Magoshi
- \* Paramount Chief EM Mabena II of Kwandebele

PRESS STATEMENT

The following new applications/submissions were handed out:

- \* Mopeli Chiefs' Council - Qwaqwa
- \* Contralesa
- \* Batlokoa Chiefs' Council

5. Presentation by Dr Viljoen

Dr G van N Viljoen addressed the meeting on the issue of the participation of the Zulu King and the view of the SA Government in this regard (see addendum A - available later).

After the subcommittee had questioned Dr Viljoen, the chairperson thanked him for his presentation.

6. Progress report to the Management Committee

It was agreed that the secretary would prepare a draft for the chairperson, who will approve and amend it (if necessary) before it is circulated to members.

7. Date of the next meeting

It was agreed that, in the light of the deadline of 12 March 1992 for written submissions, as well as the hearings on 18 and 19 March 1992, the subcommittee should a planning meeting on 16 March. The time will be determined between the Chairperson and the secretary and communicated to members. This will be dependent on other meetings taking place on 16 March.

The meeting adjourned.

## PRESS STATEMENT - WORKING GROUP III

1. At its seventh meeting held on 9 March 1992, Working Group III of CODESA held constructive and productive discussion on Transitional\Interim Arrangements.
2. After consultation with respective principals, agreement has been reached on certain general elements regarding interim arrangements which would facilitate the transition towards a new democratic constitution to which CODESA is committed. The agreement is per Appendix A.
3. This agreement provides a useful basis for constructive and meaningful discussions on further aspects of Transitional\Interim Arrangements.
4. Press reports suggesting that a comprehensive agreement had been reached are incorrect and misleading. The only elements agreed upon are those in the attached document. The following details, among others, are still to be discussed
  - 4.1 The objective of Transitional\Interim Arrangements.
  - 4.2 The structure and functions of the transitional executive
  - 4.3 The structure and functions of the transitional legislative
  - 4.4 The position of the TBVC and self-governing states
  - 4.5 Time frames



WG3/RESOLUTION/2 MARCH

THESE ARE DRAFT MINUTES  
OF THE DMC AND SHOULD NOT BE  
NEXT MEETING

## AGREEMENT ON ELEMENTS OF INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS

DRAFT MINUTES OF THE  
THE WORLD TRADE CENTER

### Agreed:

1. There is need for interim/transitional arrangements in order to facilitate the transition towards a new democratic constitution to which CODESA is committed.
2. An important aspect of such arrangements will be the creation of a transitional executive structure.
3. The transitional executive structure shall initially be by appointment in accordance with procedures agreed upon by CODESA.
4. Agreements reached at CODESA in this regard will have to be given effect to by Parliament through amendments to the existing constitution and relevant legislation, in order to give them constitutional and legal form.
5. Other aspects of the interim/transitional arrangements still need to be discussed.

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.

**DRAFT MINUTES OF THE DMC MEETING HELD AT 17H00 ON MONDAY 23 MARCH 1992 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE**

- PRESENT:
- ZJ de Beer
  - PJ Gordhan (Chairperson)
  - P Hendrickse
  - FT Mdlalose
  - R Meyer
  - SS Ripinga
  - Z Titus
  - J Zuma
  - M Maharaj (Secretariat)
  - SS van der Merwe (Secretariat)
  - Dr Kayser (Ciskei Government)
  - C Ramaphosa (ANC)
  - T Eloff (Secretary)
  - G Hutchings (Minutes)

**1. Chairperson's opening remarks**

The delegates were welcomed. Dr Kayser from the Ciskei was also welcomed. He would attend the meeting to put forward the case of the Ciskei to the DMC.

**2. Apologies**

No apologies were noted.

**3. Adoption of Agenda**

The agenda was adopted with the following change:

"Representation from Ciskei" was added to the agenda as item no. 4.

Mr Zuma requested that Mr Ramaphosa should be invited to participate in the discussion on this item. This was agreed.

**4. Ratification of the minutes of 9 March 1992**



The minutes were ratified.

5. Correspondence

5.1 Dr Louw Alberts:

It was agreed to support this proposal and send it to the MC meeting of 30 March 1992 for final approval. Working Group 1, via the Steering Committee would also be asked to comment. If approval is given to this proposal by the MC, it could be added to the media briefing after 30 March 1992.

5.2 Dr AT Van Wyk:

5.2.1 It was agreed in principle that Codesa material be made available to historians and other interested researchers.

5.2.2 In the short term a system of accreditation for historians, the nature of their access to material and the conditions to be attached to their access must be investigated (for example no access to meetings, restriction on publication dates, etc.) by the Secretariat.

5.2.3 It was agreed that in the long term, Codesa 1 proceedings and all subsequent Codesa material should be organised in archives where interested parties will have access once Codesa has concluded its business. The employment of a documentation officer should be investigated to organise and archive the material.

5.2.4 Only written material will be available, not tape recordings.

5.2.5 The Secretariat is to investigate both the short and long term possibilities and make suggestions to the MC meeting of 30 March 1992.

5.3 British Election : Observers

5.3.1 It was agreed by sufficient consensus that the DMC should accept the invitation to send a Codesa delegation.

5.3.2 It was agreed to explore the logistics with the British embassy to allow members of the DMC, MC and the relevant Working Groups to take up the invitation to represent Codesa.

5.3.3 After liaison with the British Embassy it was reported back to the meeting that the delegation could be increased to 7 members.

5.3.4 It was agreed that the DMC should take the decision about who would be in the delegation and a report would be made to the MC. In this respect the following was agreed upon:

\* The delegation should consist of MC, DMC members and possibly one delegate from Working Group 1.

\* Where DMC members could not attend, their places should be taken by

members of the MC.

- \* Consideration should be given to ensure that the delegation includes women and black delegates.

- \* A list of the names would be compiled by mid-day on 24 March 1992. A mandate to finalise this was given to the Chairperson.

#### 5.4 Nedcor/Old Mutual Scenario Exercise:

- 5.4.1 It was noted that Nedcor and Old Mutual would be meeting on the evening of 23 March 1992 to finalise their presentation. The Secretariat would report the findings of this meeting to the DMC.

### 6. Representation from the Ciskei

- 6.1 Mr Ramaphosa joined the meeting. He was welcomed and thanked for his attendance.
- 6.2 The two principal parties, Dr Kayser from the Ciskei and Mr Ramaphosa from the ANC, were given speaking rights and addressed the meeting. Mr Meyer of the SA Government also addressed the meeting.
- 6.3 The chairperson requested that the Ciskei Government and the ANC meet during the day to discuss the matter and report back to the DMC at 17h00.
- 6.4 It was reported to the reconvened meeting that the Ciskei Government, ANC and SA Government had agreed to have another tri-lateral meeting.
- 6.5 The three parties concerned, the ANC, the Ciskei Government and the SA Government, may raise the matter with the DMC and the MC if necessary.

### Adjournment

The meeting adjourned at 10h30 and reconvened at 17h00.

SS Ripinga apologised that he would not be able to attend the meeting at 17h00.

### 7. Working Groups

#### 7.1 Coordination of Working Group progress and Preparation for Codesa 2:

It was agreed to arrange a meeting between two members of the Steering Committees of Working Groups, the Secretariat and the Chairperson of the DMC for 24 March 1992 at 16h00 to 17h00.

#### 7.2 Drafting Sub-Committee:

The following was agreed to:

The drafting sub-committee would consist of two components:

- \* The rapporteurs from each Working Group.
- \* Experts skilled in drafting and with due regard to specialised fields.

The Secretariat, with the help of Z Titus, is to identify experts and make recommendations to the DMC.

7.3 Response to Working Group 5 : Letter from WGSC 5:

The DMC chairperson still has to meet with the 2 persons who signed the letter.

8. Chairperson's report

The Chairperson's report was noted.

9. Women's Sub-Committee proposal (Addendum A)

The document submitted by the Secretariat was approved with the following changes to point 5.:

"5. Decision-making mechanism:

- 5.1 The Standing Rules adopted at CODESA 1 shall apply to the deliberation of GAC (Codesa Gender Advisory Committee).
- 5.2 Where no consensus or sufficient consensus is reached, minority reports may be filed."

10. Media

10.1 Marketing

It was agreed that there is a need to market Codesa so that the public can feel part of Codesa and get an insight into the negotiation process taking place in Codesa. The Secretariat is to look into this matter and submit recommendations as soon as possible. It was suggested that a full-time person to facilitate the process may be required.

10.2 Media Leaks

It was agreed that Codesa should interact with the media more frequently and openly to project Codesa in a positive light.

11. Reports of MC Sub-Committees

11.1 Sub-Committee on the Participation of the Zulu King and other Traditional Leaders at Codesa

- 11.1.1 It was agreed to employ a person to summarise the submissions of this sub-committee.

11.1.2 It was agreed that the fee for experts should be negotiated between the expert and the Codesa Administration.

11.1.3 It was agreed that travel and accommodation expenses of Traditional Leaders making submissions would be met. They would receive no fee for their presentation.

11.2 Sub-Committee on the Declaration of Intent:

A report made by Dr Mdlalose was noted.

12. Other Business

April Break:

It was agreed in principle to have no meetings of Codesa for the week beginning 13 April. Codesa meetings would then resume on 21 and 22 April. This issue is to be finalised on Monday 30 March 1992 at the meeting of the MC.

13. Agenda of Management Committee

The draft agenda of the meeting of the MC was approved with the following addition:

"April Break" was inserted as point 9.1.

14. Next Meeting

The next meeting of the DMC will be held after the MC on 30 March 1992. It was agreed that no agenda would be drafted for the DMC meeting.

**CODESA GENDER ADVISORY COMMITTEE (GAC)****1. Composition:**

- 1.1 GAC shall be composed preferably of women.
- 1.2 Each participant in CODESA shall nominate one person to serve on GAC.
- 1.3 Substitution shall be allowed.
- 1.4 GAC shall be free to determine mechanisms by which the chairing of its meetings shall be effected.

**2. Terms of Reference:**

- 2.1 CODESA is committed amongst other things towards the creation of a non-sexist democracy.
- 2.2 GAC shall look into the Terms of Reference of each of the Working Groups and advise on the gender implications thereof.
- 2.3 GAC shall look into agreements arrived at in Working Groups and decisions of the Management Committee and advise on their gender implications.

**3. Status of GAC:**

- 3.1 The GAC shall be a Sub-Committee of the Management Committee (MC) whose primary function shall be to advise on the matters specified in items 2.2 and 2.3.

**4. Functioning of the GAC:**

- 4.1 The exact manner in which the GAC shall perform its advisory function shall be worked out by discussion and agreement between the GAC and the DMC. Such modalities shall include consultation between the GAC and the Steering Committees of each of the Working Groups.

**5. Decision-making mechanism:**

- 5.1 The Standing Rules adopted at CODESA 1 shall apply to the deliberation of GAC.
- 5.2 Where no consensus or sufficient consensus is reached, minority reports may be filed.

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)

**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 regionale 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)

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 Freelance Historian.

Looking forward to a favourable response.

Yours sincerely

*Atvan Wyk*

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*



THESE ARE DRAFT MINUTES, AS APPROVED BY J ZUMA, AS MANDATED BY THE CHAIRPERSON. THEY ARE CONFIDENTIAL. THEY ARE RESTRICTED TO MEMBERS OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE, THE DAILY MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE AND THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE. THEY ARE STILL SUBJECT TO RATIFICATION BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE AT ITS NEXT MEETING.

DRAFT MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE PARTICIPATION OF THE ZULU KING AND OTHER TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN CODESA HELD AT 08H00 ON WEDNESDAY 18 MARCH 1992 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

PRESENT: TJ Mohapi (Chairperson)  
FT Mdlalose  
MJ Mahlangu  
NJ Mahlangu  
J Zuma  
J Slovo  
TT Matanzima

G. Hutchings (minutes)

1. **The Chairperson's opening remarks**

The chairperson welcomed the members and thanked them for attending the meeting. The members were reminded of the amount of work that still had to be done.

2. **Apologies**

2.1 NJ Mahlangu, J. Slovo, J Zuma, apologised for their late arrival.

2.2 CW Eglin sent apologies.

3. **Agenda**

The agenda was adopted with no additions.

4. **Ratification of minutes of the previous meeting**

The minutes of 3 March 1992 were ratified with the amendment that MJ Mahlangu had apologised and had not been present at the meeting.

5. **Matters arising**

5.1 Expenses with regard to persons giving evidence:

5.1.1 A fact sheet on "Financial Assistance to Participants in the Subcommittee on

## SUBCOMMITTEE ZULU KING, TRAD. LEADERS/18 MARCH 1992

5.1.1 Participation of Zulu King and Traditional Leaders" was distributed to members.

5.1.2 It was noted that the Administration will carry transport and accommodation expenses (copy attached).

5.1.3 With regard to experts, a decision is still awaited from the Administration.

5.1.4 It was confirmed that the expenses of a maximum of six delegates would be covered.

5.2 Addendum A as referred to in the minutes of 3 March 1992 was distributed to members.

5.3 Timetable of oral submissions on 18 and 19 March 1992:

5.3.1 The chairperson requested members to read through the schedule on the time of submissions and the schedule of each delegation.

5.3.2 Dr FT Mdlalose made a plea to the members of the subcommittee to allow the IFP to present their submission, if such a submission was deemed necessary, after the other submissions had been presented. It was agreed to ask the Inyandza National Movement to present their submission when the IFP was to have presented its submission, to accommodate the IFP request.

5.3.3 It was agreed that where delegations had more than six members, the advisers could be allowed to attend the presentations, under special circumstances but would not be given speaking rights.

5.3.4 In respect of the Transkei delegation, it was agreed to allow their seventh delegate, Mr CS Manona, who is an expert, to present in their submission. It was agreed that an extra fifteen minutes would be added to the allocated hour for the Transkei, which would save the subcommittee allocating a separate hour to Mr CS Manona as an expert.

## 6. Procedure for oral submissions on 18 and 19 March 1992

6.1 It was agreed to first welcome the delegations and then inform them of the mandate of the subcommittee. The Terms of Reference of the sub-committee would also be read out.

6.2 Each delegation would have an hour with which to make their submissions. The subcommittee would then put questions to the delegation. If there was still time remaining in the allocated hour, the sub-committee would try to summarise the submissions presented.

6.2 It was noted that no decisions regarding the submissions would be made as the submissions were to be presented to facilitate the gathering of evidence.

6.3 It was agreed to remain flexible on the point of procedure.

## 7. Paramount Chief Sandile

7.1 The letter from Paramount Chief Sandile of the Ciskei to the Codesa Management Committee (on page 8 of pack distributed to members) was referred to.

## SUBCOMMITTEE ZULU KING, TRAD. LEADERS/18 MARCH 1992

- 7.2 In terms of the above letter the following was agreed to:
- 7.2.2 that this sub-committee is not mandated to facilitate in the solving of problems in different regions;
  - 7.2.3 to be flexible as far as this delegation from Paramount Chief Sandile from the Ciskei, was concerned and give them a hearing, if time allowed, as this sub-committee had been mandated to gather as much evidence as possible;
  - 7.2.4 that the delegation sent officially by the Ciskei would still be given a hearing;
  - 7.2.5 no preferential treatment would be given to either delegation as this sub-committee did not want to get caught up in the problems of the region;
  - 7.2.6 to make an exception and cover the expenses of Paramount Chief Sandile's delegation
  - 7.2.7 to encourage both delegations from the Ciskei to sort out their differences and try and come back as one representative delegation

## 8. Submissions

- 8.1 It was noted that both verbal and written submissions had been requested by the sub-committee.
- 8.2 If the sub-committee required delegates, who had presented written submissions to come in and give oral representation, they could request it.
- 8.3 It agreed to meet on 19 March at 08h00 to read through all the written submissions and make decisions regarding the evidence in the submissions.
- 8.4 It was noted that traditional leaders not included in delegations were not bound to make submissions in any form.
- 8.5 The following submissions were made:
  - \* Document from Samuel Morwagaabusi II Mankuroane (Paramount Chief of Balthaping-Taun)
  - \* Document from NJJ Oliver on Representation of the Zulu King and (other) Paramount Chiefs/Traditional Leaders at Codesa
  - \* Document from MN Ramodike on Presentation of Evidence and Statement by the Leader of The United People's Front

## 9. Next Meeting

The next meeting of this sub-committee will be held on 24 March 1992 at 17h30 to 19h30.

The meeting adjourned at 10h00



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."





# 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

2/.

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 :-

- Ye 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".



