



N E L S O N M A N D E L A
F O U N D A T I O N

Living the Legacy

HASSEN EBRAHIM COLLECTION

Paper based collection

Inclusive dates: 1984-1998

Bulk dates: 1992-1994

ACQUISITION: Donation of Hassen Ebrahim

ACCESS: Restricted

LANGUAGES: English and Afrikaans

PHOTOGRAPHS: none

VISUAL MATERIALS: yes

PRINTED MATERIALS: yes

SIZE: 22 archival boxes

COPYRIGHT & PERMISSIONS: various

RECORD GROUP: Nelson Mandela Foundation

SERIES: Associated Papers

ACCESSION NO: 2015/51

PROCESSED BY: Lucia Raadschelders

History

Hassen Ebrahim, a lawyer and political activist handed over his personal collection of papers and some digital records from 1991 when he began serving as National Co-ordinator of the Negotiations Commission of the African National Congress (ANC) and later as a member of the Transitional Executive Council. His collection includes the papers documenting the negotiations for an Interim and then Final Constitution for a post-apartheid South Africa. He dedicated the collection to his three grandchildren Lily, Imaan and Mohammed because “they represent our future and the reason why we embarked upon our struggle to make this world a better place to live in”. He also dedicated them to two soldiers from the ANC’s armed wing Umkhonto weSizwe, Prakash Napier and Yusuf Akhalwaya. It was important, Ebrahim said, to honour the two freedom fighters who were killed on 11 December 1989, two months before Mandela’s release and shortly before South Africa embarked on negotiations for a new dispensation. He did so “to remind ourselves of the price they paid then so that we today can enjoy the freedoms we have.”

Scope and Content Note

The collection exists mainly of documents from 5 organisations and is organized accordingly:

1. The ANC Negotiations Commission 1991-1994
2. Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) 1992
3. Multi-Party Negotiations Process (MPNP) 1992-1993
4. The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) 1993 - 1997
5. This series consists of documents from Hassen Ebrahim 1984-1998

Inventory

1. AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) NEGOTIATIONS COMMISSION AND RELATED MATERIALS 1991 – 1994 Folder 1 - 21

Box 1 ANC

Folder 1

1.1 ANC Working documents of the Negotiations Commission

1.1.1 Volume 1 – Agreements

Contains the standing rules for CODESA, the terms of reference of the working groups and the committees reports
125 p, undated

Folder 2

1.1.2 Volume 2 – Working Groups 2 & 3

Working group 2: General principles of the constitution – ANC and NP/Government Submissions and Government Summaries of all the submissions on specific topics
Working group 3: Interim Government: ANC and NP/Government Submissions
236 p, 11/02/92 – 6/04-92

Folder 3

1.1.3 Volume 3 – Working Groups 4 & 5

Working group 4: Future TBVC states with ANC and NP/Government Submissions and NP/Government Summary of Submissions on TBVC states (TBVC States were Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei)
Working group 5: ANC & NP/Government submissions
102 p, 6/02/92 – 22/04/92

Folder 4

1.1.4 Volume 4 – Working Group 1: Completing Reconciliation Process, Continuing the Security and Socio-Economic Process, Creating a Climate and Opportunity for Free Political Participation

Terms of reference and some notes, Sub- groups 1: ANC and NP/Government submissions, Sub-group 2: ANC submissions, Sub-group 3: ANC and NP/Government Submissions
218 p, 25/01/92-27/04/92

Folder 5

1.1.5 Volume 5 – Miscellaneous

224 p, mostly undated but possibly all from 1992

Folder 6

1.1.6 Volume 6 – Bilateral – December, 1992

Items on the agenda are: Time frames, Elections, Independent Media Commission, Interim/Transition Government, Constitution Making Body, Transitional Executive Council, Free Political Activity, Multilateral negotiations, unilateral restructuring, 204 p

Box 2 - ANC continued

Folder 7

1.1.7 Volume 7 – Documentation for Bi-lateral 22, 25, 26 January, 1993

Items on the agenda: Transition to Democracy Act, Sub-Committee Electoral Matters, Electoral Bill, Media matters, TEC, TBVC's, IEC
87 p, 22-26 January 1993

Folder 8

- 1.1.8 Volume 8 – Documentation for Bi-lateral 10 – 12 February, 1993
Items on the agenda are: Constitutional Principles documents, election related matters, media related matters, regions and local government, TBVC states, 47 p

Folder 9

- 1.1.9 Volume 9 – Technical Committee Reports
Issues covered are: Constitutional matters, Fundamental Rights during the Transitions, Transitional Executive Council, Independent Electoral Commission, Independent Media Commission, Repeal of Repressive Legislation, Violence reports and Resolutions
328 p, second half 1993

Folder 10

- 1.1.10 Minutes of Bi-Lateral with the regime– December, 1992, 77 p

Folder 11

- 1.2 ANC Briefing Documents, 11 June 1992
Draft Agenda, Terms of Reference, Transition to Democracy, Policy Guidelines, 60 p, 25 – 31/05/92

Box 3 – ANC continued

Folder 12

- 1.3 ANC Briefing on the Patriotic Front Conference, 25-27 October 1991, Malibu Hotel Durban
Speech Walter Sisulu, background papers, notes on a Bill of Rights, issue of *Peace, Freedom and the Vote!*, conference folder, 64 p, undated and October 1991

Folder 13

- 1.4 Submissions to the Commission of Inquiry regarding the prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, Pretoria, 8 September 1992; the Department of Local Government and National Housing of the ANC, 58 p
1.5 Submissions to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the violence in hostels. Submissions from several parties, 57 p, July-August 1992

Folder 14

- 1.6 Summit between the South African Government and the African National Congress, 26 September 1992, World Trade Centre, Kempton Park
Opening addresses, Record of understanding, ANC draft record of understanding, ANC submissions on the question of violence, Programme of implementation: release of prisoners, hostels Goldstone supplementary report, correspondence between FW de Klerk and N Mandela, Amnesty, folder in which the documents were kept, 65 p

Folder 15

- 1.7 Report of the Commission of Enquiry into complaints by former African National Congress prisoners and detainees, August 1992, submitted by Advocate Gilbert Marcus to the President of the ANC, 76 p

Folder 16

- 1.8 Motsuenyane Commission of Enquiry Report of their investigation into allegations of human rights abuses and alleged disappearance amongst members of the ANC, 20 August 1993, 195 p

Folder 17

- 1.9 ANC Health Policy Dinner
Policy statement, Report to the ANC from the Health Department's investigation into proposals for Schools of Public Health, 2 issues of Mayibuye, folder of the dinner, 1992

Folder 18

- 1.10 Documents from 1994 pertaining to legislature: proposed constitutional amendments; Legislative authority of provinces; Section 126 of a provincial legislature; Provincial Finance and Fiscal Affairs-draft 2, 28 p

Folder 19

- 1.11 Report Elections Strategy Workshop, 25/27 September, 6 p
1.12 ANC document: Negotiations – a strategic perspective, 29/11/92, 8 p
1.13 Ballot count NEC elections; handwritten and printed copy, undated, 3 p
1.14 Paper *The Radicalisation of Black Politics in South Africa, 1900 – 1961*, 58 p
1.15 Incomplete paper on the issue of voters, undated, 23 p
1.16 Thokoza report of a meeting with members of the Self Defence Units (SDU), 14 January 1993, 2 p
1.17 Fundraising banquet: lists for sale of tickets, undated, 6 p
1.18 Address lists, undated, 9 p
1.19 list with 'key tasks for the next two months', undated, 1 p

Box 4 – ANC continued and CODESA

Folder 20

- 1.20 The ANC Constitution, undated, 9 p
1.21 Constitutional Principles, Policy Guide ANC, undated, 14 p
1.22 7 Steps to Democracy, an ANC Guide to the Negotiations Process Part 1. March 1993, 27 p, 2 copies
1.23 Conference '91 News, publication of the Department of Information and Publicity of the ANC, 7/07/91, 8 p
1.24 Correspondence pertaining to Mr Ibrahim's participation in the International Visitor Programme of the US Information Agency and brochure, March '94, 6 p
1.25 Handwritten page entitled 'list' with tasks to do, undated

Folder 21

- 1.26 Trust Lekgotla Consultancy Trust: documents pertaining to the setting up of the trust y Cheadle Thomson & Haysom, February '94,
1.27 ANC Negotiations Commission fax to the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) and Natal Indian Congress (NIC) with minutes of the Negotiations Consultative Forum held on 21/01/92, 11 p, very faded fax
1.28 NIC First report of Working Group V2 9/01/92, 6 p, very faded fax
1.29 Contact details ANC Laudium Branch Executive, undated, 1 page (printed on the back of the covering letter
1.30 Handwritten list with contact details, 4 p, undated

- 1.31 Document with structure CODESA, Declaration of Intent and Working the Assignments and Terms of reference of the different Working Groups; with handwritten notes and comments, undated, 16 p

1. CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA (CODESA) AND RELATED MATERIALS 1992 Folder 22- 25

Working Group 1 was responsible for the creation of a climate for free and fair elections, including access to the media, control of the security forces.

Working Group 2 was responsible for drawing up constitutional principles and guidelines for a constitution making body

Working Group 3 was responsible for considering and investigating transitional mechanisms i.e. an interim/transitional government

Working Group 4 was responsible for looking at the future of the TBVC States

Working Group 5 was responsible for process and time frames

Folder 22

- 2.1 Bounded copy with draft minutes of meetings of Working Groups 1 – 5 with addendums and recommendations, January - February 1992, 147 p

Folder 23

- 2.2 Press Statement of the ANC on the National Party's proposals for the Transition, 29 January 1992, 3 p
- 2.3 Letter and document from "Lawyers for Human Rights" to Mr Ebrahim with a "Declaration of Intent (Draft Legislation Proposals)" which serves as a guideline in respect of some laws which they felt ought to be repealed or done away with, on the grounds that they violate fundamental freedoms or are repugnant to what is considered to be fairness in the exercise of a legislative function or administration of justice. 14 February 1992, 12 p
- 2.4 Letter from the Transkei government regarding the participation of SECOSAF members in CODESA, 9 March 1992, 3 p
- 2.5 1 page document entitled *Attitude to the House of Delegates*, undated.
- 2.6 1 page *Claim for per diem allowance*, undated
- 2.7 Handwritten notes, undated and May 1992. One note is regarding Working Group 5 and why it should be dissolved, 4 p
- 2.8 Working Groups
- 2.8.1 Working Group 1: draft minutes, 24 February and 2 March 1992 10 p
- 2.8.2 Working Group 2: Document *Negotiations Consultative Forum* with Proposals on general Constitutional Principles, 12/16 February; draft minutes, 24 February and 2 March 1992, 27 p
- 2.8.3 Working Group 3: list delegates present at meetings, draft minutes 2&3 March 1992, 14 p
- 2.8.4 Working Group 4: draft Minutes 24 February and 2 March 1992, 14 p
- Folder 24
- 2.8.5 Working Group 5
- 2.8.5.1 Submissions by political parties regarding the tasks of this working group, including the establishment of sub-working groups, March 1992

- 2.8.5.2 Reservations by the Government of Bophuthatswana regarding its participation in CODESA, undated, 2 p
- 2.8.5.3 Letter of the Chairperson Daily Management Committee (DMC) to the Chairperson of WGSC5, 21 February 1992, 7 p
- 2.8.5.4 Documents from political parties regarding the workings of Working Group 5, February 1992

Folder 25

Working Group 5 continued

- 2.8.5 Draft minutes and documents of WG5, 20 January – 4 May 1992

Box 5 - Working Group continued, MPNP and TEC

Folder 26

- 2.8.5.6 Draft minutes and documents of the steering committee, 20 January – 4 May 1992
- 2.8.5.7 Draft minutes and documents of sub-committee 1, 24 February – 30 March 1992
- 2.8.5.8 Draft minutes and documents of the sub-committee 2, 9 & 23 March 1992

**MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS (MPNP) 1992-1993
Folder 27-29**

Folder 27

- 3.1 Submissions received by the Technical Committees of the Planning Committee: A - Constitutional Matters, 155 p, 12 May 1993
- 3.2 Submissions received by the Technical Committee on Violence, 94 p, 1992/93
- 3.3 Repeal of Discriminatory Legislation: Ciskei, IFP, ANC and Transkei, May 1993, 7 p

Folder 28

- 3.4 Reports of the Technical Committees to the meeting of the Negotiating Council to be held at 10:00 on Tuesday 25 May 1993, 91 p
- 3.5 Agenda and Documentation for the meeting of the Negotiating Council to be held at 08h30 on Tuesday 15 June 1993, 37 p

Folder 29

- 3.6 Meeting of the Negotiating Council on 10 August, Transcription of the debate on Constitutional Issues, 38 p
- 3.7 Meeting of the Negotiating Council on 11 August, Transcription of the debate on Constitutional Issues continued, 42 p

**2. TRANSITIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (TEC) 1993 - 1997
Folder 30 - 106**

Folders 30-42 contain documents from TEC meetings, folders 43 to 79 contain the document packs for Management Committee meetings and the remaining folders contain the documents from Sub-Councils

Folder 30

- 4.1 Employment contract Hassen Ebrahim, 28/01/94, 6 p
- 4.2 CV of Ahmed Jooma, 14/01/94, 5 p, severely faded fax EMBARGOED
- 4.3 TEC Filing System, undated,
- 4.4 Handwritten notes on sub-committees, January 1994, 10 p
- 4.5 Slide show and handwritten notes on the Interim Constitution, undated, 14 p
- 4.6 Notices and other memos of an administrative nature, January – April 1994,
- 4.7 Resolution no 50 adopted by the Council - Centres for the Convening of Provincial Legislature, 28 March 1994, 1 p
- 4.8 Resolution no. 52 adopted by the Council on the securing of free and fair elections in KwaZulu/Natal, 29 March 1994, 3 p

Box 6 – TEC continued

Folder 31

- 4.9 Memo's, minutes of meetings, documents, April 1994
- 4.10 Submission by the Freedom Alliance on the constitution, 19/12/93, 16 p
- 4.11 Letter of Lawyers for Human Rights on Pre-elections crisis in Bophuthatswana, 18/01/94, 10p
- 4.12 Constitution-Making in South Africa, Unedited 5th Draft 20 January 1997 Hassen Ebrahim
- 4.13 Miscellaneous documents

- 4.14 TEC meetings: agenda's, minutes and documents

Folder 32

- 4.14.1 Schedule of meetings, Jan-April 1994 3 p
- 4.14.2 First meeting of the Transitional Executive Council, 7 December 1993, bounded

Folder 33

- 4.14.3 Meeting of the Transitional Executive Council, 9 December 1993, bounded

Folder 34

- 4.14.4 Draft Agenda for the meeting of the TEC to be held on Tuesday 14 December 1993 at 12H00-14H00 in the President's Council Chamber, bounded

Folder 35

- 4.14.5 Draft agenda for the meeting of the Transitional Executive Council to be held on Tuesday 21 December 1993 at 18:00 in the President's Council Chamber in Cape Town, 82 p, bounded

Folder 36

- 4.14.6 Draft agenda for the meeting of the Transitional Executive Council to be held on Tuesday 11 January 1994 at 14:00 in the Saambou Building in Pretoria, 61 p, bounded

Folder 37

- 4.14.7 Agenda and Documentation Pack for the Transitional Executive Council Meeting held on Tuesday 18 January 1994 15:00, 97 p, bounded

Box 7 – TEC continued

Folder 38

4.14.8 Agenda and Documentation Pack for the Transitional Executive Council Meeting held on Tuesday 25 January 1994 14:00, 116 p

Folder 39

4.14.9 Agenda and Documentation Pack for the Transitional Executive Council Meeting held on Tuesday 1 February 1994 14:00, 99 p, bounded

Folder 40

4.14.10 Minutes of Sub-council meetings, 14 January – 26 January 1994 for TEC meeting of 1 February, published 27 January, Volume 2, 100 p

Folder 41

4.14.11 Minutes of Sub-council meetings, 28 January – 9 February 1994 for TEC meeting of 15 February, published 10 February, Volume 4, 496 p

Folder 42

4.14.12 Transitional Executive Council – Final Audit of Sub-council Work, 30/05/1994, 112 p

4.15 Management Committee of the TEC

Folder 43

4.15.1 Draft Agenda for the meeting of the Management Committee of the Transnational Executive Council to be held on Tuesday 21 December 1993 at 12H45 in the executive suite of the President's Council in Cape Town, 78 p, bounded

4.15.2 Agenda and Documentation Pack of the Management Committee of the Transitional Executive Council held on Monday 10 January 1993, 14H00, 99 p, bounded

Box 8 – Management Committee continued

Folder 44

4.15.3 Minutes of the meeting of the Management Committee of the Transitional Executive Council held on Monday 10 January 1994 and on Tuesday 11 January 1994 on the 22nd Floor of the Saambou Building in Pretoria, 123 p

Folder 45

4.15.4 Further Agenda and Documentation Pack for the Meeting of the Management Committee of the Transitional Executive Council held on Tuesday 11 January 1994, 13:00, 30 p

4.15.5 Agenda and Documentation Pack for the Meeting of the Management Committee of the Transitional Executive Council held on Tuesday 18 January 1994, 09:00, 73 p, bounded

4.15.6 Agenda and Documentation Pack for the Meeting of the Management Committee of the Transitional Executive Council held on Monday 24 January 1994, 12:00, 123 p, bounded

Folder 46

4.15.7 Documentation Pack on the sub-council work for Management Committee Meeting, 31 January 1994, Volume 2

Folder 47

4.15.8 Documentation Pack on the sub-council work for Management Committee Meeting, 31 January 1994, Volume 2, 286 p

Folders 48-49

4.15.9 Documentation Pack on sub-council work for management committee meeting, 7 February 1994, Volume 3, 457 p

Box 9 – Management Committee continued

Folders 50-51

4.15.10 Documentation Pack on sub-council work for Management Committee meeting, 14 February 1994, Volume 4, 525 p

Folder 52

4.15.11 Documentation Pack on the sub-council work for Management Committee Meeting, 21 February, Volume 5, 286 p

Folder 53

4.15.12 Documentation Pack on the sub-council work for Management Committee Meeting, 21 February, Volume 5, 286 p continued

Folder 54

4.15.13 Documentation Pack on the sub-council work for Management Committee Meeting, 28 February, Volume 6, 490 p

Box 10 – Management Committee continued

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4.15.14 Documentation Pack on the sub-council work for Management Committee Meeting, 28 February, Volume 6 Continued, 490 p

Folders 56-57

4.15.15 Documentation Pack on the sub-council work for Management Committee Meeting, 7 March 1994, Volume 7 Continued, 334 p

Folders 58-59

4.15.16 Documentation Pack on the sub-council work for Management Committee Meeting, 14 March 1994, Volume 8, 377 p

Box 11 – Management Committee continued

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4.15.17 Documentation Pack on the sub-council work for Management Committee Meeting, 21 March 1994, Volume 9, 672 p

Folders 64 -65

4.15.18 Documentation Pack on the sub-council work for Management Committee Meeting, 28 March 1994, Volume 10

Box 12 – Management Committee continued

Folder 66

4.15.19 Documentation Pack on the sub-council work for Management Committee Meeting, 28 March 1994, Volume 10 continued, 445 p

Folders 67-68

4.15.20 Documentation Pack on the sub-council work for Management Committee Meeting, 6 April 1994, Volume 11, 286 p

Folders 69-71

- 4.15.21 Documentation Pack on sub-council work for Management Committee Meeting, 11 April 1994, Volume 12

Box 13 – Management Committee continued

Folders 72-74

- 4.15.22 Documentation Pack on sub-council work for Management Committee Meeting, 18 April 1994, Volume 13, 409 p

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- 4.15.23 Documentation Pack on sub-council work for Management Committee meeting, 30 April 1994, Volume 15, 82 p

Folders 76-78

- 4.15.24 Documentation Pack on sub-council work for Management Committee meeting, 2 May 1994, Volume 15, 298 p

Box 14 – Management Committee continued and Sub-Councils

Folder 79

- 4.15.25 Finalisation of Sub-Council work – Provisional report * IT) Section 29(3) of the TEC Act to Management Committee on items on-going/not completed, 9 May 1994, 70 p (2 copies); including 1 p draft proposal
- 4.15.26 Internal Audit of Sub-Council work, undated, 35 p

4.16 Sub-Councils

Folder 80

4.16.1 General documents

- 4.16.1.1 Proposed Delimitation of decision-making in terms of section 7(3), January 1994, 15 p
- 4.16.1.2 Delimitation of decision making in terms of section 7(3), 3 different sets, undated, 14 p, 8 p and 5 p; dates are in the column 'action taken'
- 4.16.1.3 Several secretarial notes and memo's including job description, April 1993-April 1994, 16 p

Folder 81

4.16.2 Executive Summaries according to Sub-Councils and items arising

- 4.16.2.1 28 January 1994, 17H30, 12 p
- 4.16.2.2 7 February 1994, 12H14, 16 p
- 4.16.2.3 14 February 1994, 11H14, 8 p
- 4.16.2.4 18 February 1994, 11H53, 14 p
- 4.16.2.5 14 April 1994, 15H06, 18 p
- 4.16.2.6 21 April 1994, 13H08, 31 p
- 4.16.2.7 Undated, 9 p

4.16.3 Sub-Council on Defence

Folder 82

- 4.16.3.1 Tasks assigned by the TEC Act, 1993/94, 4 p
- 4.16.3.2 Handwritten notes on sub-council work, 18/1/943 p
Agendas and Minutes of meetings of the Sub-Council and supporting documents: 22 December 1993 (21 p); 2 January (6 p);

4.16.3.3 4 January (9 p); 5 January (3 p); 10 January (25 p); 12 January (22; 19 January (3 p); 4 May (3 p); Draft minutes of 6 May (54 p)
Minutes of meeting of the NPKF Command Council and supporting documents: 5 January (28 p); 7 January (10 p); 11 January (20 p); 11 May (10 p)

Folder 83

4.16.3.4 Memo re: Regulations governing the NPFF ito section 16(12) (g) of the TEC Act, January, 65 p

Folder 84

4.16.3.5 National Peace Keeping Force (NPKF) Personnel Plan, December 1993, 60 p

4.16.3.6 NPKF budget, January 1994, 16 p and dated 24 January – 24 p

Folder 85

4.16.3.7 Aspects that need to be determined by the Committee, undated, 9 p
Sections of the TEC Act, undated, 4 p

4.16.3.8 Audit of performance Sub-Council on Defence; Delimitation of Decision Making is attached, undated, 13 p

4.16.3.9 TEC Sub-Council on Defence, Interim Report on Finalisation of its activities, 2 May 1994, 4 p

Box 15 – Sub-Council on Defence continued, on Law& Order and on Finance

Folder 86

4.16.3.10 TEC Sub-Council on Defence Progress Report, 4 May 1994, 169 p

4.16.3.11 Basic ideas for police agencies, undated, 2 p

Folder 87

4.16.3.12 Memorandums from the Managing Secretary of the TEC and MC to the Sub-council on Defence, 21 January 0 21 April, 41 p

4.16.3.13 Memo to secretarial services, 3 May 1994 (2 p) and Memo with Status Report, 9 May 1994 (4 p), Minutes of 22 December 1993 (4 p), Report on IEC meeting, 1 March 1994, 4 p, and 1 p report on the state of the province of Natal re Elections and 6 p re security control (4 February)

4.16.3.14 Memorandums from the Managing Secretary of the TEC and MC to the Sub-council on Law and Order, 21 January – 21 April, 34 p

4.16.4 Sub-Council on Foreign Affairs

Folder 88

4.16.4.1 Agendas and minutes of meetings: 22 December 1993 (12 p); 10 January (11 p); 10&11 January (9 p) and report to Management Committee (4 p); 12 January (4 p); 20 January (2 p)

Folder 89

4.16.4.2 Sub-Council Foreign Affairs: Attendance at International Briefing in Brussels, 4 March 1994, 15 p

4.16.4.3 Annexures to the Report of the Sub-Council on Foreign Affairs: Overseas Working Visits of the Sub – Council, February - April 1994

4.16.4.3.1 Annex 1: Report on the overseas planning conference, consultations with Multi-lateral bodies and individual governments/organisations, 53 p.

- 4.16.4.3.2 Annex 2: Report on working visit to Africa, 18-22 February 1994, 91 p
- Folder 90
- 4.16.4.3.3 Annex 3: Report on the Planning Conferences, consultation with multi-lateral bodies and individual governments/organisations held in Europe and Asia, 16 March – 1 April, 1994, 245 p
- Folder 91
- 4.16.4.4 Report of the Sub-Council of Foreign Affairs (SCFA) with conclusions and recommendations to the Government of National Unity (GNU) regarding South Africa's International Relations, May 1994, 34 p, bounded
- 4.16.4.5 Internal Audit: progress of sub-council on Foreign Affairs and sub-structures, 15/03/1994, 19 p
- 4.16.4.6 Structures of the sub-council on Foreign Affairs to be continued beyond the mandate of the Transitional Executive Council, undated, 2 p
- 4.16.4.7 Memorandums from the Managing Secretary of the TEC and MC to the Sub-council, 2 February – 21 April, 11 p

Box 16 – Sub-Council on Finance, on Intelligence, on Women, on Regional and Local Government

4.16.5 Sub-Council on Finance

Folder 92

- 4.16.5.1 Schedule of meetings (undated, 2 p) and Minutes of: 22/12/1993 (2 p), 2-3 March '94 with annexures (124 p)

Folder 93

- 4.16.5.2 Audits of performance: undated (7 p); undated (13 p); undated (5 p)
- 4.16.5.3 Lists of resolutions adopted, 4 May '94, 7 p and 3 p, 1 resolution
- 4.16.5.4 Memorandums from Managing Secretary for the MC and the TEC, 26 January – 7 April, 28 p

Folder 94

- 4.16.5.5 Minutes of 22 December 1993 (4 P), 12 January 1994 (17 p), 17 January 1994 (9 p and 5 p),
- 4.16.5.6 Weekly report 13 January 1994
- 4.16.5.7 Weekly report 28 February 1994 (2 P), Working draft 'Joint Standing Committee on Intelligence Bill' 1 March 1994 (35 p)
- 4.16.5.8 Audit of performance, undated, 3 p
- 4.16.5.9 Memorandums of the Managing Secretary for the Management Committee and the TEC meetings, 26 January -30 March, 13 p
- 4.16.5.10 Amendment to page 4 sub paragraph 9 under national conference, undated, 2 p

4.16.6 Sub-Council on Women

Folder 95

- 4.16.6.1 Minutes of: 22 December 1993 (2 p), 10 January 1994 (4 p), 11 January 1994 (5 p), 7 March 1994 and appendixes (59 p)

Folder 96

- 4.16.6.2 Reports and memo's: weekly report, 12 January (2 p); Finalisation of work, 3 May (1 p); Memo to the Department of Defence, undated (9 p); Report of the SCSW on work undertaken and follow-up to be made in preparation for the 4th World Conference on Women, undated (6 p); Media sub-committee report, undated (1 p); matters arising from workshop on strategy, undated (2 p) Report of the sub-group on discriminatory legislation, undated (1 p); Report of the group discussing voter education, undated (2 p); report of the sub-committee on voter education, undated (7 p)
- 4.16.6.3 Audit of performance, undated, 4 p
- 4.16.6.4 Memorandums of the Managing Secretary for the Management Committee and TEC, 26 Jan – 21 April, 14 p
- 4.16.6.5 Memo regarding Funding of Voter Education Conference, 9 March, 4 p
- 4.16.6.6 Letter from the Abortion Law Reform Movement, 20 December 1993 (2 p) plus confirmation of receipt
- 4.16.6.7 Faxed invitation from the Women's National Coalition, 10 January (2 p) plus reply

4.16.7 Sub-Council on Regional and Local Government and Traditional Authorities

Folder 97

- 4.16.7.1 Minutes of: 22 December 1993 and supporting documents, mainly correspondence. Several pages are not readable, (83 p); 2 January 1994 and appendixes (24 p); 10 January (4 p)

Box 17 – Sub-Council on Regional and Local Government continued

Folder 98

- 4.16.7.2 Minutes continued: 11 January and appendixes especially re hospital crisis (111 p)

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- 4.16.7.3 Minutes continued: 11 January (5 p); 12 January (3 p); 3 March (26 p)
- 4.16.7.4 Memorandums from the Managing Secretary for the Management Committee and the TEC, 26 January – 21 April, 27 p
- 4.16.7.5 Audits of performance, 24 March v1 (5 p) and v2 (12 p); undated (14 p); undated (13 p)

Folder 100

- 4.16.7.6 General report of the sub-council on Regional/Local Government and Traditional Authorities, undated, 108 p

Folder 101

- 4.16.7.7 Notes on topical issues of potential interest to the sub-council on Regional and Local Government and Traditional Authorities, undated, 23 p
- 4.16.7.8 Notes on topics requested by the sub-council, undated, p
- 4.16.7.9 Document "Chief Directorate: land reform", undated, 10 p

Folder 102

- 4.16.7.10 Representation to the TEC on the position of labour tenant communities in the Eastern Transvaal and Natal, 11 January 1994, 4 p
- 4.16.7.11 Notes on the functions of Branch land and region systems of the Department of Regional and Land Affairs, Submitted to the sub-council of the TEC undated, 30 p
- 4.16.7.12 Document of the Department of Regional and Land Affairs pertaining to mandate, systems and regional affairs functions, undated, 30 p in folder of the Department
- 4.16.7.13 Daily Press clippings from Liaison Section TEC, 23/03/1994, 42 p
- 4.16.7.14 Daily Press clippings from Liaison Section TEC, 24/03/1994, 36 p

4.17 Government Gazettes and draft bills

Folder 103

- 4.17.1 Vol.309, No. 13131, Pretoria 22 March 1991, Government Notices, Department of Justice, No.688, Notice of the State President of the Republic of South Africa, Notice of Indemnity in terms of the Indemnity Act, 1990 (Act no/ 35 of 1990), 4 p
- 4.17.2 Vol.309, No. 13134, Pretoria 27 March 1991, Government Notices, Department of Justice, No.712, Notice of the State President of the Republic of South Africa, Notice of Indemnity in terms of the Indemnity Act, 1990 (Act no. 35 of 1990), 4 p
- 4.17.3 Vol.310, No. 13154, Pretoria, 8 April 1991, General Notice, Notice 771 of 1991, Department of Justice, Notice of Temporary Immunity under the Indemnity Act, 1990 (Act NO. 35 of 1990) – Notice by the State President of the Republic of South Africa, 2 p
- 4.17.4 Vol.310, No, 13181, Pretoria, 19 April 1991, Government Notices, Department of Justice, No. 881, Notice of the State President of the Republic of South Africa. Notice of Indemnity in terms of the Indemnity Act, 1991 (Act no. 35 of 1990), 8 p
- 4.17.5 Vol.310, No. 13201, Pretoria, 24 April 1991, General Notice, Notice 381 of 1991, Department of Justice, Indemnity Committees. – Approval of ad hoc members, 2 p
- 4.17.6 Vol.310, No. 13202, Pretoria, 24 April 1991, Government Notice, No. R. 936, Department of Justice, Notice of the Acting State President of the Republic of South Africa, Notice of Indemnity under the Indemnity Act, 1990 (No. 325 of 1990), 4 p
- 4.17.7 Transitional Executive Council Act, 1993 (Act no. 151 of 1993)
- 4.17.8 Independent Media Commission Act, 1993) Act no. 148 of 1993
- 4.17.9 Independent Electoral Commission Act, 1993 (act No. 150 of 1993)

Folder 104 Government Gazettes continued

- 4.17.10 Vol 343, No. 15466, Cape Town, 28 January 1994, State President's Office, No 185 , Act No. 200 of 1993: Constitution of the Republic of South Arica, 1993, 112 p

- 4.17.11 Vol. 345, No. 15550, Cape Town, 3 March 1994, State President's Office, No 456., No 2 of 1994: Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Amendment Act, 1994, 8 p
- 4.17.12 Republic of South Africa, Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Bill, (as amended by the Joint Committee on Constitutional Affairs), Minister of Constitutional Development, [B 212B-93 (GA)], 112, bounded

Box 18 – Government Gazettes continued and other documents

Folder 105

- 4.17.13 South African Schools Bill, Minister of Education, B58-96, 24 April 1996, 59 p, in Afrikaans
- 4.17.14 Draft Electoral Amendment Bill, Minister of Home Affairs, selected sections, 8 p
- 4.18 Document with sections of the Implementation of the Constitution, E & A, 19 p

Folder 106

- 4.19 Hit squads, Testimony of a South African Security Policeman: The Full Story by Captain Dirk Coetzee, manuscript, 21 April 1990, 134 p
The testimony was prepared for the Harms Commission of Inquiry, death squads, 1990 but not submitted.

NB: Also see collection NMAP 2015/52 Goldstone Commission of Inquiry for TEC documents

3. PERSONAL PAPERS 1984 - 1998 Folders 107 - 127

Folder 107

- 5.1 Booklet 'You and the Constitution', Produced by the Constitutional Assembly, undated, 13 p, 3 copies
- 5.2 Comic "Protecting your Rights with the new Constitution', Produced for the Constitutional Assembly, undated, 40 p, 2 copies
- 5.3 Constitutional Assembly Annual Report 1995, 34 p
- 5.4 Documentation Constitutional Assembly, Sub-committee 2, 2 October 1996, 16 p, bounded
- 5.5 VHS Video 'Constitutional Assembly', Free Film
- 5.6 CD with 'The Making of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996; text of the act in several languages, video

Folder 108

- 5.7 Fourteen (14) blue cover bounded copies with press clippings from South African newspapers named "Constitution- Making Process -Press Clippings" pertaining to socio-political comment – constitutional development including negotiations and reform process
 - 5.7.1 Part 1: 18 April 1988 to 18 April 1989
 - 5.7.2 Part 2: 30 September 1989 to 27 April 1990

BOX 19 Personal papers continued

Folder 109

5.7.3 Part 3: 30 April 1990 to 25 July 1990

5.7.4 Part 4: 26 July 1990 to 7 November 1990

Folder 110

5.7.5 Part 5: 7/11/1990 to 8/03/1991

5.7.6 Part 6: 11/03/1991 to 17/06/1991

Folder 111

5.7.7 Part 7: 17/06/1991 to 26/11/1991

5.7.8 Part 8: 26/11/1991 to 15/06/1992

Folder 112

5.7.9 Part 9: 15/06/1992 to 18/09/1992

5.7.10 Part 10: 18/09/1992 to 19/01/1993

Folder 113

5.7.11 Part 11: 19/01/1993 to 28/05/1993

5.7.12 Part 12: 28/05/1993 to 22/10/1993

Folder 114

5.7.13 Part 13: 22/10/1993 to 4/01/1994

5.7.14 Part 14: 4/01/1994 to 19/04/1994

Folder 115

5.7.15 Pink cover clippings Constitution Making Process - CODESA - 6 Jan 1992 to 3 March 1993

Folder 116

5.8 Green cover clippings

5.8.1 Volume 1: 1984-1994

Folder 117

5.8.2 Volume 2: 13 Jan 1995 to 27 Jan 1995

Folder 118

5.8.3 Volume 3: 27 Jan 1995 to 7 Feb 1995

BOX 21

Folder 119

5.8.4 Volume 4: 7 Feb 1995 to 28 Feb 1995

Folder 120

5.8.4.1 Volume 5: 1 to 14 March 1995

Folder 121

5.8.5 Two beige cover clippings, nothing on the cover; ANC Armed Struggle from 1984 and Elections general 1984

Folder 122

5.9 Blue cover clippings with handwritten notes inside

5.9.1 Popular Resistance elections 1984

Folder 123

5.9.2 Government Response to Popular Resistance elections 1984; UDF linked to ANC and Threats to ban UDF

BOX 22

Folder 124

5.9.3 Indian Parties; Coloured Party and Profiles

Folder 125

5.10 Brown cover clippings with handwritten notes inside:

5.10.1 Date Sequence; Registration of voters and election results

5.10.2 Post Elections and Date Sequence

Folder 126

5.13 Loose newspapers

5.13.1 19th century facsimile edition of The Star number 4 – 1890-1899

5.13.2 Weekly Mail & Guardian, Vol 10, No 32. August 12 to 18, 1994

5.13.3 Cape Times, Tuesday November 3 1998

Folder 127

5.13.4 The Star newspaper, Monday September 28, 1992

5.13.5 The Star newspaper, Wednesday August 10, 1994

5.13.6 The Star newspaper, Wednesday August 17, 1994