MEETING OF THE FACILITATING COMMITTEE ON 5 MARCH 1993

#### FC/503 18HO00

(tape very very faint - hard to transcript i.e. tape 1 of 2)

### MR NGUBANE (CHAIR):

Thank you ladies and gentlemen, the brief is that we look at the decision making processes and agree on this so that they can present it together tomorrow and be adopted as part of the Agenda, and then we can start the debate so I just wanted to ask what is the position as

far as the present process was concerned. We stopped the assessment of the present situatio  $\boldsymbol{n}$ 

resolution, as far as my interpretation of it is, resolutions were being handed in, but this was

not finalised, debated not settled, we are still dealing with amendments to resolution and we

are dealing essentially with Transkian resolution. Thank you.

### MR MEYER:

Mr Chairman may I just suggest that was part of my notion and we actually tackle first of all the question of a decision making procedure for this meeting as well as for the plenary and secondly that we then decide on the resolution suggested or proposed by General Holomisa amended as well as a separate amendment by Mr Webb.

### MR GORDHAN:

I am just wondering Mr Chairperson we should give ourselves an opportunity to in a sense organically evolve the decision making process. In other words, letâ $200\231s$  discuss the resolution

first. As I understand it, there are no substantive differences in the various amendments t hat

has been put forward. And I believe that if we are actually serious about getting multi-par ty

negotiations off the ground, multi-lateral negotiations off the ground, then we must be able

within the next half an hour find each other on what is an imminently simple resolution charging with the responsibility or telling the public that we are ready to start with mult i-

lateral negotiations. So I urge that we first discuss the question of finding common ground on the resolutions and letâ $200\231s$  see whatâ $200\231s$  the actual differences amongst us. I believe that we

must actually confront the reality that we will have to learn to co-operate somewhere along the line and the decision making processes and in  $ita^200^231s$  definition it is also going to require our

cop-operation. So in some third time let me say it my proposal is that we inversely order if Meyer will accept that and give ourselves and opportunity to find consensus on this resolution. If we do, then we have created an interesting platform for us to move ahead, if we don $a\200\231t$ , then I believe we face a very serious crisis Mr Chairperson, because the decision

about the decision making process is going to be all the same fate as this particular issue

In other words, we wonâ $\200\231t$  be able to decide how to decide. I think we should first give

ourselves the chance to discuss the resolution and  $ita^200^231s$  various amendments. Thank y

# MR NGUBANE:

Thank you.

### MR DE JAGER:

Mr Chairman, I have have got trouble in discussing the resolution  $la\200\231$ ve put up my name for

as a speaker Iâ\200\231ve sent it forward. I havenâ\200\231t has the chance to address the session and I'd

actually forwarded a written amendment. And I know other people forwarded their names in order to take part in the discussions I donâ $200\231t$  think we could say that the resolu

tions for the

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amendment on the resolution could be finalised and it may even be that somebody could come with a fresh new amendment we donâ $200\231t$  know. So I donâ $200\231t$  think we can disc uss the

resolutions tabled at the moment and say that  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \leq 31$ s final and we should see whether we can reach

a consensus on that because there could be other amendments or other resolutions. I think  $wea\200\231ve$  the only thing that we really can discuss is the procedure and see whether we could

solve the problem of decision making.

### MR LANGLEY:

Mr Chairman, I think the thing I want to say first I think that is when we had this meeting this morning we agreed on the agenda and there was a point on the resolution. I kept quiet because as far as I was personally concerned on that point that my delegation would have abstained there and we would have said it in the plenary session that we did not that but I thought I was an absolute minority there so I didn $200\231$ t state that point. So I think that we must

to have just to agree here amongst ourselves that as far as the agenda is concerned we have that point on the agenda resolution. Now, I donâ $200\231t$  agree with Mr Gordon if he says that this

is a very simple resolution and that we should meet each other there. It has got nothing to do with the resolution. As far as I am concerned I  $don \hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31t$  want to discuss the resolution now,

that  $200\231$ s one point the content of the resolution to decide on that at this stage. I, on the point

plenary session. I do not even think that the Chairman can entertain the resolution if the mechanism has not been determined in which way the resolution will be dealt with. In which way the resolution (mumble) that is point no.1. Point No. 1 is Mr Chairman as far as the mechanism is concerned, we re looking for a mechanism not only with this resolution, but with all the others. Secondly, as far as this resolution is concerned as far as I am concerned

Mr Chairman it almost contains a declaration of intent. And  $la\200\231m$  not going to be dra wn into

a declaration of intent at this stage Mr Chairman that  $\hat{a}$  200\231s point 2. Point no. 3, is a s far as this

resolution is concerned, it is actually anticipating tomorrow  $200\231s$  agenda and I don  $200\231t$  want to

participate in tomorrowâ\200\231s and I donâ\200\231t want to be part of a action which ant icipates an agenda.

As far as  $la\200\231'm$  concerned we must go through the the agenda and at the end of that a genda

Mr Chairman, we can pass the resolution. And I say with due respect I know I offended General we have know each other since for a long time  $wea\200\231re$  actually friends but he is a

mischievous chap Mr Chairman, he is and I am not going to let him get me by means of a fonk stock and tie my stout tie myself to his plans Mr Chairman we are wide apart as far as our approaches to the dispensations of South Africa is concerned. So that is my point, I think there should have been (mumble) straight forward Mr Chairman, I have problems (mumble) we have to dissolve things as they come I cannot, this is my problem with the resolution and I have a principle problem with the solutions that take place.

## MR RAJBANSI:

Sorry, just one point of clarification Mr Langley would you therefore say you are challenging that point on the agenda item resolution.

### MR LANGLEY:

As far as  $I\hat{a}\200\231$ 'm concerned Mr Chairman and I want to say this now in fairness to this committee, I perhaps slipped this morning. We were a bit new and and not acquainted with everything. I should have taken the point and that resolution was on the wrong point as far as the agenda was concerned. I would $\hat{a}\200\231$ ve preferred it right at the end. I can show you

actually notes I made where I took the resolution right down to the end of the paper. The

point I am trying to make gentlemen, is, in fact then you are amending the agenda (mumble) I think there are separate (mumbles) and I am sure we can get on (mumbles)

### MR LANDERS:

Chairman, this panel met this morning and at this morning  $200\231$ s meeting this panel took certain

decisions, important decisions. Now we must ask ourselves how did we take those decisions which need a mechanism. We took decisions this morning, I could have I could have said this on the phone and you would have disagreed. You donâ\200\231t disagree so what we have to ask

ourselves how did we take those decisions at this mornings meeting of this meeting. By consensus, I believe it was by sufficient consensus.

### SPEAKER:

Alright fine letâ\200\231s, letâ\200\231s leave it there for now. Okay,..

#### SPEAKER

Please I'm still in the chair.

### SPEAKER:

Mr Chairman there $\hat{a}$ 200\231s an item on the agenda and you already pointed out to this meeting that

the agenda has been accepted and adopted. The item on the agenda is the first item, the meeting will address tomorrow morning. It reads: Preparation for the resumption of multiparty negotiations. Now, if we look at the resolution tabled by General B. Holomisa, it deals

precisely with this  $Doesn \hat{a} \ 200\ 231t$  deal with anything else it is as clear as crystal so the question

I ask myself down on the floor there what seems to be the problem. Now, perhaps we should just go ahead and decide once and for all that we will now decide and take decisions based on sufficient consensus or as somebody rejected consensus. Letâ $200\231$ s get that out of the

way so that can know whether we are going progress at this forum or whether we $\hat{a}\200\231$ ve g

right back to our meeting in May last year. So that, or even before leave this forum and th en

say to the meeting  $weal200\231ve$  gone nowhere, that  $weal200\231ve$  gone nowhere.

# MR LANDERS:

Mr Chairman, just because people $\hat{a}$ 200\231s stomachs might give them problems and think and

just saying that food should be kept warm so that I donâ\200\231t have to worry about that, we have

something kept for us (mumbles).

### MR GORDHAN:

All I want to say Mr Chairperson 1 agree with Mr Landers (mumble)

# . Sorry I am suggesting that uum uum I am putting

forward that I would draw my earlier suggestions that resolutions be discussed first. I agr

that let  $\hat{200}231s$  discuss the decision making mechanisms first and get to the heart of the matter so

to speak. Thank you.

# MR RAMAPHOSA:

Chairman I rise and speak on the question of taking decisions uuh it does seem like

we have to decide on how we are going to arrive at decisions. It is a appropriate time to discuss this because we sought to take the decision that we were not able to uuh for a whole

range of reasons but more importantly because we hadn $\hat{a}\200\231t$  developed or evolved a meth od you

take decisions. In my input I did say that ordinarily it would take decisions on the basis of

consensus. That is general consensus like we did this morning when we met here we all agreed that we are we should come a facilitating committee and we all agreed that the agend a

that we have adopted should be the agenda. Everybody agrees so there is no problem, now if we were to adopt this resolution on the basis of general consensus, we wouldnâ $\200\231$ t have any

problem, but obviously you cannot always agree, even in a family in a committee of an organisations, there comes a time when we donâ\200\231t agree. Generally in our committees, executive committees and so forth decisions are taken by general consensus but sometimes you donâ\200\231t agree. So you then have to develop a method of taking decisions. It will be

instructive to state here that negotiations that have preceded this meeting, we did decide that

we will take decisions on the basis of sufficient consensus. But what is sufficient consens us

means. Sufficient consensus means that there is an absence of general consensus, so you then say uum is there sufficient consensus for us to take this decision or that decision. B ut

it also means that once you arrive at sufficient consensus you are essentially saying there is

sufficient consensus for us to take this decision and to go on despite the disagreement the reservation that people maybe expressing. So, in a process we are involved in, we would need to say what does sufficient consensus mean. 1 would say sufficient consensus should mean that if for instance the process is able to to on because we are involved in the process.

If the process can go on, with the support of those who support a proposal. We should say there is sufficient consensus to go on. But then again you also need to take into account those who do not agree and I believe that uum you should have appended to your sufficient consensus mechanism provision or recording the disagreement on the reservations of those who do not agree i.e. if people  $don \hat{a} 200 231t$  agree and they are not convinced of the proposal they

should be able to say we are not convinced and we do not agree and we hereby wish to record verbally our disagreement. Let me put practical examples and  $1\hat{a}\200\231m$  sorry  $1\hat{a}\200\231m$  going

to use uuh maybe a specific point which will relate to say for instance Bophuthatswana. We have agreed that we would it was desirable to have uuh the TBVC state recorporated to form the new South Africa. They said no, we wish to reserve our position. Now, sufficient consensus mechanism allows that to happen that we reserve our position. We are not walking out, but we are reserving it because we are an independent state, and in reserving it we are saying to you that we note the decision that you have taken but we reserving it. That means that you accept that you will not always agree. Of course they reserved it in a particular way when they said we will want to see the outcome and so forth. But nonetheless they made they sent a clear signal to all of us that they are reserving their position. What

it did not mean was not that because they  $don \hat{a} 200 \hat{a}$  agree, you cannot agree to the corp oration

of the TBVCâ\200\231s. It  $didna^200$ \231t meet uuh it meant that the process yes can continu e, but they are

reserving their position and indeed there are many other examples very better ones that one can cope uuh where you find that in a situation like todays resolution if you find that you know uuh it is supported and the same as the  $Webb \hat{a} \ 200 \ 231s$  proposal is not really you know does

not enjoy the support overwhelmingly. Without even counting heads, the Chairperson would be able to say I detect that there is sufficient consensus and I am not going to count but the

sufficient consensus and the process can go on with regard to adopting this resolution and it

would be that. Of course we also have the right to challenge the Chairperson fully and if we challenge it then that challenge can then be debated and then the situation can be clarified.

What all this means is that you accept that in a forum like this you cannot vote what is yo ur

vote worth. In my executive committee the ANC, I can vote. I can. My President can divide the house, because we are all equal and the method of electing all of us was equal a nd

uuh we arrived at the National Executive Committee through the same route, but we haven  $200\231t$ 

arrived here in the same route and we therefore have to use a different method of taking decisions uuh in the absence of general consensus and frankly with each new phase the matter  $\mathbf{r}$ 

if the process of transforming our country can go on if it can go on and I know that can be very subjective, but if it can move on without a support of say the government, without the support of uuh of any other party then we must accept that it must move on because we will not always agree on a proposal. I give another example, not everyone in the ANC for instance accepted that we should suspend the arms struggle, but there was sufficient agreement that we should proceed to suspend the arms struggle. So you can go through a whole range of life experiences uuh to finally find that the method of taking decisions in

forum like this, good and bad examples can be put forward and I may not have put the best examples, but you need to have a method which excludes voting because we haven $\hat{a}$ 200\231t ar rived

here through the same approach. So I will propose therefore Mr Chairman that we take decisions on the basis of full consensus and we try everything we can to have full consensus  $\hat{a}$ 

uuh in the way I think we were already attempting to do because we are dealing amendments and trying to motivate why uuh so and so amendment should be accepted and why so and so had change their changed their minds with a view for rising at full consensus. But if full consensus fails, we should accept that we should have a method called sufficient consensus, but at the same time we should allow those who donâ\200\231t agree to be able to put forwar d their

reservation and their objections. But in the process we move on we should accept that there is sufficient support consensus to move on. Thank you sir.

### MR CRONIJE:

On this matter, I fully agree with Mr Ramaphosa has said, but I want to take it even furthe  $\mathbf{r}$ 

the search for consensus and sufficient consensus goes even beyond the methodology. It goes to the climate in which we need the attitude in which we need, I think we all realise one way

or another our country is desperately in need for a solution. We must as leaders solve thes  ${\sf e}$ 

problems in in the shortest possible time. We argue today why it is necessary. So we have all committed ourselves, and I am delighted to see so many participants here who have never been before meeting around this table. I think that is a very encouraging development. We have even reached consensus over a period of time to allow participants on whoâ $200\231s$  presence

here we argued in the past, so the fact that we have accepted that we can only solve our problems through a process of negotiations, also means if we are serious that we will have to compromise and every party every delegation organisation are saying by participating in the process I will have to give up some of my views. Certainly on principles one accept a party or a organisation who will come forward to say that is as far as I can go. I can go n

further. But I think Mr Chairman in that spirit and without repeating what Cyril has said  $\boldsymbol{w}$  e

need to seek solutions in a positive constructive manner not counting heads not trying to force our way our view down the throats of others but looking at how we can achieve the kind of consensus that will not only take our process forward, but that will encourage the confidence of the people of this country in the meeting of leaders here. 1 think it is important that we uuh set an example of how people can negotiate and how we can progress without glossing over differences we will certainly have hard and difficult debates on many issues dividing us. But certainly we come to the motion or the the problem we are dealing with whether there is a desire to continue multi-party negotiations or whether thereâ\200  $\231s$  a desire

to continue multi-party negotiations or whether there  $\hat{a}\200\231s$  a desire to get on to get to multi-party

negotiations I think implicitly we all said yes this morning when we approved the draft agenda. We all said yes so it $200\231s$  it $200\231s$  merely a question of finding the right words and if a

particular word is for some reason or another disturbing to a delegate or let us look in a spirit of of a spirit in which we seek solutions to find a way out. I donâ\200\231t think t his is really

a major problem we can overcome it easily and must look at the wording. Let us spell out our desire to go forward, to get together in a forum where we can negotiate as soon as possible uuh to take our country out of the position  $weal200\231re$  in and to find lasting s olutions and

on that basis on that principle let us say consensus is the yardstick. We will seek consens

sufficient consensus if we canâ200231t get it, we continue seeking it and work it out her e and will

compromise and we will find that consensus to take us forward. And if eventually and true negotiations we collide head on well we will deal with it then. But for the moment I really  $dona^200^231$ t think that what we have in front of us is of such a nature that it should hold us back.

Thank you.

### SPEAKER:

Thank you, Mr Chairman. I think it is common knowledge that where negotiation the only principle is consensus and no any other method. Otherwise the moment you come to voting the question of consensus should be the rule and sufficient consensus is discussed. I think we don $a\200\231$ t even have to waste time to recommend this is the rules for decision making that  $a\200\231$ s

that. I donâ\200\231t think we should crack our skull and say what should be the rules. I m ean this

is negotiation and being negotiations just because you know having consensus allows any person who is different come up and review and perhaps just recording that that if he is no  $\mathsf{t}$ 

feeling very strong and his spirit is not happy that is (mumbles) it might be that objectin  $\mathfrak q$ 

seriously but if he would have put it otherwise. I mean if we are serious with negotiation then what we have decided the question not taking grievances well not grievances in the

sense of being grievant but certain matters which are very subsidiary they donâ $\200\231t$  da mage

your main views they are really just perhaps they would have brought a slight (mumbles) of your points. If the main thing you $200\231$ re main thing is there and we must agree that we cannot

allow that. I would propose at this stage that we adopt the question of that we decide by general consensus the alternative sufficient consensus that we adopt that and I suggest we move on. Thank you Mr Chairman.

### SPEAKER:

Mr Chairman, I donâ\200\231t want to repeat what the others have said but if  $ita^200\231s$  s ubmerging at this

meeting at what Mr Ramaphosa is saying and what Dr De Villiers is saying it appears that the consensus uuh of this meeting I want to endorse their point of view. I just want to sta

Mr Chairman that if you look at CODESA 1 & 2, there were many difficult moments but in the end decisions were able to be reached again through the spirit of compromise and als

consensus. What we have to bear in mind at all times is a spirit of the exercise and the purpose of the exercise. The fact that diverging political groups, we can obviously mean th at

there is going to be differences of opinion, there is going to be disagreements, there is going

to be conflicts and it is entirely for this purpose that we need to thrash out the farest p ossible

sub agreements which can have a greatest acceptance and ultimately we got to judge the decision on the impact we have on the community. If that decision enjoys or has a impact of providing the greatest good for the community, then that decision must stand the test of time and that decision must be accepted. And compromise sometimes very often the word itself implies that you cannot always get what we want. And some where along the way we have to give in here and there. One way Mr Chairman of I want to suggest of getting out

of the difficulty of rebuffing the solution is that we should have instead of the resolutions

coming from the floor, because very often we mix up the message and we tend sometimes to look at the not at the content of the resolution but the source of the resolution and I want

to suggest that you form a little resolution committee where we invite resolutions from the floor. Let the resolutions then be examined, refined, thrashed out. Let that resolution come

out of the resolution committee and not be tagged to any particular party etc., and let tha  $^{\scriptscriptstyle +}$ 

then that resolution be debated openly in the forum. In that way to some extent we take away the political heat from the debate and we can look at a resolution merely on the merit s

of the resolution and of the contents of the resolution and I go along that unless we compromise and we accept it the very fact that we sit here that there is going to be compromise and also implied that there is going to be consensus on some issues we can get 100% consensus on some issues we may not get a 100% we might get 78 % consensus. But if there is sufficient consensus and it is difficult here to prescribe who exactly is sufficient

consensus that is again to be judged by the mood and the feeling and also the exact differences of opinion sometimes you might not differ on a minor point and that the party might want to maintain its a 10 point control over the particular issue which will not make any major impact. We can understand that parties also have nothing to go that far and further and therefore they could register their reservation and uuh ultimately it is the in terest

not to walk away from the process but compromise and build in as far as possible safe guard  $\mathbf{s}$ 

as far as the (mumble) is concerned. I go along and we must take decision on the basis of sufficient consensus and examine that decision on the impact it has on the community but I am going to suggest also that we form a small committee (mumble).

### SPEAKER:

Mr Chairman, much has been said and I wouldn $\hat{a}$ \200\231t like to belabour the issue. I think from

various speaker we have heard a number of very constructive ideas and suggestions. It appears to me that we have general consensus that that is the best way to resolve the decis ion

making process. And I want to say something else, Mr Ramaphosa has referred to the fact that come from different constituencies and and different backgrounds and it is inevitable because we donâ $200\231$ t have the regular contact with each other that we have certain perceptions

and certain ideas. I think one very important thing that Dr Rajah had said is the fact that sometimes the mere personality or the group for which a specific person comes, clouds ones evaluation of the merit of the proposal that is (mumble) that is unfortunate and I donâ\200  $\231t$  think

that any of us would  $200\231$  ve been here around this table. None of us would have been around

this table if there was not a genuine and a sincere wish to end the difficulties and proble ms

that is facing Southern Africa today. And let us accept that there are concerns and that th

are sensitivities and let us have the patience to accept that and not just make a down and force our way through. Because I think if we can do at the spirit and have a little bit of understanding, I think that would help because not only do you want a solution, but we want a solution with which the peoples can identify and support and do it in such a way that we don a 200 231t antagonise but that we group and that we join and we unite the people togethe r. We

also have to accept Chairman, that when we pass resolutions we must make those resolutions as brief as possible because the more flowery it becomes the more the likelihood that there is some phrase or some word that is going to cause a difficulty to someone to some constituency or to some problem. Maybe in the end, the resolution itself the decision you take is acceptable to all. But whether we think its stupid that that should be so, doesnâ 200

remove the fact that it is a human reality. Call it a frailty call it a weakness. So what i  ${\bf s}$ 

important is the resolution. The fact that there is a need and what all the problems in the

country are for instance is well known to us we all repeated it today. We well aware of it the country knows it because we are living their experiencing it every day. What they want is the resolution and the solution to the particular problems and if we can do it in that particular spirit and with that particular attitude then I think we will make a great deal of

progress a lot quicker than any other way. I support there are other issues I wish to speak to but it is not on the agenda now and I support the proposal the suggestion that it is resolved

by the process of consensus.

#### SPEAKER:

Chairman, I want to deal with the (mumble) matter of the (mumble) (mumble)

#### SPEAKER:

A bit closer to the mike please.

### MR MATTHEWS:

Can you hear me now. Now Mr Chairman we have said 1. General Consensus – that  $200\231s$  how we try to arrive at decisions, then we have said if not sufficient consensus I dislike the expression myself because consensus means sufficient consensus it is a bit of a totology. B

 $\frac{1}{200}$  an invention of the South African Negotiating culture and there it has crept into the

language and even if it does no good with the correct english usage I think it  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31$ s no w

acceptable. What however, 1 would have liked to add is a kind of institutional fall back position if we cannot achieve consensus or sufficient consensus both of which are really rulings by our Chairman, would it not be possible for us to provide a return to the Facilitating Committee as a means of endeavouring to create consensus in other words I am trying to say that we should always provide we should in these things provide for a fall back.

We didn $a^200^231$ t have the fall back at Codesa and that was a mistake that when we had dead lock

we then didnâ\200\231t have a fall back position as to what happens when thereâ\200\231s a deadlock so I

would just add that no necessarily as a kind of form but as part of trying to find consensu s

that we should be able to go from plenary back to facilitating committee to try to find consensus. All of the other matters of the resolution I would just like to say this, for so me

of us the issue is as simple as it seems uuh portrayed. The uuh has been quite a long perio d

of uuh 9 to 10 month (mumble) end of CODESA during which we have told people over and over again that before multi-party negotiations are resumed certain things would have to be put right would have to decide on the status of CODESA agreements we will have to decide all deadlock breaking mechanisms we will have to decide on various methods which were regarded not necessarily as conditions, but we should in its obstacles do the resumption. What I am afraid of here we take a resolution, everybody shouts hurrah weâ\200\231ve at least started

on the first resolution and then we get the next day a series of (mumble) of all those matters

which people feel should be disposed of before we can resume our multi-party negotiations. (mumble) sour the whole uuh apparent consensus that was achieved or a resolution we said we have committed to say resumption of multi-party negotiations. Well  $ita\200\231s$  a risk t hat

perhaps we uum have to take but I just draw attention the that fact that we will pass a resolution and then find that we are faced with all kinds of conditions which are being attached to the resumption of multi-party negotiations. This would have overcome if in fact we were going to have all the resolutions grouped together at the end so that they form a package deal. But the way the agenda is going at the moment, appears to suggest that at the end of the discussion of the current situation we have a resolution and all that I would sa v

that it is not the end of the resolution, there are other resolutions which some of us

(mumble), but for the moment I would say that we have (mumble, mumble)

#### SPEAKER:

Thank you very much Mr Chairman I have listened very carefully to the various persons who spoke here (mumble) in a sense (mumble) various multi-lateral forum or CODESA (mumble) people have spoken (mumble) hindsight from experience that  $200\231s$  why I didn  $200\231t$  w ant to speak

right at the beginning I first wanted to hear what they say for they have such experience which I  $don \hat{a} 200 231t$  have (mumble, mumble) that you should always try to put the idea of the

general consensus upfront cause the moment you come with a percentage upfront we can try to lobby and just get that percentage and donâ $200\231t$  care about the rest what the rest s ay is I I

think that I will be able to push my idea too on the right percentage. That is not good and that has implications for the atmosphere of the meeting itself. If you put your idea of a general consensus there you are giving the Chairman of the meeting the Chairperson of the meeting very clear indication that you would like it to consider everybody view and try to reconcile its views therefore you also give everybody in the meeting a very clear signal th at

they should try and listen carefully and attentively to what the other person saying cause  $a^{\pm}$ 

the end of the day the Chairman will try and reconcile all your views, very good. Then of course if you cannot reach that you come to the question then of what we call here sufficient

consensus. Only problem that I have here and here I will first pause and ask the question again maybe another implications of their disagreement may not may be of such weight really that the country would be set back and the whole process. The question arise then the criteria as to how do you arrive at that because if Mr Matthews tell me that he represents

very significant constituency and they will not take kindly to this and that will really put the

whole thing back in the country. Somebody else might say no I donâ $\200\231t$  think so. So we must

(mumble) the criteria by which we can substantiate now that really these guys are really uu h

it is very important that we must be carried along for the future of the country so that I just

need to be clarified from the experience of people here so that I can get a very clear indication then I want to come back once  $I\hat{a}\200\231$ ve got their  $it\hat{a}\200\231$ s their explanation. Ok. Thank

you.

## SPEAKER:

Mr Chairman, surprisingly enough I wanted to support Mr Ramaphosa and Dr De Villiers Uum if fact I was going to ask the question whether there is anybody against it against consensus sufficient consensus because I was of the opinion that the house was at one with that information Mr Alexander has raised a point perhaps I should leave it to (mumble) can this reality of sufficient consensus (mumble) indicate itself plus maintaining (mumble).

### MR EGLIN:

Mr Chairman, I have no doubt that the consensus sufficient consensus with all its defects i  ${\sf s}$ 

the only one that can work an issue a numerical thing which you can say each vote what a certain value and come to the decision so it has to be the only way in which we can move forward. I must make very clear I donâ $200\231t$  believe that consensus or sufficient consensus can

work unless there is a common purpose. It assumes a common purpose and within that common purpose you can have degrees of difference. If there isn $a^200^231$ t a common purpose forget

it it wonâ\200\231t work. I just say that I think in respect of this conference and the way ahead we

actually wanted to find a common purpose. I want to come to General Holomisa $\hat{200}231s$  resolution

and where I am totally supportive as a resolution I think I must jump the gun to the extent that it wasn $200\231$ t an assessment of the colour situation it was where we go from here a nd

therefore perhaps if we had more time to think about it and cast away which was less styled towards the general that we would want it to be we might have found common ground. I want to put this in a positive way that the facilitating committee is not here merely to re solve

problems. The Facilitating Committee is here to take positive action to see that the objectives of this conference are achieved, not just here to salvage the wrecks we are actually

here to guide the conference. To that extent I believe that a (mumble) tomorrow when we are dealing with the way ahead, there has to be a resolution and I will take the very minimum core out of General Holomisa $200\231$ s resolution to resolve to commit ourselves to the

resumption of multi-party negotiations within next month that  $200\231s$  the Government  $200\231s$  suggestions

in order to move as speedily as possible to cause the drafting and the adoption of the new constitution. To my mind is what this conference is all about and in fact if you canâ $\200$  to get

agreement that is what we really want to do, then we wonâ $\200\231t$  get consensus on al 1 the

details. I would suggest that this committee either collectively agree with the Drafting Committee must first of all draft their single line commitments to the purpose of this congress conference. And secondly, there should be another resolution in draft form to say in order to achieve this, the following steps should be taken. And the steps that have got to

be taken in order to achieve this should be outlined not as final steps but as a basis for framework for discussion. Perhaps you can allow some free discussion first of all and at a very early stage tomorrow to give structure to the conference, I believe there has got to be

a decision in principle and we want a multi-party conference as soon as possible to get on with the negotiation process. And after that, we have got to start talking about what are the

practical steps that should be taken to be of effect and I donâ $\200\231t$  believe that that can be left to

well meaning generals who come along with resolutions or well meaning lawyers it is actually the function of this committee to see that those resolutions are available. (mumble)

what was the point? (mumble) so you are about to. say this also deals Joe Matthewâ\200\231s problems in CODESA we had to back positions everyday. Boy, we came for plenary sessions to the Management Committee to Working Groups to Technical Committees to whatever they were and they we resolved it, we went up and up and in the end it collapsed. And I must say the final breakdown I donâ\200\231t have a view that this was capriciousness on either side. I actually believe the breakdown had to take place, I donâ  $\200\231t$ 

think the level of trust against the background of the violence and what was happening in the

country was sufficient to strike a deal that was going to stick. That  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \leq 31$ s my view and it was

at point in which how ever hard you worked, given the time constraints you weren $\hat{a}$ 200\231t going

to reach agreement. Be that as it may, the effort you $\hat{a}\200\231$ ve gone through these fall ba ck

positions. The test of whether sufficient consensus ruling is correct is whether the proces  $\boldsymbol{s}$ 

continues. The fact, it isn $\hat{a}$ 00\231t an argument from the Chair if the process continues a nd in fact

the ruling was right, then the process doesnâ\200\231t continue that the ruling was wrong a nd thatâ\200\231s

an assessment and  $I\hat{a}\200\231d$  say that if in certain circumstances key organisations specially in areas

which are special concern to them then they cannot continue in the process and then the process becomes aborted. So the test of whether the Chairman was right or wrong is actually whether the process continues or not.

### MR ALEXANDER:

Can I just say something quickly? I hear what was said by Mr Eglin that the (mumble) is whether the process continues so you go for you you have a breakdown and the breakdown proves that uuh you uuh you were wrong. But we cannot afford to have a system that works like that. We breakdown in you proof right to the breakdown and then you have to restart again  $1a\200\231m$  sure maybe somebody else can clarify me, but better than Mr (mumble)

#### SPEAKER:

Mr Chairman, can [ try?

### MR EGLIN:

Mr Chairman you asked me for an explanation on sufficient consensus. I would argue you must always see that it doesn $\hat{a}$ 00 $\hat{a}$ 0 break down.

### MR CHAIRMAN:

Sorry, we still have other speakers, so this issue is still going to be (mumble).

#### MR MEYER

Can I say something on a point of order in this regard Mr Chair?

#### MR CHATRMAN:

Ok, alright.

### MR MEYER:

Just as a response just to try and help at this point. May I suggest as far as Mr Alexander  $\frac{3}{200}$ 

question is concerned whether we should not accept the principle of sufficient consensus an  $\ensuremath{\mathtt{d}}$ 

in the time leading upto the start of the multi-party forum actually discuss this further a nd

work out if possible a clearer definition that will satisfy us all in terms of what it real ly

means. Because if we are going to or if we have to elaborate on the details of this tonight we are going to spend all the time on that and I would suggest that is not profitable.

### MR CHAIRMAN: \_

With due respect Mr Meyer you know the Chairperson presence tomorrow we have a problem if their differences are on the floor. I am just saying from that point of view Iâ  $200\231d$ 

hope that would be be under sedate it sufficiently (mumble, mumble)

### MR ALEXANDER:

Something on a point of order Mr Chairman. The point of order what I thought we would be doing here is look for a mechanism for reaching agreement in this planning conference. First of all we my still uuh uuh we mention that it is good enough for the planning conference and maybe  $ita^200\231s$  not good enough for the multi-lateral conference and we can still

look into how we will run the multi-lateral conference. Let us get through this planning conference,  $Ia\200\231m$  looking at  $Ia\200\231m$  looking at this mechanism agreed upon here it was for this

purpose of this meeting primarily was if we are going to look at the question of the of the multi-lateral conference then we have to go into some of the issues of that conference so i  $\mathsf{t}$ 

might be too much for us to do that at the moment.

# MR GORDON:

Mr Chairperson, on a point of order (mumble). I am just wondering that this is a fairly pivotal issue and if you can we ask your indulgence to hold on with your list of speakers a nd

letâ $\200\231s$  help each other clarify this if youâ $\200\231d$  agreed. Can I just speak briefl y from my own

experience and that is that in addition to saying that sufficient consensus means that the process goes on, I think we need to accept that thereâ $200\231s$  a quantitative and a qualitative

element to it. And secondly, there  $a \geq 00 \leq 31$ s a contextual element to it uuh tied to the quality. Let

me explain what [ mean. In the first instance quantitative means what  $a \geq 00$  the numbers looking

like? Uuh and sometimes that  $\hat{a}$  200\231s sufficient to say there is sufficient consensus. Yet at other

times, more often than not we have to look at the quality of the decision we are taking the quality of the consensus that we actually have and whether that will time the process forward

and you can  $a \geq 00 \leq 31$  attach numbers to it and then reinforced by my third point, which is that it

depends on the contents in which you are going to judge on this matter. It depends on what is the kind of position you are taking, what is the kind of issue that you are debating and with what $200\231$ s the next step that you are likely to go into. And taking giving having regard

having regard for all those factors, the Chairperson will have to uuh give guidance to a meeting and say yes sufficient consensus or  $ita^200^231s$  not time for sufficient consensus  $ita^200^231s$  time for

a tea break and where you can hope to get more consensus before you can get on with the matter. Now, we can illustrate this privately for Mr Alexander, but I think for me those are

some of the elements of this whole process.

### MR CHAIRMAN:

Thank you Mr Gordon, Mr Alexander?

#### MR ALEXANDER:

uum I understand what he says, there must be discretion that $\hat{a}\200\231s$  what he says in actu al fact.

But discretion itself has boundaries and what I am saying that I would have liked maybe the other people understand better that  $200\231$ s why Ia $200\231$ m Ia $200\231$ m calling on this h ouse to be patient with me

because we donâ $\200\231t$  have the experience that you have and we are saying that even discretion

even legally discretion has boundaries and you can even say that a person is not using his discretion properly. But I want to know that uuh from precedent that uum you experience I want so that I am able to to to report our comrades very clearly on this matter as to uum why. I know that you canâ $200\231t$  have a hard and fast rule for example, in the PAC itself when

we take decisions on certain issues we say, well you just need a simple majority. When it comes to another issue such a meaning of constitution we say 75 % majority but we donâ\200  $^{231}$  we

are not hard and fast on every issue. Look at the issue, what is it how much do you need and so on. Obviously you would probably say that you would follow that type of approach.

## MR RAJBANSI:

Mr Chairman,  $la\200\231m$  very thankful to Mr Eglin and Mr Gordon. Uuh I was also thinking of

the consensus for qualitative and quantitative point of view. To a certain extent  $I\hat{a}\200$  \231'm may

disagree with what Mr Rampahosa had indicated. Of course he touched on the value of each parties (mumble). We all know uuh CODESA 1 and CODESA 2 the Government indicated

that if they donâ\200\231t agree at CODESA they donâ\200\231t feel abound. Letâ\200\231s be practical if the ANC

 $doesn \hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31t$  support a decision you can get sufficient consensus but it effects the process. If the

IFP doesn $\hat{a}$ 200\231t agree it affects the process. The Government has agreed in my opinion it affects

the process, so it depends on certain factors. Now I want to very strongly what Mr Eglin had indicated for the sake of progress. Firstly I support that there should be sufficient consensus. [ think Mr Eglin pointed out in a way that in respect of today $200\231s$  resolut ion

summing up today $\hat{a}\200\231s$  deliberation, what General Holomisa motion is actually dealing w ith

 $tomorrow \^a \ 200 \ 231 s \ discussion \ and \ I \ support \ what \ Mr \ Eglin \ had \ indicated \ that \ we \ just \ need \ a \ simple$ 

statement, and he is uuh one of the few nice men we have around here. And we can suggest to him to give us a draft. Secondly, Advocate De Jager De Jager Advocate De Jager indicated that there is a likelihood that more amendments are too follow tomorrow, and I want to take the suggestion of Dr Rajah where there was a different version from Dr Matthews, is that we cannot go to the floor of the house tomorrow and start debating

amendments where we we $\hat{a}\200\23111$  definitely not be able to complete our task, and my proposal Mr

Chairman is that in the absence of the Drafting Committee, the best forum to deal with the different amendments that can a 200 231t wait to be proposed is the Facilitating Committee.

did listen to Dr Matthews very carefully and he gave a very important signal that is why it is important that the Facilitating Committee must examine all proposals, especially in respect

of tomorrowâ\200\231s deliberation because I want to quote him. He indicated that there was the

view that certain obstacles will have to be addressed before multi-party talks are going to be

resumed. Right, that is the signal I received, then I believe that there is a need for intense

discussion and the only forum where we can have the intense discussion is to give the Facilitating Committee tomorrow also the role of being a Drafting Committee. Thank you.

### MR SLOVO:

Mr Chairperson, I think we $\hat{a}$ 200\231ve got full consensus on sufficient consensus and I thin k we

ought to dispose of that question uuh I think it is there so I donâ $200\231t$  want to add my own

support for this idea. I think we should just issue rule now it $\hat{a}\200\231s$  an example of how we

reached consensus, but I I haven  $\hat{200}$  1 finished. I I want to come then because I then w ant to

say something about Colin Eglinâ\200\231s point on the resolution so I donâ\200\231t want to mix it up. Letâ\200\231s

letâ $200\231s$  dispose of this. Have we disposed of this?

### MR CHAIRMAN:

I have listened to other people talking about a resolution not working. Ok,  $Ia\200\231$ ve listened to

other people mixing the concerns as well as the Draft Resolution, and  $Ia\200\231$ ve also listened to

Mr Matthews and other parties. I feel that there might be some issues which they like to raise which leads us to the fact that perhaps we have a defect in the whole agenda. Because when we drafted this resolution  $ita\200\231s$  not that our items were alone, but we look at the

resolution and then the next the topic preparation with the resumption of multi-party negotiations so if the people now feel that they are still are (mumble) then we need to examine that. We saw that we were jumping the gun we purely based our resolution on the fact that the next one the preparation having the same (mumble) various (mumble). That  $a \ge 0$ 

what I think that (mumble) (mumble) that perhaps we are discussing the topic here on the wrong item. Do we need resolution after this today preparation the question we must ask ourselves. We are at one now about we talking about adopting sufficient consensus and consensus is accepted. Now there is the issue raised by the General whether in fact the resolution should have come at this stage. Anyone.

## MR SLOVO:

Mr Chairperson, I was in the middle dealing with that, if I just could just continue becaus  ${\sf e}$ 

I believe there unless  $it\hat{a}\200\231s$  on the question of consensus. No. Well then

## MR ALEXANDER:

I just wanted to house put it on the record that that in the PAC we heard what was said so far, but we are not yet happy that we donâ $200\231$ t have clear defined boundaries for discretion in

regards to contextual qualitative and quantitative uuh aspects of the issues before us so t hat

the Chairpersonâ\200\231s must have and the house must be clear on this matter. UUh I just wanted

to mention that because we feel very strongly although we look at CODESA from a distance Mr Chairman, we feel that it failed on this one of the important aspects on which it collapsed. Thank you Mr Chairperson and I just to put a further note I sense that everybody

#### MR CHAIRMAN:

I was going to say to him canâ $200\231t$  we take the fact that we have discussed so long to get to

consensus that in fact that is the most important element in the time available for discuss ions.

If we do things under pressure it will be even more difficult to reach sufficient consensus but

given time sufficient time we can actually get consensus. I, I just (silence).

#### SPEAKER:

As I was thinking to our comrade the feelings of PAC that although it is not stated in norm

procedures when followed when there is a battle or perhaps a party feeling very strong on a point why the others (mumble) The question of having a bi there is normally there bilaterals in other words the matter can be adjourned and then bi-laterals be held with the party

which is having a difficulty with the point or parties concerned. Only after all those mechanisms bi-laterals, or even sub-committees talking about it a lot of things being done and then if there are still difficulties then the (mumble) can say did that. In other words not

only that Chairman just decided that it is a qualitative or quantitative matter and donâ  $\200\231t$ 

disregard it, but it will still go in other words if the party depending on the feeling of the

party conduct particular aspects they feel strong about it then will go to bi-lateral and s  $\operatorname{ub-}$ 

committee and whatever mechanism which might be of help perhaps try and bring facts together. Thank you.

### MR SLOVO:

Mr Chairperson I understood this issue had been settled and I think we should note uuh Mr Alexanderâ\200\231s need to have further clarification but for the moment I think youâ\200 \231ve ruled as I

understand it. Can I then go on on this question of how we emerge from today  $a\200\231s$  input.

Seven minutes from each us, who  $200\231$ s purpose it is to uuh it was in the case of all of us to

relate to what we came here for and that is a planning conference, planning for what? Planning to get negotiations going whatever you call it whether it is resumption or commencement we $\hat{a}\200\231$ ve all come to this conference for that purpose and it is impossible to

conceive Mr Chairperson of us emerging from the discussion today without some resolution which uuh says we must begin the negotiation process on a multi-party basis within a certain

time. Uum, I feel that  $wea\200\231ve$  got to go beyond what Colin has suggested uuh I feel that

because we are not just talking to ourselves we are talking to the country and uum it is tr

we can just say well we have decided that there be a multi-party conference to discuss negotiations and that would encapsulate the main element of the of the decision. But I thin  $\boldsymbol{k}$ 

that we have got to bear in mind as  $la\200\231$ ve said that we are talking to the country as a whole

and if you look at the resolution that was uum tables by General Holomisa  $I\hat{a}\200\231m$  not stuck to

every word in it, but I donâ\200\231t believe there is a single person here that disagrees with

paragraph 2 - 6 certainly from the inputs that have been put in that that were put in today

The first second paragraph just says that we are individually and collectively we regard ourselves as bearing responsibility for the wellbeing our our country. We all accept this,

want sec third paragraph say that the problems of our country should be resolved peacefully through a process of negotiation we all accept that and the fourth paragraph says realising that the economic upliftment of the country depends on the peaceful resolution of the country  $200\231$ s problems particularly the constitutional inpass. We all accept that, we a

gree the

next paragraph that the resources of the country need to be preserved, to be developed and improved for the benefit of all people in this country and for future generations. We all agree with that. And then we all accept the next paragraph, that all the people of this country and the whole community of nations will look at us to move the country forward

towards a non-racial, non-sexist and fully democratic future. There  $\hat{a}\200\231s$  not a single person

here who could be heard to say I donâ\200\231t agree with it. So maybe itâ\200\231s itâ\200 \231s uuh Rowanâ\200\231s point

that he made earlier and by the way I  $didn \hat{a} \geq 00 \leq 31t$  move this resolution so the question w ho puts

it forward, would you say sometime influences people.  $I\hat{a}\200\231m$  not saying you are influenced

by it. Ya, that  $200\231$ s right or maybe I should have kept quiet, but essentially essentially I don  $200\231$ t

mind people having a look this even in preparation for tomorrow. Some people from this committee and having a look at their exact words, but he essence of it must there it is not enough just to say we the party organisations and administrations assemble now commit to the resumption of multi-party negotiations. I think we would look silly in the eyes of the country and particularly in view of the fact that the resolution has already been tabled in plenary session before the whole media and on television and then these things on which we all agree have been deleted. People are going to ask themselves a question what is this crowd doing? What can we expect from them? So there must be some kind of motivation, not a uum based on suggestions for amendments which could well be there, but on the substance the Colonel on what he said here it seems to be we must recommend as a facilitating committee that it should go it should be tabled more or less in this form. Sub ject

to any specific amendments that people can motivate for me. Thank you Mr Chairperson.

#### MR LANGLEY:

Mr Chairman, itâ $\200\231$ s almost just on a point of order. Can I canâ $\200\231$ t we first con clude the matter

of (mumble). As far as order is concerned have we now dealt completely with the matter of consensus and sufficient consensus. So are we are we finished because there  $a \approx 200$ 

I donâ $\200\231t$  want to be difficult, but there are people who come along and at a certain stage they

want to shove the goalposts but then they start talking about material consensus or substantial

consensus. Is that all included under sufficient consensus that  $200\231$ s one point I want to know

before we get off because I I think we must try and really get clarity on this particular thing.

# MR CHAIRMAN:

Mr Langley, Mr Slovo moved that we rule on this and that is what happened there was no objection. So except for Mr Alexander $\hat{a}$ 200\231s reservations. I think we have disposed of that.

## SPEAKER:

Agreed. No, no, Mr Chairman I was going to speak on whether it should be material or substantial but we have now agreed it is sufficient.

## MR CRONIJE:

Chairman, you see, I have pleaded that we make the resolution. The message to the country is that all the political organisations and parties believe there is only one way that is negotiation. If we put in all these things, you will get another group that says yes, we ag

to multi-party conference. Then the recruitment must stop, training must stop, arms caches must stop, violence must stop all things must stop and subject to that we stop. We we do it and those are very important issues to many people who are involved in the process and I am not saying it is this one $\hat{a}\200\231s$  fault and that one $\hat{a}\200\231s$  fault, but you see

where we go when you start qualification, qualification, qualification. We spent the whole afternoon and the best part of the morning telling the world and telling the country withou t

exception, why believe there is a need for coming to a multi-party conference and resolving the problems. We talked about the economy, we talked about violence, we talked about tension, we talked about all things. That message went as clear as anything speaker, after

speaker, after speaker. The count the people living in the country experience it day after day

that is the very reason why we are here so letâ\200\231s get on with the resolution saying letâ\200\231s have

the conference and get on with it. That  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \leq 31$ s all I am saying, because the more we put in , the

more you $\hat{a}\200\23111$  start having objections from all people about phraseology and about words.

Make it simple, make it short and letâ\200\231s get on with it.

#### MR NGOBENI:

 $Ia\200\231m$  really going to be talking about this resolution, but uuh I (mumble, mumble) in terms

as if  $a\200\231'm$  just trying to criticise this.  $Ia\200\231m$  saying, this resolution has a lot of merit, but it also

raises a number of questions here and there. I think the fact from what has come out here even in this discussion and what has come out from other discussions outside here. It is clear

that there are a number of other resolutions that may still come up, so the matter cannot b  ${\sf e}$ 

easily resolved now. I think when you have got too many issues mentioned, sometimes you took it into a bit of a mess. Take for example the issue of realising that the economic upliftment of the country depends on the peaceful resolution of the country $200\231$ s problems, then

you want to see particularly the constitutional crisis. Some other people might say well th

also, but I would have thought particularly the issue of violence, particularly the issue of this

that and the other. So what I am trying to say is when you have got a resolution that takes too many things in, it makes itself a little vulnerable and I believe that some people that are

looking into just this, so that there can be a simpler (mumble) fairly comprehensive way forward resolution. So let it not all depend on just this resolution, further there a>0 \231s a lot of

hesitation among the people this afternoon on what at face value (mumble) fairly simple and straight forward on which you all agree Mr Slovo has just followed, donâ $200\231t$  agree with this

 $don \hat{a} \geq 00 \leq 31t$  agree with that and when of course you at it face value we all agree on that, but there

are these things that come out in certain people want to punch this out so can we not Mr

Chairman allow ourselves just another look at this together with other resolutions that I k now

that are being framed outside and then culd we get onto it tomorrow. Sometimes at CODESA sorry one must refer to that, sometimes at CODESA we had the problems of rushing things over and then draaaging something by the hair and then it tomorrow that difficulties but when we go still like this as we are doing now a compromise and an understanding that takes everybody for a good straight forward consensus is what we are her

for and that I am sure we (mumble) tomorrow morning. Thank you.

## MR CHAIRMAN:

Mr Chairman, on a point of order. This resolution was not referred to the (mumble) and really we were only asked to deal with the procedure regarding the taking of decisions.

### MR MEYER:

No, Mr Chairman, I am afraid on the point of order I that was my particular proposal on the point of order that I made in the house. Namely, that the three aspects were to be referred to this Facilitating Committee and I mean the question of the procedural uuh aspect as well as the resolution of General Holomisa as it as it has been amended together with the resole the proposal of Mr Webb and that on that basis that the house decided.

### MR RAMAPHOSA:

Mr Chairman I would agree with what Mr Meyer says uum I wouldâ\200\231ve thought that you know after resolving the decision making process or mechanism we would spend a little bit more time looking fairly closely at this resolution. Uum and Dr Mdlalose had a raised a

particular problem which is paragraph one, two, three, four - more economic upliftment uuh because he thinks that you may include other matters. Shouldnâ\200\231t we look at things l ike that

right now. Let us look at it I believe it $\hat{a}200\231s$  important it $\hat{a}200\231s$  imperative that we should record

progress tonight. Weâ\200\231re not trying to drum it down the throats of people, but uuh I I think

it would be good tomorrow we should meet fairly early and look at how the process goes forward in line with what uuh Mr Eglin said in terms of the steps that need to be taken and with your permission Mr Chairman, with your permission, I think the first thing we should do is to look at the heading what we want to call this resolution and I would think that uu h

it would basically be agreed that we are looking at the need for resuming negotiations and these have been taking place in a whole variety of ways and we should agree that that shoul d

be it and thirdly the very first paragraph, we are parties we are organisations we re administrations uuh if you like we can say we are governments. We are assembled here in this multi-lateral planning conference and this is what we are deciding and we set it all o

and set out the reasons why we are taking the decisions that we are taking and we are conscious of the responsibility we have for the well being of our country we wouldn $\hat{a}$ 00 \231t have

come here if we didn $200\231$ t have that responsibility and I don $200\231$ t think there  $200\231$ s a problem with that.

There  $a \geq 00 \leq 31$ s no problem also with the third paragraph and everybody has actually endorse d that

there is no problem. Resolve peaceful without violence.

### MR CHAIRMAN:

Sorry can we not have some approach to this?

### MR RAMAPHOSA:

But here I would have thought we setting well general the general principles the general statements that we are talking about we want to resolve the problems of our country peacefully through the process of negotiation. Of course, of course there is the question of

you know violence, uuh the recruitment and arms and so forth, but is that not detail that  $\mathbf{w}$ 

will deal with during the course of the negotiation process, because the general statement what we committing ourselves to is that we will resolve we would like the problems of our country to be resolved through peaceful process of negotiation peacefully. Then once you have said that then we look at as we go on with the process of negotiation what that finall  $\nu$ 

means and I wouldâ\200\231ve thought that you donâ\200\231t want to it to through the detail and set that all

out. uuh, on economic upliftment that is general everybody wants economic upliftment and that too depends on the peaceful resolution of our countries problems and what underpins everything is the peaceful resolution of the problems. And Mr Chairman I think that should be the process that we follow in terms of dealing with this resolution and uuh let us see if

words that people may want to add cannot be accommodated and to this end Mr Chairman to this end, I would say that maybe what we need to do is to appoint a small resolutions committee as Mr Eglin proposed. A small resolution committee of say four people or so. They work on the resolution we go and have supper, we give them some form of punishment they can have supper as they work and once we have finished supper we reconvene and we hear their report. Sometimes  $ita\200\231s$  better to work in smaller groups, wea $\200\231s$  n ow agreed to

work in a smaller group which is the full Facilitating Committee away from mass meeting we were having. We have reached consensus and sufficient consensus. We can choose a committee in any event that  $200\231s$  how resolutions are usually dealt with. And that comm ittee

would then take into account the views that people have to express and report back to us before we depart for the night and tomorrow morning we reconvene to deal with how we handled the day and how we handle whatever resolution may come forward and also relegate

that to a resolutions committee. That is my proposal.

### MR CHAIRMAN:

Thank you Mr Ramaphosa. The only thing I would like to point out there are some resolutions here other than the Generals  $\hat{a}$  200\231 resolution. Mr Webb oh Mr Alexander sorry

### MR ALEXANDER:

Thank you very much Mr Chairman, you $\hat{200}231$ ve thrown me off balance with your last statem ent.

so I think

#### MR CHAIRMAN:

Just raising it you know raising it for Mr (mumble) consideration

### MR ALEXANDER:

 $\mathsf{Ok}$ , maybe then  $\mathsf{Comrade}$  Chairman what I was going to say uum has relation to the resolution of the  $\mathsf{General}$  for us . If there are others too then it is better that we take them

all to this sub-committee that Mr Ramapahosa proposed and I donâ $\200\231t$  have to make my comments NOw.

### SPEAKER:

I will support that Mr Chairman.

### SPEAKER:

Mr Chairman, can I just ask are we dealing now with a proposal of Mr Ramaphosa because I would like to support.

### MR CHAIRMAN:

Yes we will come to that and I hope that Mr Webb or Mr Eglin and Mr Cronje will address the proposal for consideration.

### MR SLOVO:

W all agree?

### MR CHAIRMAN:

The ratification the ratification by Dr Rajah.

### DR RAJAH:

Mr Chairman, you set the procedure now for handling these three resolutions. Now I presume there are going to be more resolutions coming from the floor tomorrow.

## SPEAKER:

I withdraw my amendment in favour of Mr Eglinâ\200\231s.

## SPEAKER:

Chairman, if they address the issue I just want to also ask that that they address this issue

that we cannot take three resolutions and address it out of context. You $\hat{a}\200\231$ ve got to take the

resolutions all the resolutions and then see what we can make make out of this resolution because we cannot handle three resolutions piece meal.

#### SPEAKER:

Mr Chairman, are we has a sub-committee been

### MR CHAIRMAN:

But thereâ\200\231s a follow up

### MR SLOVO:

Mr Chairperson,  $1\hat{a}\200\231$ ve got a point of order. There $\hat{a}\200\231$ s been a proposal that a s ub-committee be

appointed to work overnight on the draft resolution and any other resolutions that are placed

before it we will then have an opportunity when we meet tomorrow morning to have a look at the result of that sub-committees work. We are not bound to accept and I think we should decide that one way or the other.

### MR CHAIRMAN:

Well, that is the point of what is accepted. Mr Rajah, very earlier on had promised had proposed a resolutions committee. We are not going into the substance substance of that because I though there was still a lot of issues to be canvassed. That was the only reason why I was

### MR CHAIRMAN:

On that issue Mr Chairman, what I was saying is Dr Rajah was asking a question that other people might come out with more resolutions tomorrow then what? But what is important is we are all here right now all parties are represented here, I mean we we can even indicate

if we have some other resolution that we were to bring, if not then we deal with those which  $\ensuremath{\mathbf{h}}$ 

are here.

### MR MEYER:

Mr Chairman, thank you I would I would more or less on the same line as Mr Mahlangu has taken now,  $I\hat{a}\200\231d$  like to add to Mr Ramaphosa $\hat{a}\200\231s$  suggestion that we see to it we are all here

as leaders of our various delegations in this Facilitating Committee and we see to it that all

possible proposals on the resolution on the subject of the resumption of whatever it may be called of multi-party negotiations. We fed into the sub-committee say before tomorrow at 8.0.clock so that a sub-committee can meet at 8.0.clock have a look at all proposals, see how

they can reconcile everything and report back to us as a Facilitating Committee by  $9.0.\mathrm{cloc}$ 

but can I add to that Mr Chairman, because I think this is important if they can also look at

the possibility of further procedural effects following a possible resolution. Say for inst ance

what I am trying to say, say for instance on a basis on reconciling the various proposals t here

could come out of it a particular proposal that we resume multi-party negotiations whatever it is going to be called within the next month then I would suggest that the sub-committee could also possibly look at how procedural matters can be attended to as far as further progress is concerned, so that they could advise the Facilitating Committee on those, it would

enhance the process and make life easier for us, it would assist the Facilitating Committee and in that regard I know that Mr Eglin already has some suggestions.

# MR CHAIRMAN:

There are people on my list ladies and gentlemen consensus that this (mumble) Could I ask the people who have their names here. Mr Webb, Mr Eglin, Mr Cronje Mr Bayle what is the position.

### SPEAKER:

I only wish to speak if the proposal is not carried sir.

### MR EGLIN:

Mr Chairman, I was going to read out a resolution on how (mumble) into the sub-committee that  $200\231$ s quite easy. I do wanted to say this that one thing is to say that this conference resolves

wants to have a new MP or whatever it is MPC. But I think it $\hat{a}\200\231s$  somehow has to say w ith

the pick up with what Mr Meyer has said. It either has got to say these are the steps that have got to be taken to get effect of that decision or else it has got to say to charge this s

Facilitating Committee with the responsibility of deciding upon and implementing the steps

(tape ends)

FC/50318h00